

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

NINETEENTH CENTURY  
SEP-DEC 1911 G. K. U.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



















# NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

(20)

XIX



XX



111362

No. CCCCXV—SEPTEMBER 1911

## THE NEED FOR A RE-CREATION OF OUR CONSTITUTION

THE curtain has fallen upon the first act of the constitutional drama; or perhaps the situation may be more correctly defined by saying that the *lever du rideau* has been concluded, and that the curtain is about to rise upon the first scene in perhaps the greatest constitutional struggle that this country has ever witnessed.

During the interval it is to be hoped that inter-party passions may be allowed to subside. The Press, which made so splendid a fight for liberty and the rights of the people, will be doing an ill-turn to the people, and will be jeopardising the cause of liberty, if they continue to inveigh against the conduct of those peers who felt it their duty to abstain from voting, or even to vote with the Government, in the division that decided whether the Lords would or would not insist upon their amendments. Peers who refused to follow the advice of their leaders seem to have laboured under the delusion that insistence upon the amendments could produce some effect upon the Bill. That was, as we all know, an hallucination. The House of Lords had only one question to decide on the memorable night of Thursday, the 10th of August: Is the Bill, un-



amended, to pass minus or plus the creation of three or four hundred peerages? That is the fact, and in criticising it, one point only should be considered—the effect upon a policy of reconstruction.

The peers—both those who followed and those who did not follow Lord Lansdowne's advice—have been subjected to much abuse; and arguments having but little bearing upon the real issue have been freely used in support of unreasonable invective. Accusations of mutiny on the one hand, of moral cowardice on the other hand, have been freely bandied about. Peers were urged to remember the appalling consequences of a Radical majority in the Upper House, enabling a despotic usurping Cabinet to place every conceivable legislative abomination upon the Statute Book as fast as it could be rammed through a gagged House of Commons. They were entreated to save the peerage from utter degradation, and to extricate the Crown from an almost intolerably difficult position. On the other hand they were reminded that as the King is a constitutional monarch all responsibility rests upon his Ministers, and that the occupant of the Throne should be looked on as an abstraction; the necessity of compelling a great creation of peerages, an action odious to Ministers and still more odious to the Crown, was insisted upon as the only means whereby the gravity of the revolution could be impressed upon the people. It is to be desired that these and all arguments addressed to tactical party advantages may be allowed to drop. They serve only to obscure the situation, to crowd out essentials, and to distract attention from the consideration of the only thing worth considering—the creation of a new Constitution.

The Constitution, as we inherited it, has gone. By the arbitrary action of the Cabinet our unwritten Constitution has been so shattered that the pieces can never be put together again. The delicate balance between the Crown, the Lords and the Commons has been upset and cannot be restored. Democratic rule, under a party system and an unwritten Constitution, has hopelessly broken down. The Constitution must be reconstructed. For an unwritten Constitution dependent upon precedent, usage, and the regulated play of two great political parties, a written Constitution must be gradually substituted, strong enough to control the incalculable effects of parties composed of unstable elements, ephemeral combinations, and sections discordant but capable of transient combination.

As matters now stand we are confronted by the appalling fact that any Cabinet in future, however much it may be out of touch with national opinion, can work its irretrievable will without let or hindrance. What Mr. Asquith has done to-day any Prime Minister can do to-morrow if the claim put forward by the Govern-



ment is admitted, and it is within the right of any Prime Minister to advise the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of peers to secure the passage through the Second Chamber of any measure which his Cabinet holds it has a mandate to place upon the Statute Book. The sole judges of the virtue of the mandate are to be the Ministers themselves. The last check to Cabinet dictatorship has been removed, the ancient prerogatives of the Crown have been suborned and incorporated in the ordinary machinery of the party caucus, and the House of Lords has been robbed of the last vestige of its power to delay legislation until an opportunity has been given the electorate of expressing its opinion. The House of Commons has ceased to be a deliberative assembly. It lies absolutely at the mercy of any Cabinet that can contrive by log-rolling to hold together the jarring elements which, uniting for temporary purposes, may have placed a little oligarchy in power.

How do we stand now? Under the Parliament Bill the House of Lords retains the right of delay. It can reject twice any measure to which it objects. It can at least give the public time to think. Had the House been swamped by a great creation, the people would have been deprived of even this slender hindrance to hasty legislation. It is true that if the Government follow the utterly unjustifiable precedent they have created, there is nothing to prevent them at any future date pleading urgency for any so-called reform, advising the Crown to give 'guarantees,' and thus forcing through any Bill at the first time of asking. This, after all, has been the procedure with reference to the Parliament Bill. Though the electors had an opportunity of expressing their views on the general lines of the Government scheme, this scheme was in fact only one of many questions submitted at the last General Election, and it was not until the General Election was over that the Government produced the actual measure which it was intended to force through the House of Lords.

But there is a limit to the patience, the ignorance and the credulity of the people, and there may be a limit to the arbitrary methods of the Government. There is a vast difference between advising the exercise of the Royal prerogative to pass a measure which has been, though only inferentially, before the country at two elections, and invoking it to pass Bills that have never been before the electors, and that have not in detail or principle gone through the ordeal of an election. The Lords by their inaction and action have procured for the people a short period of delay.

The Constitution has lost its ancient balance, and that Constitution is not the Constitution merely of the United Kingdom but the Constitution under which the whole Empire is governed. The several oversea Dominions possess, it is true, an exceedingly large



measure of autonomy, but wide powers are still retained by the British Parliament. Under the new conditions arbitrarily created by the present Cabinet, our whole Imperial destiny rests upon the will of a strong Minister and his subservient colleagues, unfettered by any of those ancient checks which in the past have proved valuable bulwarks against hasty changes. Whatever the object of the revolution may be, no doubt can exist as to its effect.

The whole legislative machinery has been recklessly and ruthlessly thrown out of gear by a Government incapable of governing either the country or itself. The Commons' House of Parliament is powerless, the House of Lords has been reduced to impotence, organised and responsible democracy has been dethroned. But that is not all. Wrecking Ministers have found apt pupils. The spirit of mutiny, the revolt against all usage, precedent and constituted authorities, originating in the Government, has spread over the whole country, and in social as well as in political matters the nation is reverting towards sheer barbarism and a reign of violence and mere physical force. Reconstruction not only of the machinery of government but also of the basis on which all Governments rest—organised society—is the task that statesmen have in hand.

It is to the last degree unlikely that when the people understand the true meaning of the revolution, they will consent to their own degradation. When they realise that the unwritten Constitution that they inherited has ceased to operate, they will insist upon a written Constitution strong enough to safeguard their rights, and too tough to be easily torn up. And the operation has been commenced. The House of Lords, in relinquishing its legal powers over money Bills, made some definition of a money Bill and the creation of some authority to interpret that definition necessary. The admission that the powers of the two branches of the Legislature should be defined by statute renders the creation of some authority with power to interpret the statute equally necessary. Ordinary statutes are interpreted by the ordinary courts. An extraordinary statute demands an extraordinary court. The action of the Lords towards money Bills, towards Lord Rosebery's resolutions, Lord Lansdowne's Bill for the reconstitution of the House of Lords, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Bill : these and all such cognate matters plainly show that we have already put our hands to the task we must inevitably pursue to the end—the substitution of a written for an unwritten Constitution. That is the one and only fact to be borne in mind, and criticism on the action of the House of Lords should be confined to the question whether, with reconstruction in view, that House was or was not wise in preserving itself from an irruption of peers, who would have made the reconstitution of that House impossible, and in securing for the



people a period of delay during which a re-creation of a Constitution could be set before them.

It has been said that nothing short of an incident so dramatic, or comic, as the creation of three or four hundred peers would suffice to open the eyes of the people. I rate their intelligence higher than that, and the facts are not obscure. Strenuous efforts have been made on the part of the Government and its organs in the Press to misrepresent in the grossest manner the action of the House of Lords towards the Parliament Bill. It has been asserted, with hysterical reiteration, that during the discussion of the Parliament Bill the majority of the peers offered a 'sullen resistance' to the measure, while in other quarters they have been charged with pursuing 'wrecking tactics.' The lie is palpable. The Parliament Bill as presented by the Government was accepted in its entirety by the House of Lords. The Bill as it eventually passed the Upper Chamber was the Bill as it had left the House of Commons, without anything subtracted from it, but with certain additions which, in the opinion not only of Unionist peers but of many peers who usually act with the Government, were essential.

The Parliament Bill is a temporary expedient designed by the Government to enable them to carry on the business of the country according to their own ideas, unfettered by checks. What is it that the Government in framing the Parliament Bill considered it necessary to include in that measure in order to achieve their purpose? In other words, for this is what it comes to : What were the grounds of indictment against the House of Lords? Putting aside all the rhetorical rubbish and gross misrepresentation employed during the General Election in order to obscure the real issue, the two dominant counts in the charge against the peers were that they had invaded the financial privileges of the House of Commons by referring a Budget to the people, and that, being disproportionately Conservative in their opinions, they consistently refused to pass Liberal legislation. The accuracy of this definition of the charges against the House of Lords will not, I imagine, be questioned.

How did the House of Lords meet the Government when it presented the Parliament Bill, claiming that that Bill had received the assent of the electorate and should be permitted forthwith to pass? As regards money Bills the Government obtained in the measure as it left the House of Lords all that it asked for; the peers relinquished all power to deal with money Bills, a power which Mr. Asquith himself admitted it hitherto had the legal right to exercise. What his Majesty's Government desired, that his Majesty's Government obtained from the Upper Chamber. Both parties in the House were in accord as to the necessity of guarding against 'tacking,' direct or indirect, and of setting up some



authority to decide whether a Bill was or was not a *bona-fide* money Bill. The only difference between the Government on the one hand and the Opposition on the other lay in this—a divergence of opinion as to how that authority should be constituted. The Government proposed that the Speaker of the House of Commons, an official whose essential duty it is to uphold the privileges of the House of Commons, should be the sole arbiter in a case of dispute as to the respective privileges of the two Houses. The suggestion that the Speaker could be regarded as an impartial authority on such a question is not arguable. It is impossible that any man in such a position could give an absolutely impartial opinion. The Government proposal was that the official trustee of the privileges of one branch of the Legislature should act as counsel, jury and judge in a case in dispute between the two branches of the Legislature on that very point. No wonder Viscount Peel, for eleven years Speaker of the House of Commons and a Liberal in sympathies, denounced this proposal as unfair to the Speaker, unjust to the House of Lords and calculated to bring the Speakership into contempt.

Into the details of the composition of the committee which the Opposition desired to set up, as the authority in lieu of the Speaker, or of the slight modification of their original proposal which the Government were willing to make, it is not necessary to enter. The point is, and it is one which the public will not fail to see, the enormity of forcing a great crisis, with all its irreparable consequences, upon the country on such a comparatively trivial matter as the exact constitution of the authority to be established to decide what is and what is not a money Bill.

Now as to the other count of the indictment, that the House of Lords invariably rejected Liberal legislation and that his Majesty's Ministers, who during their somewhat long wanderings in the wilderness accumulated a great mass of legislative proposals, do not find that they have a fair and reasonable opportunity of placing them upon the Statute Book. Such a charge no doubt sounds well upon the political platform, and is calculated to inflame the imagination of perfervid Radicals; but considered soberly, it will be found to rest upon no solid foundation. Of the Bills which have been sent up to the House of Lords by the present Government practically all have been passed either with or without minor amendments, and the number of Bills which have been rejected by the House of Lords can be enumerated on the fingers of one hand. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether the Government, after mature consideration, would now welcome on the Statute Book the Bills rejected by the House of Lords. They have since learned that those measures had not behind them any popular enthusiasm even among their own supporters. Assuming, how-



ever, that the Government's complaint is a real one, can it be claimed that they did not obtain substantially all they wanted in that respect in the Parliament Bill as it left the House of Lords? Liberals complain of the Upper House rejecting their measures. Under the Bill as it was amended that House could no longer reject their measures; a Liberal Cabinet could pass over the heads of the Lords every Bill that the House has ever rejected. The National Liberal Federation, through the Liberal Cabinet of the day, could pass straight to the Statute Book measures dealing with any and every subject without the assent of the House of Lords. The Parliament Bill as it was read a third time in the House of Lords left the Cabinet absolutely supreme as the interpreter of the policy dictated by this or that party caucus—a caucus it may be with its headquarters in England, or in Scotland, or in Ireland, or in Wales. That was the object with which the Parliament Bill was framed, and in the Parliament Bill as it left the House of Lords that object was attained. It is difficult for any reasonable being to understand what more the Government could require than the absolute satisfaction of the demands which they themselves put forward. On Liberal, Radical, Welsh and Irish Nationalist platforms up and down the United Kingdom complaint had been made of the operation of what orators were pleased to call the 'veto' of the House of Lords. The House of Lords at the dictation of the Government, urging an exceedingly questionable claim to represent the sober judgment of the country, temporarily, at any rate, put aside the veto, stipulating only that provision should be made in order to ensure that the judgment of the people on certain matters should be obtained.

The amendment put forward by Lord Lansdowne and accepted by the majority of the House of Lords was thoroughly in line with Liberal policy as enunciated by Mr. Gladstone and the great Liberal leaders of the past. It proposed to refer certain matters to the judgment of the people. What were those matters? They were questions connected with the Crown, the Protestant succession, and with what is commonly called Home Rule. Under the Parliament Bill as amended, measures affecting the Crown and the Protestant succession could be passed without the assent of the House of Lords, but could not be passed without the consent of the people. It is unnecessary to argue this question at length except to record that the only reason that the Government adduced against that part of the amendment was that it was impossible to believe that the present Ministry, or any Ministry, would wish to interfere with the Crown or the Protestant succession. This may be true, although the present Government during their term of office have been driven by circumstances to connive at many strange schemes. If there is any justification for the Govern-



ment's plea, then why is the Protestant oath regarded as necessary from the Sovereign upon his succession? The fact is that Parliament in legislating on matters of extreme gravity cannot consider the personal characteristics of Sovereign or Ministers; it legislates not for to-day or for to-morrow, for this occupant of the throne or that, for this Ministry or for another; but it sets up safeguards, necessary though they may appear at the moment supererogatory.

The other question which it was proposed to reserve for the judgment of the people was the setting up of statutory Parliaments in the United Kingdom with legislative functions. Under the Bill, as it left the House of Lords, the House of Commons could pass any Home Rule Bill for England, Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, over the head of the House of Lords. All that the amendment laid down was that, if a Government brought in Bills to set up statutory Parliaments with legislative functions, the opinion of the people on those Bills should be asked before they were placed upon the Statute Book. It is impossible to raise any real objection to such a thoroughly democratic provision. The proposal had nothing whatever to do with the merits or demerits of Home Rule. It was an amendment that could be, and was, supported not less whole-heartedly by the Marquis of Londonderry, speaking on behalf of the Unionists of Ulster, than by myself as a convinced Home Ruler. Nor did the amendment involve the question of the rights and powers that the House of Lords ought to have ultimately to reject a Home Rule Bill. Those rights had gone. The complaint of the Liberals had been that the veto barred their legislation—the veto had disappeared. The complaint of the Nationalist party in the House of Commons had been that the only obstacle to Home Rule lay in the veto—the veto had ceased to exist. The Government had obtained from the House of Lords all that they asked for, and so had their allies, the tied Nationalist party. The question therefore round which the whole trouble centred narrows down to a very simple one—namely, whether so great an organic change as would be involved in setting up a Parliament or Parliaments in the United Kingdom with legislative and administrative functions ought or ought not to be submitted to the judgment of the people. Why was the amendment refused? Two reasons are given, one colourable, the other nakedly absurd. It was deemed unnecessary on the ground that, as the people of the country knew that Home Rule formed part of the general policy of the Government, they, having been returned to power at two General Elections, had a perfect right to deal with the question. But Home Rule is a most indefinite and elastic term, and may mean almost anything or almost nothing. Possibly the Cabinet know what they mean by Home Rule, but certainly the people do not know. If a Bill had been debated in Parliament,



and if therefore the country had become cognisant of its scope, some strength might be found in the argument that the result of the last two elections gave the Cabinet practically a mandate to carry Home Rule. But there is not an elector in the country who has the faintest idea of what was, or is, meant by Home Rule; and to say that because a Government was returned to power after two General Elections—in which about a dozen questions were involved, and in which, as we all know perfectly well, the electors swallowed some half-dozen nostrums they did not like at all in order to get the other half-dozen which they earnestly desired—it has a right to bring in and pass without consulting the people any definite measure of any kind, dealing with principle included in an indefinite programme, is pushing the theory of representative government far into the regions of absurdity.

The other reason is that a great change has come over the spirit of the electorate, and that they would no longer object to Home Rule. With that I agree; but the argument is in favour of accepting, not of rejecting, the amendment. A great and salutary change of opinion manifesting itself, in spite of all obstacles, in Ireland, has reflected itself upon public opinion in Great Britain. His Majesty's Government say they are satisfied that the majority of the electors of this country would accept a Home Rule Bill. The Nationalist party in the House of Commons are of the same way of thinking. In a letter which appeared in *The Times* of the 19th of July, Mr. Redmond, speaking for his party, said:

‘I am quite convinced that Home Rule for Ireland has at its back the goodwill of the overwhelming majority of the British public.’

Lord Londonderry, speaking for the most strenuous opponents of Home Rule, declared in the House of Lords that if a Home Rule Bill were submitted to the electors and were approved of by them he and his friends would honestly accept it. That was the situation. All the elements necessary for an amicable and final settlement were present. Why was the opportunity lost? If Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist party are absolutely convinced that the overwhelming majority of the electors of Great Britain are in favour of Home Rule, and if his Majesty's Government are also convinced, as they say they are, why should they have objected so strongly to asking the people the direct question and so settling the matter?

There can be but one answer. The Nationalist party would not allow the people to be consulted. Their action either belies their words or condemns them as anti-Home Rulers. Either Mr. Redmond does not desire to see Home Rule an accomplished fact, or he does not believe that the overwhelming majority of the people are in favour of it. Be that as it may, the people of Great Britain



are bound to see the damning fact that the Nationalist party have taken up the utterly illogical position of refusing to allow a Home Rule Bill to be submitted to the judgment of the electors, though professing to believe that an overwhelming majority of them are in favour of it; and that the Government have prostituted the prerogative of the Crown, have forced a revolution upon the country and have broken up the Constitution at the illogical, unreasonable arbitrary command of their masters. It requires no dramatic event such as a great creation of peerages to force so patent a fact upon the attention of the people. So great a betrayal of the public for party purposes has never been perpetrated in the annals of history; and I am gravely mistaken as to the English character if such unreasonable and tyrannical action does not create a feeling of bitter resentment against the Government that has been guilty of it, and unfortunately against Ireland and everything to do with that ill-guided country. Thousands of electors of an open mind, ready to take a reasonable, just, and generous view of Ireland and her claims, will be turned against her. A strong case, to my mind an unanswerable case, can be made for Home Rule. No case can be made for refusing to submit a scheme to the people. If Ireland were claiming independence, demanding a separate existence, the establishment of an Irish Republic with its own army and navy, consular and civil service and all the equipment of an independent Sovereign State, the means whereby the end was accomplished would matter nothing. But Ireland remains, and must remain, a partner in the concern. The deed of partnership requires remodelling, but the partnership must continue. Under those conditions the goodwill of the other partners is essential. For Home Rule two things are essential: the goodwill of the people of Great Britain and the stability of the Imperial Parliament. To make Home Rule synonymous in the eyes of the people of Great Britain with the destruction of the constitutional balance, the usurpation—for it comes to that—of the prerogative of the Crown, and their deprivation of the right to be consulted on matters of organic change, is to damn Home Rule. Such a policy is calamitous, for every portent indicates the supreme wisdom of adopting a policy of national conciliation between Great Britain and Ireland, and burying at last the feud of centuries. A policy of conciliation is necessary in the interests of Ireland, of the United Kingdom, and of the Empire at large.

Recent events have proved the absurdity of pretending that the Irish people are naturally disloyal, and that a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin would be a danger to the Crown and a menace to peace. But loyalty may be endangered if the interests of Ireland are sacrificed on the discredited altar of party politics. Parliament persists, at the dictation of the present Government, in imposing



fresh burdens upon the people and in refusing the promised boon upon which the hearts of the Irish people are set—the completion of land purchase. It is essential in the interests of peace and prosperity, in Ireland, and I may add for the honour of Parliament, that the operation of land purchase be completed with as little delay as possible.

Mr. Asquith's Government may possibly succeed in producing a Home Rule measure which Mr. Redmond may feel compelled to accept, but the grave financial questions which must inevitably be raised in connexion with land purchase and Home Rule can be settled satisfactorily only by co-operation of all parties, only by a policy of conciliation under which the people of the United Kingdom will lay upon the Government of the day the duty of settling the Irish question on a permanent basis once for all.

In refusing to take a popular vote on the question of Home Rule the Government have, if they are sincere Home Rulers, made a great tactical mistake. They have allowed their opponents to shift their ground from the merits of the case itself to the right of the electorate to be consulted upon it, whatever the merits may be. A fictitious opposition to Home Rule will be created. By mixing up Home Rule with a sweeping revolution, the destruction of everything that the majority in England, at any rate, hold dear, by raising the temperature of party politics to fever heat, the Government have imperilled Ireland's just claims. Their arrogant policy will stir up a feeling of antagonism to Home Rule, land purchase, and everything connected with Ireland, which does not naturally exist, and the true policy of conciliation will receive a set-back from which it may not easily recover.

It would be out of place to state at length the only Irish policy which can heal the wounds of past centuries and cement a feeling of cordial friendship between the two islands. Any scheme if it is to contain the seeds of success must be framed on federal lines, and the constitutional question must be settled on a permanent basis. The power of a statutory Parliament, or of statutory Parliaments, is a delegated power. Stability of the central authority is a condition essential to stability of the subordinate authorities; order cannot owe allegiance to chaos. A statutory Parliament using delegated powers, unless those powers were derived from a strong and stable central authority, would have no chance of carrying on its business to the satisfaction either of the people immediately concerned, of the people of the United Kingdom, or of the people of a united Empire. A strong Second Chamber, a balanced Constitution, is an absolute necessity if a subordinate Parliament is not to run on the rocks during its earliest years. There are many instances of federation and delegation working well, but there is not one in which federation has not been



to, and delegation from, a strong, stable, well-balanced central power. I am fearful of the fate of Home Rule obtained by a violation of constitutional liberty, secured as a result of a mere party manœuvre, placed upon the Statute Book by means which must inevitably cause resentment and hostility to it. I look with nervous dread to the prospects of a measure of Home Rule which does not carry with it the goodwill of the people of Great Britain. No reasonable being imagines that it is possible to frame an abiding Constitution for Ireland out of the wreckage of the British Constitution. It is inconceivable that a statutory Parliament could have a fair chance of permanence and success in the administration of Irish affairs, if subject to the authority of a Parliament in such a state of chaos as that to which the Imperial Parliament has been reduced.

What is the position in which we find ourselves? It is essential that all Constitutionalists, all Imperialists, all who believe in democratic rule, all lovers of liberty should grasp it. Ireland and her claims, political, social, and economic, have been forced below the horizon of practical politics by the weight of the urgent necessity of remodelling the Constitution. But Ireland need not utterly despair. From that same necessity her opportunity will spring. The relief of congestion is a question inseparable from the creation of a stable, balanced Parliamentary system, and the erection of a statutory Parliament or of statutory Parliaments is the only means whereby the disease of congestion can be cured. The problems of devolution and reconstruction are inseparable. In the solution of one the solution of both will be found, and it will be found in no other way.

The Constitutional party have had their lesson—a bitter one. When they had the opportunity, they could not or would not see far enough ahead. They failed to grasp the facts—plain enough I should have thought—that a complete remodelling of our institutions, and particularly of the House of Lords, was necessary, and that wise and, above all, timely legislation dealing with social questions was urgently needed. They lost the opportunity for reform, and the result is revolution. Reconstruction is now their task. Will they take warning from the past? Nothing short of bold, comprehensive measures will suffice. If, when reaction swings them into power, as sooner or later it must, they content themselves with inaction, however masterly, they and, as I think, the nation are doomed. If, taking advantage of the strategical position the blunder of the Government has enabled them to occupy, they adopt the purely negative policy of no Home Rule, they will sacrifice a long and useful future for a doubtful and temporary present gain. A large, bold, constructive policy, re-creating a well-balanced Constitution, setting up a stable Parliament capable of



dealing with the business coming before it, viewing the claims of Ireland from a broad Imperial point of view, utilising the innate conservatism of the people, especially of Ireland, in order to deal wisely with social and economic problems, that is the policy that is required, and nothing short of it will suffice. Reaction against the intolerable tyranny achieved by the present Cabinet, and the disgraceful means by which it has been obtained, will some day bring back the Constitutional party to power, but reaction will not keep them there. No party can live on a policy of negation. The sooner a strong constructive policy is placed before the people, the sooner will the Constitutional party be given power necessary to carry it into effect.

DUNRAVEN.



*THE DANGER AHEAD*

POLITICIANS who took an active part in the recent political struggle necessarily regarded the passing of the Parliament Bill as an episode in party warfare. The Liberals were striking down their hereditary foes : the Unionists were losing the support of a body which had never failed to back the Unionist Party. This party aspect of the question largely explains why the country as a whole displayed so little excitement over a constitutional change of such far-reaching importance. For the average Englishman, except at election times, is to a large extent indifferent about party politics. He has a shrewd suspicion that the members of both parties are playing a game of their own, and their hits and misses do not greatly concern him. But there is a further and more important reason for the popular indifference which formed so striking a contrast to the political excitement, namely, the widespread conviction that the issue was inevitable, because the people had grown tired of the peers. As Lord Ribblesdale with humorous candour remarked in the final debate in the House of Lords : ' My Lords,—The fact of the matter is that the constituencies do not care about us.' They do not care because the nation has outgrown aristocratic forms of government.

That is not a feature of our country only. In every European country the powers of the aristocracy are being weakened. So long as the masses were untaught and ignorant, it was impossible that they should take any real share in their own government. They had to submit to external authority, because they had neither the knowledge nor the intelligence to govern themselves. The wide diffusion of education has rendered forms of government based upon these conditions out of date. We now have so to frame our political systems as to meet the fact that an enormous number of people, possibly indeed the majority of our present population, are capable of forming some sort of judgment upon the problems of government, and are at the same time eager to take some part in public affairs. Even were it desirable, it would be impossible permanently to exclude such people from a voice in the government of their country. Our business is not to repine for the past, but to accept democracy as a necessary fact, and to try to remove its defects and to obviate its dangers.



All forms of government have their defects; and if we, looking back, now see or fancy we see some very great advantage in preceding forms of government, we may be sure that our ancestors saw even more clearly the defects of those forms of government, or they would not have exerted themselves, often at the cost of prolonged suffering and much bloodshed, to effect a change.

What then is the principal danger we now have to face? What are the wrongs which our generation has to redress? I submit that the most serious danger now in prospect is the destruction of those essential human liberties for which our ancestors fought and suffered. As has often been pointed out before, the principal defect of democratic government is its disregard for individual liberty. This defect is all the more striking because the revolt against despotism and oligarchy has generally been inspired by an appeal for liberty. The theory both of monarchy and of aristocracy is that the rulers know better what is good for the people than the people themselves know. The people resent that theory, and demand liberty to conduct their own affairs in their own way. For the sake of liberty they demand the right of self-government; but, as soon as they have obtained that right, they at once proceed to use their new powers to destroy liberty.

So far as our own country is concerned, this change of outlook has been effected within the lifetime of the present generation. As long as the Liberal Party was engaged in trying to secure an enlargement of the rights of self-government for the benefit of the masses of the people, its constant appeal was to the principle of liberty. Now that this work has been in the main accomplished, the Liberal Party has forgotten its old traditions of liberty, and is engaged in trying to impose various restraints upon the liberty of the masses while simultaneously attacking the institution of property, which is itself an essential bulwark of individual liberty. Anyone who doubts the extent of this contrast may be recommended to study again an oft-quoted passage from a speech delivered by one of the most typical of Liberal statesmen of the last generation. Speaking at Oxford in 1873 Sir William Harcourt said :

A Liberal Government tries, as far as the safety of society will permit, to allow everybody to do what he wishes. It has been the tradition of the Liberal Party consistently to maintain the doctrine of individual liberty. It is the practice of allowing one set of people to dictate to another set of people what they shall do, what they shall think, what they shall drink, when they shall go to bed, what wages they shall get and how they shall spend them, against which the Liberal Party has always protested.

So completely has the attitude of the Liberal Party changed in the thirty odd years that have since elapsed, that few modern



Liberals are even aware that Sir William Harcourt, in the passage quoted, was giving expression to what was then the creed of the whole party.

No special blame attaches to the Liberal Party for having thus completely changed its creed. The change which has taken place is due to the altered outlook of the greater part of the electorate. It has been forced upon Liberals rather than consciously and voluntarily adopted by them. The opposing party is subject to exactly the same influences; and at the present moment it is not easy to discover any trace of real enthusiasm for individual liberty in either of our two great political parties. Both parties are pursuing a policy which is a negation of the principles of individual liberty and self-help upon which the greatness of the Empire has been built. Both are teaching envy of others instead of exertion of oneself.

Simultaneously there has recently been a decline in that spirit of mutual toleration of divergent opinions which has so long been the pride of Englishmen. The most lamentable illustration is the outbreak of polemical violence in which a section of the Unionist Party indulged on the passing of the Parliament Bill. There was something to be said for the view of the 'Die-Hards,' that the country would have been more aroused by an actual creation of 500 peers to pass the Parliament Bill, than by the spectacle of the House of Lords accepting with quiet dignity a measure which had become inevitable. On such a speculative question of tactics differences of judgment were unavoidable, and divergent views could be held and expressed with equal sincerity and honour. So far as personal sacrifice is concerned, it seems obvious that the greatest sacrifice was made, not by those who gratified their own sentiments by voting against the Government, nor by those who walked out of the House, but by the remaining handful of Unionist peers who, setting aside their own desires and convictions, voted for a Bill of which they profoundly disapproved in order to save their House and the country from the added disaster of the wholesale creation of pledge-bound peers. Yet some of the supporters of the 'Die-Hards,' and especially the newspaper supporters, poured out upon those who differed from them a torrent of vile abuse to which there has been no recent parallel. Here is a typical passage from a Tory evening paper :

For the traitors there can be nothing but hatred and contempt. We hope that no honest man will take any one of them by the hand again, that their friends will disown them, their clubs expel them, and that alike in politics and in social life they will be made to feel the bitter shame they have brought upon us all.

One may well ask what has become of the English tradition of liberty when professedly respectable journals use such language



as this, and deliberately advocate the application of the boycott to men with whom they temporarily disagree.

Unfortunately this disregard for the liberty of others is not confined to political issues. Exactly the same attitude of mind is displayed by weekly wage-earners when they go on strike, and by the mob of hooligans that gives vocal and physical support to the strikers. If any workman in the exercise of his undoubted right decides that he prefers to work on the terms offered rather than join the strike, he is denounced as a blackleg and a traitor. If he shows his face in the street he runs the risk of being attacked by howling ruffians. The only difference is that the East-end mob throws brickbats and the West-end journalist ink. This display of violence by strikers and their friends is not of course novel. Half a century ago there was probably more violence than to-day, but in the interval a very marked improvement had occurred, and it was generally argued that the improved organisation of labour had destroyed all excuse for violence, and had rendered possible the settlement of labour disputes by entirely peaceful methods. The great significance of the recent series of strikes is that violent interference with the freedom of other working-men and wanton destruction of property appear to have been regarded, at any rate by some of the strikers, as legitimate methods of advancing their own cause. The very conception of a simultaneous strike on all the railways of the kingdom so as to hold up the industries of the nation is itself a flagrant outrage upon the liberties of other people, and the fact that such a method of determining labour disputes should be seriously advocated by one section of the workpeople shows how grave are the dangers which lie ahead.

Such developments as these are not accidental. They spring from general causes affecting the whole body politic.

These general causes may be traced to pressure exercised first by the masses, who are increasingly conscious both of their own political strength and of the relatively small share of this world's advantages which they are able to enjoy, and secondly by the well-to-do classes who are philanthropically impatient with the existence of evil and misery. People who are poor, and see others rich, are naturally tempted to use the only far-reaching power they possess, namely, political power, to correct the inequalities which the operation of economic and moral forces has created. At the same time those members of the well-to-do classes in whom the sense of human sympathy is strongly developed feel eager to use what seems the quickest method of remedying flagrant evils.

We should all like to find an immediate remedy for every disease; and some people can never convince themselves that this may often be impossible. When the skilled physician sends them



away with the verdict that the disease is incurable, or that time alone will cure it, they turn to the blatant quack. He always has a following both in medicine and in politics, for he promises to cure every evil with a remedy which is both pleasant to take and certain to succeed.

In the realm of politics it will be found that all these quack remedies involve action by the State, either nationally or municipally. That, in itself, means an interference with individual liberty, for the essence of State action is compulsion. There are many voluntary associations in this and in all countries, some of them highly efficient, and much more efficient than that particular form of association which we call the State, but they have not the universal power of compulsion which the State possesses. If, then, people appeal to the State to do things, instead of leaving them to be done by individuals or by voluntary associations, it means that they want to use compulsion, that they want to infringe liberty.

The peculiar danger of this desire when expressed by democracies is that there is no natural limitation to it. A tyrant is afraid of his neck, an aristocracy of its privileges; a democracy has nothing to fear. The people cannot revolt against their own decrees; the majority, if it be a real majority, is omnipotent. That is why democratic infringements of liberty are more to be feared than any other form of tyranny. The majority is so conscious of its omnipotence that it fails to perceive that there are moral limits which it ought to impose upon the exercise of its powers. Those limits are transgressed when the reasonable liberties of the individual are arbitrarily curtailed.

This statement necessarily lacks precision. It is impossible to say, with absolute exactitude, what is reasonable and what is arbitrary. No final line can be drawn. We have to deal with tendencies, not with definitions. What I am here dealing with is the tendency in democratic States to ignore the necessity for individual liberty. Yet liberty is both a good thing in itself and an essential requisite of human progress. Everybody wants liberty. Every one of us feels the need of it. We all want to be free to consult our own wishes, to do what we like. That does not necessarily mean that we want to be selfish; it only means that we prefer to make our own decisions, rather than to accept the decisions of other people.

This being a universal instinct, it is surely folly to ignore it—folly to try to build up a better system of human society by ruling out one of the most important aspirations of all human beings—‘Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.’ Do not let us for the sake of life throw away the things that make life worth living. Do not let us in the hope of making mankind happy destroy the essentials of human happiness.



But it is not only to human happiness that liberty is essential, it is also essential to human progress; for, when the liberty of the individual is completely circumscribed by force of law or custom, society stagnates. The Russian 'mir,' or village commune, furnishes one of the best illustrations of this truth. Except so far as outside influences have been brought to bear upon these prehistoric types of democratic government, they have remained unchanged for centuries, and the peasants who compose them live in a condition of degrading poverty to which hardly any parallel can be found elsewhere in the world. The best men cannot stand it. They escape from the tyranny of the commune to the relative freedom of Siberia; and there they establish farms of their own on the basis of individual property and individual enterprise. The Russian Government, perceiving the importance of this movement, has recently passed a Land Act providing for the creation of facilities for the peasantry to establish privately-owned farms in Russia itself. The movement, so far as it has gone, appears to have been a complete success; and a recent writer in the *Times* contrasts the hopefulness of these Russian peasants, working for themselves in the enjoyment of personal responsibility and personal liberty, with the condition from which they had escaped, which he thus describes:

The periodic re-allotments among the families have been conducted for years past as a village handicap, directed towards giving every man an equal chance and the land no chance at all. The result usually aimed at was that no family should reach a better position than its most unlucky or thriftless neighbours.

This description is worth quoting, because it illustrates a democratic attitude of mind which is not entirely absent from this country. Among English Trade Unionists there is a constant tendency to press for uniformity in wages; and, when a number of workmen are engaged on the same job, there is often considerable jealousy if one is paid at a higher rate than the others. The same mental attitude largely accounts for the opposition to piece-work and the 'premium bonus' system. It also explains the Trade Union rules limiting the amount of work which a man may do in a given time. There is an underlying desire to set the pace to suit the slowest, so that all may be equal.

This is a peculiarly vicious example of the democratic tendency to destroy liberty. For of all individual liberties none is more important, both for the individual himself and for the community of which he is a part, than the right of a man to use to the best advantage his abilities as a wealth-producer. If he is told that he must produce less wealth than he is capable of producing, and



willing to produce, not only does he suffer the loss of an advantage which he might have enjoyed, but the community loses the wealth which he would have contributed. In this case the evil is due not only to an insufficient respect for individual liberty, but also to a false view of economics. A considerable number of workmen think that they can increase the chances of employment for their fellows by doing less work themselves. The obvious answer is that, if this were true, each man would make still more employment for others by doing no work at all, till finally there would be employment for everybody when nobody worked.

The truth, of course, is that we are all employing one another, and the more we individually earn, the more employment do we necessarily give to other people; for, whether we spend our earnings or invest them, they equally create employment. To prevent the individual workman from earning as much as he can, not only injures him, but also injures working-men as a mass by diminishing the volume of employment. The mischief wrought by this combination of false morals and false economics furnishes the strongest possible argument for non-interference by the majority with the liberty of the individual. For in every community there will always be many people with extremely vague ideas of economic truth, and with a somewhat feeble sense of moral principle; and, if such people are allowed to exercise coercive power over their neighbours, the whole country will suffer. On the other hand, where the individual is left free to work in his own way for his own advantage, his activity will in general benefit the community as well as himself.

This argument implies that the institution of private property is maintained and respected; and one of the most serious aspects of the growing disregard for individual liberty is the constant tendency to limit the rights of private property by increasing the burden of taxation. For the effect of taxation is to deprive the taxpayer of the liberty to spend as he chooses the money which he has legally acquired. Some taxation is, of course, necessary to provide a revenue for the maintenance of those public services which the collective necessities of the community demand; but latterly taxation has gone far beyond the limits which this definition would impose, and a good many 'advanced' politicians openly advocate an entirely new use of the power of taxation. Socialists and so-called 'Social Reformers,' whether belonging to the Liberal or to the Tory camp, propose, on one plea or another, to increase progressively the taxation of the rich and well-to-do in order to secure a more equal distribution of wealth. That in some ways greater equality in the distribution of wealth is desirable may readily be admitted; but it is worth



while even on this point to note that the case for equality is exaggerated. Let me give a practical illustration. A friend of mine was recently engaged in trying to start a public company for the development of a certain industry in the West of England. The idea was taken up locally with some enthusiasm; and, in the early stages of the enterprise, he told me that he had plenty of offers from people who were willing to subscribe 50*l.* or 100*l.* 'But,' he added, 'those are not the people whose money I want. The enterprise is too risky to justify me in taking their money. If the thing is to succeed at all, it must be taken up by a few very rich men who are capable of looking into the whole matter themselves, and who are willing to drop 5000*l.* apiece if need be.'

That is a very important point of view. There can be little doubt that many of the most valuable industries in this country would never have been established if we had not been fortunate in possessing a considerable number of rich men, able and willing to risk large sums of money on new enterprises of a hazardous character. I lay stress upon this consideration, because to me it seems to prove that the present distribution of wealth is unsatisfactory, not because of the existence of a small number of rich men but because of the existence of a large number of poor men. The common Socialist theory is that the one phenomenon is the necessary counterpart of the other; and many people besides the Socialists seem to have a crude idea that the total wealth of the country is a fixed quantity, and that distribution is merely a matter of a division sum. That is absolutely false. The amount of wealth produced very largely depends on the motives that exist for wealth-production; and, if these motives are impaired, the total product will inevitably be reduced.

It is for this reason that all schemes for redistributing wealth upon any other basis than that of reward for exertion ought to be unhesitatingly rejected. Yet the proposals put forward by sentimental Radicals and by Tory Democrats under the plausible title of 'Social Reform,' and supported by the Socialists as steps towards Socialism, are all based upon the theory that it is the duty of the State to come to the assistance of the poor man. It is a very plausible proposition, but we have to ask whither it leads. If poor men are to be helped out of public funds simply because they are poor, poverty will become by itself a title to pecuniary reward; and the result will be that the main motive for industrial effort will disappear.

If poverty is to be rewarded, why should anybody work? It would be more profitable to remain poor. People are fond of saying that poverty is not a crime; but neither is it a title to



merit. No one urges that the community should look on callously while human beings starve. To save the destitute from the cruellest consequences with which Nature penalises destitution may safely be regarded in a civilised community as a public service; but, when we go beyond this and tell men that they have only to plead poverty in order to obtain a share of other people's property, then we are entering upon a course which can only end in a compulsory distribution of national wealth in equal shares among all the members of the nation. Such a system of distribution could only be maintained under a despotism more absolute than any of which the world has yet had experience. For, if we take away the main motive for industry, namely, the hope of pecuniary reward, it would become necessary—men being what they are—to drive a large portion of the population to its daily work under the ever-present threat, or use, of the lash. In a word, the destruction of private property means the establishment of slavery in its crudest form.

The best way, and in the final resort the only way, to diminish poverty and to advance prosperity is to continue to follow the path which has already led mankind to heights undreamt of in past ages. We have to remember that, though there is still much poverty in our midst, it is as nothing compared with the poverty which existed in earlier centuries. The institution of private property, steadily working through successive generations, has stimulated enterprise, encouraged effort, created and preserved capital, with the result that the comforts and enjoyments of civilised life, which in earlier ages were unattainable even by the few, are now within the reach of the vast majority of our people.

That much poverty still remains, and that it is often entirely undeserved, is no argument for sweeping away or impairing the strength of that wonderful institution of private property which has already effected so much for the advancement of mankind. What we have to ask ourselves is whether, while leaving this institution to continue automatically its beneficent work, we cannot supplement its action so as to help those who fall out by the way. My own conviction is that, if we wish to do this, we must appeal in the main to moral and not to political forces. We must teach that a responsibility rests upon the individual to use for the benefit of others as well as of himself the advantages which he possesses, whether they spring from personal ability or from inherited fortune. We have to teach that those positive laws which are necessary for the definition of individual rights are not alone sufficient for the guidance of men's actions.



Beyond and above the necessarily rigid code of positive law is a more elastic but ultimately more potent code based upon the instinct of human comradeship; and its function is not to enforce rights but to indicate duties. The principle of personal responsibility is the necessary counterpart of the principle of personal liberty. Both are essential to social progress and human happiness. We cannot hope to preserve the one if the other be destroyed. Unless a man has liberty to give effect to his own judgment, he speedily ceases to feel any sense of moral responsibility. The destruction of individual liberty involves also the destruction of that moral sense which makes social life possible. Probably most politicians would, without hesitation, give their assent to these general propositions; nevertheless they continue to pursue a course which leads directly towards the evils here indicated. The more the functions of the State are extended, the greater is the curtailment of individual liberty, the less is the power of the individual to resist collective tyranny. In practice even the majority soon ceases to have control over the organisation which it has itself created. People have their own work to attend to; they cannot afford to give more than a limited time to public duties. As a result, the control of governing bodies passes first into the hands of a minority of energetic persons, who may be well-intentioned, but who generally care more about the advancement of their own views than about the wishes of the people they govern. After a time even these enthusiasts find the task too heavy for them, and hand over to officials the duties they had hoped themselves to discharge.

This is true both of local government and of national government. Not only in the case of local government is there an ever-growing local bureaucracy, but the central bureaucracy exercises a superior power of control over the local authorities. The result is an ever-increasing number of officials. England is becoming more official-ridden even than France. No doubt many of our officials are men of very high character, zealous for their work and for their country; but they exercise power without responsibility, and from the sheltered seclusion of their official desks they give decisions which may affect the convenience and the happiness of thousands of human beings. The permanent official, whom we endow with these tremendous powers, has no super-human qualities. He cannot see through a brick wall; he cannot be in two places at once; he cannot understand the intricacies of a business which he has never studied. Yet his power is every day growing. Not only does he control almost the whole of the administrative work of the country, but he is responsible for the greater part of the legislation which passes through Parliament,



and has even begun to lay hands upon the work of the Courts of Law.

This last is one of the most dangerous tendencies of the present time. Act after Act has been passed in recent years transferring from the Courts of Law to the bureaucracy the duty of deciding important questions concerning private rights.

The seriousness of this transfer of jurisdiction can hardly be exaggerated. A trial in Court is open to all the world; and everybody is able to ascertain the reasons that determined the decision of the judge. But the examination of any question by the bureaucracy is carried on behind closed doors; and there is no obligation upon the official concerned to give any reason for the decision at which he arrives. He may in many cases act with the perfect fairness which we have learnt to expect from our judges; but he is subject to two important influences from which judges are free. In the first place, the cases he is called upon to decide generally concern previous action by his own department; and the spirit of departmental loyalty will necessarily bias his mind. In the second place, the cases which come before a Government department very often have a bearing upon current political controversies; and, in that event, the official has to take his orders from the Cabinet Minister at the head of the department. The decision is then frankly determined not by judicial but by political considerations, with the result that the interpretation of private rights finally depends upon the arbitrary will of the majority in the House of Commons.

How, then, are we to deal with these dangerous tendencies? In the first place, we must take care so to frame our machinery of government as to make it difficult for those who temporarily gain control of the machine to impose their personal fads upon the rest of the community. At the moment, indeed, this is an even greater danger than the general tendency of the people themselves to demand increased State control. For, as our governmental machine is now worked, it is possible for a well-organised group of persons to engineer through Parliament measures to which the assent of the nation has never been secured, and to use the whole power of the State to enforce these measures. This is possible at present because of the very limited power which the elector possesses. He is limited to a choice between two parties, each of which has a fairly extensive programme. He may not like the programme of either party, but he must support one of the two. When once he has given his vote, his whole power has gone; and, if the party which he may have helped to place in power chooses to interfere with his



liberty in a manner of which he disapproves, he has no practical redress.

The policy of each party is in practice dictated by small groups of people working behind the scenes. Their motives may be entirely honourable, though even of this there is no necessary guarantee; but, whatever their motives may be, these little groups exercise through the party machinery a power to dictate to the House of Commons, and through the House of Commons to the country. Under present conditions the House of Commons, which was once a model for the world, has ceased to be a deliberative assembly. The party prescribes the measures which the Government is to introduce. Those measures are sometimes fairly debated at their various stages, sometimes they are passed without debate by means of the closure; but in neither case can any effective change be made in them without the assent of the persons who control the party machinery. If, after five or six years, the country grows tired of the dominance of one party, the electors can enjoy the satisfaction of putting that party in a minority, but they will not recover their liberty. They will merely be exchanging one set of tyrants for another. The first step, therefore, towards securing liberty is so to amend our Constitution as to prevent this alternating tyranny; and the best method of accomplishing this object is to give to the electors themselves a power of veto over every important legislative proposal.

An incidental advantage of the introduction of this popular veto would be the creation of a greater sense of responsibility both in the House of Commons and in the Second Chamber. Members of Parliament now feel that they have no personal responsibility for the votes they give. Their whole duty is to obey the party whip. If, however, every important measure were liable to be submitted to a Referendum, members would hesitate to record their votes for measures which were unlikely to meet with popular approval. The House of Commons, in a word, would gain a large part of that authority which is now exclusively exercised by party caucuses.

Further than this, the experience of other countries has shown that the working of the Referendum is opposed to interference by the Government with the liberty of the individual. A small band of enthusiasts may, under our present system, demand a particular kind of interference—for example, compulsory closing of public-houses on Sunday; and this group may be successful in forcing its proposals upon one or other of the political parties. But, when the question comes to be put to the people as a whole, they will answer: 'No! We prefer to govern ourselves.' We



may safely assume that any proposal for widespread and arbitrary interference with the liberty of the masses of the people would be negatived if put to a popular vote; and for this reason the introduction of the Referendum would be by itself a most valuable safeguard against the present tendency to undue interference with individual liberty.

At the same time, it is of the utmost importance so to reform the constitution both of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords as to secure a better discussion of legislative proposals than is possible under present conditions. So long as each elector has only the possibility of choosing between two rival candidates, the tendency will be for political forces to divide themselves into two hostile camps; and each camp will fight for its own hand with only a secondary regard for the interests of the country.

To destroy this purely artificial method of carrying on the business of the country, it is desirable to substitute large constituencies for the single-member constituencies which are now the rule, and to give the electors, by means of the transferable vote, a wider range of choice than is possible under the present system. Men could then be returned to Parliament without being compelled in advance to subscribe to all the tenets, present and future, of a party creed. A new element of independence would be introduced into the House of Commons; and that House would once again obtain the power of deliberating effectively upon schemes of legislation. As a further safeguard, it is of the highest importance that the Second Chamber should be so reformed as to enable it to exercise independent authority, subject always to the provision that in the ultimate resort the will of the people themselves, as ascertained by a Referendum, must prevail.

These improvements in the machinery of government would give the nation far more complete control over its own affairs than it now possesses, and would remove some of the worst evils from which we now suffer. But changes in machinery will count for little unless the people themselves see clearly the necessity for so limiting their own collective action as not to interfere with individual liberty, except where the essentials of social life are at stake. What those essentials are cannot be specified in advance. Directly men begin to live together, they must have some rules of conduct to guide them in their dealings with one another; and, as life grows more complex, so admittedly does the necessity for more complex regulations arise. The point which we have to press is that, in framing any regulations which the needs of the community may require, the mind of the people should always



be fixed on the importance of curtailing liberty as little as possible, and of trusting rather to moral suasion than to coercive laws. Democracy is already omnipotent ; it has yet to learn how to curb its own strength. This is a difficult lesson to learn ; and it may be that our country will have to pass through many painful experiences before the mass of the people understand that there is nothing they can gain by the exercise of arbitrary power one-half so precious as the liberty they will lose.

HAROLD COX.



## *GERMAN POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY*

OUR relations with Germany are sure to be serious and important for many years to come; and they may be critical. They will need to be studied from many points of view. We have had a fresh illustration of the urgent need of this in the significant speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George before a company of bankers and City merchants on the 21st of July of the present year. From this speech we learned with extreme surprise and regret that our relations with Germany had been going through a dark phase in connexion with the question in Morocco. Mr. George used serious language. 'If,' he said, 'a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated, where her interests are vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ourselves to endure.' National honour is no party question. The security of our great international trade is no party question.' On the 27th of the same month Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour made speeches of a like serious tone in the House of Commons. The present writer firmly believes that with a reasonable measure of knowledge, sympathy, and insight there is no ground for strained relations with Germany about Morocco or any other question. Germany has at her door heavy tasks, which will claim her mind and energy for a long time to come. On the east she is confronted with an empire which, according to the last census, has a population of 160,000,000. The future of Austria and South-Eastern Europe is dark and uncertain. Her relations with France must remain doubtful. A quarrel with England, unless it were forced upon her, we may be sure, does not form part of her programme. The risks would be too great compared with the probable or possible gains. In fact, war between Great Britain and Germany would mean incalculable harm to both Powers and no lasting good of any kind to either. If our obligations to France expose us to such a risk, the sooner



they are modified the better, consistently with good faith. We are not bound, let us hope, to support her in an adventurous policy in Morocco. Our business with Germany, whether as regards colonial questions or questions of the Near East, can be arranged in a spirit of mutual goodwill.

In view of all these considerations it is very important that we should know what German policy really is. The present article, as its title shows, is an attempt to answer the question in the light of history.

For about two and a half centuries we can trace a remarkable continuity, consistency, and tenacity in the career of Prussia. The policy of Prussia has become the policy of united Germany.

At a time when the policy of Germany is being so much discussed, and when feelings of doubt, suspicion, and alarm are so frequently expressed regarding it, we should be anxious to see things as they have been and are. Such an inquiry should be the more instructive, as the German system is so different from our own, and has been strong and successful in the very points where our own has been weak.

We can see many reasons which make it hard for an average Englishman to understand the position and the mind of Germany. Though Englishmen and Germans have come of a common stock, the circumstances and the development of the two peoples have been strangely different since they parted long ago. England has been protected by her insular position from the worst consequences of war. She has been a united country for many centuries. For centuries she has not seen an invading army in her midst. Her internal development has gone forward according to the genius of her people and according to the light that was given them without interference from abroad. At home, on the seas, and in the Colonies we have enjoyed a plenitude of opportunity that has not been given to any other people. In our social and political thinking we have long taken for granted, and in our practice we have long carelessly enjoyed or abused, great privileges which many other nations have only begun to appreciate.

With Germany it has been entirely different. Germany is an extensive country in Central Europe, which has had no very clearly defined boundaries. The political structure of the country was loose and incoherent. Disunion was a prevailing note of her history for centuries, and the results were awful. Disunion gave continual opportunity and encouragement to interference and aggression on the part of her neighbours. For centuries a divided Germany formed a large and permanent part of the political system of Europe, on which France particularly depended for the maintenance of her ascendancy. Constant interference from abroad, invasion, exaction, provocation and devastation—such



was the record of Germany in her relations with other peoples. These calamities culminated in the Thirty Years' War, in the long wars of aggression of Louis the Fourteenth and his successor, and in the insolent domination of Napoleon.

During this long period the internal development of Germany was hindered and almost brought to a standstill. Her industrial growth, which had at one time been most promising, was arrested. Her sea-coasts being for the most part occupied by foreign Powers, she had little opportunity for commerce. While the nations of Western Europe were struggling for the possession of America, India, and other fields of colonisation and conquest beyond the seas, Germany had neither power nor scope to do anything in that way. Germany was neither a State nor a nation to claim a corporate part in the world's affairs.

So different has been the history of Germany from that of England. Englishmen can understand the past circumstances of Germany only by a serious effort of the historical imagination. Few of us have taken the trouble or shown the capacity necessary for such an effort. Yet without adequate knowledge of her past circumstances it is impossible to understand her present position. Very few indeed are the Englishmen who have the knowledge, insight and sympathy requisite to understand the historic past of Germany, to appreciate the intensity of feeling, the high and serious purpose, the resolution and energy with which she at last set about the task of recovering her unity and independence.

The unity of Germany was restored by the Prussian Army in three wars from 1864 to 1871. And it is here that we encounter the worst difficulty Englishmen have in understanding Germany. Prussia may be said to have made the Germany with which we now have to deal; Germany, as understood by not a few people, is Prussia, and Prussia has stood for many things which Englishmen do not love or admire. Prussia was an autocracy in which there was little scope for freedom. It was a State in which everything was subordinated to military discipline and to the rigid economy necessary for the support of the army. It was in the most rigorous sense a military State, in which the will of a single man was supreme in every department. Being a military autocracy, rigid in government, organisation, and discipline, it has, naturally, as many Englishmen believe, grown great by aggression.

Most Englishmen know Prussia, if they know it at all, from the brilliant caricature of the early Prussian monarchy in Macaulay's essay on *Frederick the Great*. The real and vital points in the development of Prussia cannot be learned from such a caricature. We cannot really understand Prussia unless we understand the circumstances in which she was placed. Let us remember that she was originally a small and poor State in north-



eastern Germany. Even when Frederick ascended the throne in 1740 her population amounted to only 2,240,000. The soil for the most part consisted of sand and peat. North Germany is a plain, with a very slight slope towards the north. As her superfluous rainfall, therefore, does not find an easy or rapid course to the sea, it tends to form bog and swamp and small lake, and the most fertile parts were thereby rendered useless and unhealthy. The climate was harsh. In such a country agriculture could be made profitable only by laborious and well-directed industry. Manufactures were in their infancy. The country had no special advantages for commerce.

The political situation of the country was no better. It had no natural frontiers, and it had three neighbours of overwhelming power and resources, France, Russia and Austria. It had also to reckon with Sweden and Poland.

Such was the situation, natural and historical, of Prussia. The task before her was how to make the best of small means and of a very unpromising position. This task was solved by the capacity, energy and resolution of her rulers.

It is agreed that the rise of Prussia began with the Great Elector who ruled from 1640 to 1688. He found his land and people ruined by the Thirty Years' War, and as he succeeded to a weak and impoverished Government, he had no means to help them. The recovery therefore was slow. One of his first cares was gradually to raise funds enough to support an army which would insure the safety of his people and command the respect of his neighbours. His energy, sagacity and high character were invaluable to Prussia at a most trying time. In the latter part of his long reign he welcomed to his dominions nearly 20,000 Protestant refugees from France, who contributed largely to their progress in the arts and sciences. The foundations of the Prussian system were well and truly laid by his grandson Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, from 1713 to 1740.

At his death in 1740 Frederick William left an army of 80,000, a number which was entirely out of proportion to the population of his kingdom, which, as we have said, was only 2,240,000. In training and equipment it was the first army in the world at that time. But this army represented merely one side of the king's activity. He was himself a model of hard work and frugality, carried to excess at a period when extravagance and profligacy were too common among rulers. He strove to make his kingdom after his own pattern, a model of laborious industry and rigorous frugality. Prussia was mainly an agricultural country, in which the peasantry constituted the rank and file of the army, while the land-owning noble class supplied the officers. The peasantry were serfs—the nobles formed a special caste.



Frederick William energetically promoted agriculture, and he carefully fostered such industries as were practicable. The people of the towns, as being particularly valuable for industry, were exempt from military service. During his reign he was the watchful and consistent champion of Protestantism in Germany and of justice in Prussia, but, above all, he was the disciplinarian of his people in the arts both of war and peace.

Under such a ruler there was obviously little room for freedom. Prussia was the creation of rigid discipline and hard work. But with all his failings and eccentricities Frederick William had a high and serious purpose, which he clearly kept in view and resolutely carried out.

Englishmen who have been saved from European dangers by the English Channel, Americans who have been freed from European entanglements by the whole width of the Atlantic Ocean, can hardly understand how essential a strong army has been to a country like Prussia. As we have said, she had no natural frontiers and she had no great natural resources. These elements of weakness, however, proved to be a most powerful stimulus to the high intelligence and strenuous character of her rulers and her people. Through circumstances which would have been depressing and even ruinous to feeble men, she has risen to greatness.

Frederick the Great inherited a well-organised government, a well-filled treasury, and the best army in the world. He had the genius and energy to use them effectively. Prussia grew in his hands and attained a foremost place among the States of the Continent. It is not our concern here to defend all that he did. The political morality of his time was low. Fraud and force had long been too prevalent in the affairs of nations, and were to continue to be. He worked under the limitations of his time and of his character, which was not perfect. But there can be no doubt that he was an enlightened, energetic and patriotic ruler. He was what he claimed to be, the first servant of the State, the advocate of the poor. The world has known Frederick chiefly as a great general. War occupied only about one-fifth of his reign. It would be truer and more profitable to regard him as a great economist and administrator.

The main point for us to remember here is that Prussia under the House of Hohenzollern has won on her merits; she has risen to greatness because she deserved it. She has seen times of slackness and extravagance. The House of Hohenzollern has not always maintained its own high standard of energy, economy and enlightened devotion to the State. But few countries have had so long a period of able rule as Prussia enjoyed from 1640 to 1786, when Frederick died. It was particularly the very strenuous time, nearly three-quarters of a century, from 1713 to 1786, which



saw the rise and consolidation of Prussia as a Power of the first rank.

The three reigns which cover the ensuing three-fourths of a century, from 1786 to 1861, were quieter and less strenuous. But the Hohenzollern traditions of hard work, of careful promotion of the industrial development of the State, and of care for the army, were never lost even in the worst times. Experience of the bitterest kind under the domination of Napoleon showed more clearly than ever the need for an efficient military system. The new birth of Germany may well be dated from the agony of Jena. In that supreme crisis Prussia learned patience, circumspection and insight. She learned the need of reform in every department of the State, in education and in her social and political organisation, as well as in her military system. And so an event which seemed to be overwhelming ruin proved for her to be a call to a higher life.

Thus in Prussia we see a State which was so situated that a strong army was an imperative necessity. To maintain such an army her poor resources needed to be fostered and husbanded to the very uttermost. Her rulers had the insight to see this primary need, and the strong will to adapt themselves and their country to it. The first duty of self-preservation demanded it. But as time went on a nobler aim disclosed itself. The force which was at first meant for self-preservation and self-respect could be used also for the restoration of German unity and independence. It has been the high historic mission of the Prussian Army to heal the divisions and end the misfortunes of Germany.

For a century after the awful catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War the estate of Germany had been exceeding low. The common people had fallen into the deepest misery and apathy. Too many of her princes aped the Court of Louis the Fourteenth in a style of awkward and brutal profligacy. The period which came after 1750 saw a great revival of German intelligence. Her sons took the foremost place in poetry, philosophy and in historical research. The victories of Frederick showed what German skill, valour and discipline could achieve under the utmost stress of war. The civic and military reforms which followed the collapse of Prussia at Jena bore fruit in the terrible struggle of the War of Liberation in 1813. In the great final struggle against Napoleon Prussia bore the heaviest burden.

But in spite of all these achievements there was no German nation to claim them. There were States in Germany in plenty, but there was no German State. This State came into existence in 1871, as the new German Empire. In this achievement Prussia had its culmination and its close as a separate State. Germany has won, not only a national life, but a full national life. To the



old pre-eminence of her sons in poetry, philosophy and research she has added new distinctions in war and politics, in industry, scientific discovery and social reform. In all the great departments of national life Germany may claim a foremost place among the nations. If generally we compare the achievements of Germans with other peoples, we may fairly assign to the men of the Fatherland the foremost place during the last century and a half.

During the nineteenth century Germany has had two most worthy tasks to perform : to recover her unity and independence and to win a fitting place among the nations. If we study her history in the light of those two tasks we shall find it intelligible and most honourable. The recovery of German unity was a most rational and beneficent revolution, accomplished by the operations of high moral and national forces. It was an event which must be judged as a revolution, and not by the ordinary lights of the routine of politics.

If we are to understand Prussia and Germany, there are certain points which require special attention. Let us try, even at the risk of repetition, to make them clear. Our difficulties in understanding Prussia may be summed up in two chief points : it is a military State and its Government is an autocracy, and these two points are really identical, for the one naturally suggests and even includes the other. An autocracy naturally rests on the army ; the military State usually has a single head. Prussia has undoubtedly been a military State controlled by an autocracy ; and such a State so controlled, it may be said, usually lends itself to aggression.

But we must remember that such abstract propositions as the above express only a small part of the truth. We have seen that Prussia became a military State not from choice, but from necessity, and we should also recollect that history shows many variations in the so-called military type of State. There have been military States with which it would be the grossest calumny to identify or compare Prussia in any kind of way. There have been lapses in the career of Prussia ; but in general it has maintained a high standard of intelligence and of moral purpose. If its Government has been an autocracy, it has been served and even guided and controlled by serious and enlightened advisers.

It would be just as true to call it an industrial as a military State. In the policy of the Hohenzollerns we see a sustained and systematic effort to develop the economic resources of the country. If they have been soldiers they have also been economists and administrators, prompt and resolute to direct and help the industrial development of the country. From our point of view they may have made mistakes in so doing, but there can be no doubt that



their efforts have been serious, consistent and well-intentioned. We must never forget that Prussia was naturally a very poor country. Its rulers and people have made the most of it by intelligent and assiduous culture. Under the direction of her rulers sandy wastes and moors were made to bear decent harvests. Swamps and quagmires were drained, rivers were embanked, canals were dug. On the lands thus reclaimed and made accessible colonies of thriving and industrious peasant-farmers were settled. Building of suitable houses and the making of good roads were urged on. The gift of a good house was not an unusual mark of Royal favour to a deserving subject. Order, justice and education have been a first care of the Prussian rulers. Minute and careful personal inspection of their domains was a part of their administrative policy, to which they attended as carefully as to the reviewing of their troops.

Such a system may be best known by its fruits. Seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has a State been subjected to so severe a test as Prussia was during the Seven Years' War. How marvellously it stood the test is well known. But the soundness and excellence of the Prussian system were even better shown by the rapidity with which it recovered from the effects of the war. Whole regions had been devastated, houses had been burned down, horses and cattle killed or driven away. Even corn in many districts was wanting, to provide food and to sow the fields. Half a million people, or one-ninth of the whole population, a large proportion of whom naturally were adult males, had perished during the war. The situation was not hopeful. Yet in six or seven years the ruin had been repaired. People and Government combined in this beneficent work. Sixty thousand army horses were distributed for use among the most needy farmers. Most of the funds which Frederick had provided for an eighth campaign were used to build houses, to buy corn for food and for sowing, and to procure other needful appliances. As we have said, Prussia recovered in a marvellously short time from the evil effects of a most exhausting and desolating war.

To many minds a military State suggests a predatory State. Such a suggestion is intolerable with regard to Prussia. Industry has been the note of the Prussian State throughout its history, industry ceaseless, thrifty, well-directed and victorious under adverse conditions of soil and climate. War was, generally speaking, a most unwelcome incident to her rulers. Military training was an imperative necessity. The true and constant vocation of the State was rational industry, in which Government and people combined to convert a waste and barren land into a well-ordered and well-equipped country.

Prussia soon became notable as a well-ordered and well-



equipped State. To the seeing eye its good roads and water-ways, the excellent buildings, public and private, of its towns, the thriving and industrious population, both in town and country, marked it out as a progressive country with a most promising future. When it began to take a high rank among the nations, Prussia had equal justice, a good system of education, an energetic and frugal Administration, which was provided with a substantial hoard of ready cash, and a large army which was always ready to march at a fortnight's notice, completely equipped in every detail. In most of these points Prussia showed a striking contrast to its neighbours in Germany and beyond it. Is it a marvel that such a State was rewarded with success? The marvel would have been if it had not succeeded. In short, Prussia was a frugal, hard-working, well-ordered, well-equipped and efficient State when its neighbours in varying degrees were slack, backward, ill-governed, anarchic. The success of Prussia is the simple result of the laws of moral causation, the operation of which in history the candid inquirer is anxious to trace and glad to find.

With regard to the German Army, it should be noted that it forms an integral part of the nation. It is the able-bodied nation trained, equipped, and organised for self-defence. It is the training school of the national physique, a school of patriotism and of civic virtue, as well as of military skill and intelligence. The aim of the army is self-preservation in the widest sense, to maintain the self-respect, the rights and interests of the German people. Service is a civic and patriotic obligation laid on all able-bodied men. We need not wonder, therefore, that the army holds a high place in the mind and heart and daily life of the German people. Nor need we stop to point the contrast to our own army, which finds such a place in the hearts of our people only when a great crisis rouses national feeling to an unusual height.

The new Germany was born in 1871. Before that time the Germans, as we have seen, had won a foremost place in literature and art, in historical and scientific research. Prussia had gained the foremost place in the art of war. By 1871 her economic development on modern lines had begun, but it was not yet sufficient to give her a foremost place among the nations. To her industrial and commercial development Germany has brought the same qualities of science, system, thoroughness and tenacity which had ensured success in other departments. Before the close of the nineteenth century Germany had attained to the highest position as a fully and completely developed modern State. In all the arts of war and peace she was second to none. When we compare her present circumstances with the unspeakable burden



of calamity which she bore at the close of the 'Thirty Years' War, or even with her position in 1850 after the failures of the revolutionary period of '48, we may excuse the German of to-day if he have a feeling of honourable pride in the high place which his country now holds. It is a place which is well deserved, which has been won by the most sterling qualities of mind and heart against the most formidable obstacles, internal and external. For be it remembered that the most serious difficulties in the way of German progress in unity, independence, and in the realisation of the most precious blessings of national life have been found in Germany itself. To have cleared away the mass of futility, confusion and obstruction that formerly afflicted Germany, in face of so much prejudice, imbecility, and selfishness, was no mean achievement. In such a change we must say emphatically that the best elements of the nation found triumphant expression.

Let us hope that the better elements will prevail in the future. We can see that Prussia survived and has prevailed because she proved herself the fittest. In her career we see the triumph of sustained energy, rationally and systematically directed towards serious and worthy ends. As the one fixed point of orderly progress in North Germany, she was bound to gather round herself into some kind of system the confused and feeble elements that existed there. It has been the victory of character, of the disciplined mind and will, over unfavourable conditions. It has been a great and successful system ; but it is not perfect. No system can be perfect which does not give due scope to freedom. Even as an instrument of success in the highest form it is imperfect, inasmuch as it tends to foster routine, to discourage initiative, and the genial expansion of the individual mind and character. So far as organisation tends to the development of the mere machine it signally fails. The awful experience of Jena is a sufficient warning as to the inefficiency of the machine when the directing and moving power is defective.

In England we suffer from the opposite extreme. England and the Empire are to an eminent degree the product of free expansion, of free energy, enterprise and adventure. Government with us has not been the all-controlling factor that it has been in Prussia. On the contrary, it has too often allowed things to take their course when control was morally necessary and would have been practically beneficent. In all departments of our national and imperial life we suffer from the want of wise direction and organisation. Insight into real conditions, the skilled prevision and direction that are based on insight, have been and still are seriously wanting.

For the attainment of the highest forms of society we require the combination of organisation and freedom. We require an



organisation which will give due scope and opportunity for the free play of the individual mind and will. It has been character above all other things which has carried Prussia to a foremost place among the nations. But this character must, from the point of view of the highest modern culture, be regarded as too much the product of the drill-sergeant. The highest character is the result and the accompaniment of the moral discipline which the fully-trained man imposes on himself. Germany under Prussian guidance has won, as it deserved, a foremost place among the nations. It has the means for maintaining such a fitting place. Let us hope that Prussia will henceforth be merged in a Germany in which there will be less need for military discipline, and a widening scope for the free voluntary discipline which secures the highest national character and culture. Hard pressure of circumstance long made it necessary for Prussia to maintain a severe discipline and a rigid social and political organisation. It would be disastrous to the highest human progress if these were continued under the happy conditions in which Germany is now placed.

It is admitted that Germany and England have learned much from each other in past times. The notable differences in their past and in their present political and social organisation, instead of being a ground of estrangement, should be a stimulus to their mutual progress. In Germany there are many features which should awaken reflection, emulation, and even imitation over here. Our chief concern is to do our part in our own sphere of duty and interest. We should be ready to learn from Germany. It is the best-organised country in the world. The study of a system so different from ours should teach us not only to understand Germany but to improve our own methods.

The record of the subjection by warlike nations of industrial peoples who neglected military training, who were excessively devoted to sport and pleasure, or were given up to sloth and slackness, forms a very painful section of history. We cannot be sure that this melancholy chapter in human affairs is ended. Germany has shown us how to end it. The true vocation of Prussia and of Germany under her guidance has been enlightened industry. The pursuit of industry, and of the knowledge by which industry may be wisely directed, has made modern Germany. But she has not neglected the military training by which the results of enlightened industry need to be safeguarded.

There is therefore no mystery or dubiety about the policy of Germany. It is the policy which has been pursued by the House of Hohenzollern since the Great Elector began to rule in 1640, the rational and systematic promotion of the interests of the State. Tested and approved in a small way for many years, it has grown till we now see it exercised on the largest scale in the high affairs



of imperial and world politics. The German Fleet and Army are intended simply to be the instruments of such a policy. We surely need not take the trouble to point out how different such a policy is from that of Louis the Fourteenth or Napoleon, with its fatal mixture of vanity, of the love of 'glory,' and of the ambition which, by its excess, brings about its own chastisement and ruin. Such a policy as that of Germany makes her a more serious rival than France ever was. But if we understand it rightly, it also gives us the assurance that we may easily be the most cordial friends on reasonable terms. The fact that Germany has had the strongest army in the world for forty years and has not waged a single war should alone dispel the fears that are by some entertained regarding her policy.

What present use can we make of this appeal to history? Our first duty is to clear our minds of the absurd and pernicious idea that the wars of 1864-71 were wars of vulgar aggression. They were waged to secure unity and independence and all the thousand blessings implied in unity and independence for a great people that had for centuries endured the worst evils of disunion and of foreign interference and domination.

Germany, as we have seen, has an exceptionally difficult position to maintain in Central Europe. She has a population of 65,000,000, which is increasing at the rate of about a million a year. She therefore does not suffer from the evils of a slow or arrested development. But she needs room for expansion, as an organism with a high vitality like hers must do. She has sought it overseas, not very successfully. For she came too late to have her share in the times of great colonial expansion, especially in the Temperate zones. But there remained Africa. The map of Africa at the present day shows that of the four Powers chiefly concerned, Great Britain, France, Belgium and herself, she has fared worst by far. We need not wonder at her persistency about Morocco, which may be regarded as the last field for colonial enterprise that is still to be appropriated. In these matters I think it was our duty and our interest, rightly understood, to be friendly, sympathetic and even generous towards Germany, and we have not so been. It does appear that our rulers have not really understood the past history or present position of Germany. Whether it has been prejudice, ignorance, or merely a desire always to have the best of a bargain, or a confused mixture of all three, one cannot easily determine. But the result has come home to us in swollen armaments, in strained relations, and in the insane talk of war.

Germany has also sought expansion towards the Far South-East; the railway to Bagdad under her auspices will probably restore culture and prosperity to ancient seats of civilisation which for centuries have lain waste. We are justified in saying that she



has taken Turkey under friendly guidance and protection. This is the best available solution of the great problem of the Near East. We should have raised no objection to it, but should rather have furthered it in every reasonable way. It is still not too late to adopt a perfectly frank and friendly policy in this matter. The influence of Germany in those important regions should tend to promote the economic development of Turkey, to turn the minds of the Moslems to the pursuits of industry, to encourage peace among the various races constituting her population, and to raise a barrier against the excessive advance of Russia. Above all things, it should be our aim in the future not to create or leave the impression in the German mind that a main object of British policy is to thwart the Fatherland in peaceful and legitimate efforts to secure the expansion which a great and growing people need.

T. KIRKUP.



1911

*THE LABOUR REVOLT AND ITS MEANING*

DURING several weeks the people in many of the busy harbour towns and of the industrial centres of Great Britain have lived under war conditions. They have lived under conditions which would prevail during a blockade of these islands or in time of siege. Docks and markets have been deserted, factories empty and railway stations closed to traffic. Mobs of desperate and starving men and women, clamouring for food, and ready to loot, burn and kill, have thronged the streets of Liverpool and other towns. We have seen special constables and large bodies of armed soldiers guarding property on land, and armed cruisers and picket-boats protecting the shipping in the commercial ports. Arson, riots and sanguinary encounters with the police and the military have occurred in many parts of the kingdom. We have been given a foretaste of the first consequences of a disastrous defeat of our fleet in the shape of dearth, famine, riot and civil war. At first sight it all seems like a bad dream. It seems incomprehensible that such scenes of primitive savagery should have been enacted by stolid men in peaceful England, that strikes unprecedented in violence and magnitude should have broken out at a time when, as we have been officially informed, our foreign trade is booming and beating all records, and when, at least on paper, the prosperity of the country is unprecedented. Shallow observers have attributed the unparalleled outbreaks and the excesses which accompanied them to an aberration of mind of the masses caused by the extreme heat, but those who are acquainted with the British labour conditions know that their causes lie elsewhere. Only a truce, but not a peace, has been concluded between Capital and Labour. The labour war may be renewed at any moment. Therefore, it behoves us to inquire into the causes and the consequences of the present strike epidemic, into the forces and the aims of the men who are directing it and into the means for preventing in the future scenes similar to those which we have recently witnessed.

During many years our Free Traders have been telling us that, owing to the blessings of Free Trade, the British workers enjoy simultaneously the highest wages and the lowest cost of living,



that they are the most prosperous and the happiest workers in the world, the envy of the workers of the universe, and they have bidden our workers pity the overworked and underpaid workers of other lands, who 'groan' under the crushing burden of Protection. Only a short time ago our leading Free Traders and Free Trade organs told us that the great strikes in France and elsewhere were 'revolts against Protection,' and that similar outbreaks were impossible under Free Trade. In support of their assertions that the British workers are the most prosperous workers in the world our Free Traders constantly quote our Board of Trade statistics, from which it appears indeed that British wages range from 35s. to 45s. per man per week. These official wage-figures are quite correct, but, unfortunately, they are only nominal wages which are paid for a full week's work to but a few favoured trade unionists. Of the manual workers in Great Britain only about one-seventh are trade unionists, and the Board of Trade gives in its various statistical publications mainly the wages of the best-paid among them. Of the wages paid to the unskilled, unorganised and casually employed workers, who form the vast majority of our workers, the Board of Trade, which might be called the Board of Trade Unions because it draws its officials largely from the trade unions, and seems mainly employed in promoting the interest and policy of trade unionists, takes very little notice. The ideal of Free Trade is cheapness for the benefit of the consumer. The principal cost of all goods consists in the wages paid in their production. To obtain the cheapness of commodities wages must be kept low. As our manufacturers can sell their wares only in free competition with foreign manufacturers, Free Trade tends to keep British wages low. It tends to keep British wages on, or below, the level of wages paid in those foreign countries which are able to compete effectively with Great Britain in both the home market and in neutral markets. Thus Free Trade depresses not only wages affected by international competition, but the general level of wages in Great Britain. In the words of that eminent Free Trader, Lord Brassey : 'The rate of wages in England is limited by the necessity of competition with foreign manufacturers. Employers in England, as elsewhere, only employ labour on the assumption that they can realise a profit by their business.'

The fact that British wages are not only low but are scandalously low in both the skilled and unskilled occupations is apparent from a number of volumes entitled *Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour*, published as recently as 1909 and 1910. An analysis of these bulky volumes shows that in the years 1906 and 1907, when the investigation was



made, the earnings of almost 6,000,000 of British workers engaged in some of our large industries were as follows :

*Average Wages paid in 1906-7 during a Week in Full Employment.*

1,171,216 workers in the textile trades earn . . . . .	17s. 6d. per week
1,509,876 workers in the clothing trades earn : . . . .	15s. 1d. „
1,250,000 workers in the building and woodworking earn . . . .	26s. 7d. „
268,438 workers in the public utilities earn . . . . .	27s. 3d. „
621,341 railway workers earn . . . . .	25s. „
956,185 agricultural labourers earn, including all allow- ances in kind . . . . .	9s. 3d. to 20s. 9d. „
5,777,056 workers earn from . . . . .	9s. 3d. to 27s. 3d. per week

The assertion that the wages of the British workers range from 35s. to 45s. per week is untrue. In the important trades enumerated they range from 9s. 3d. to 27s. 3d. per week, not allowing for short time and unemployment, and if we allow for these the foregoing wages will be reduced by 10 per cent., or by from 1s. to 3s. per week.

The wages paid in the textile and clothing trades are those of men, women and children. Let us now examine the wages of grown-up men only. According to the official sources quoted men's wages were in 1906-7 as follows :

*Wages of Working Men (exclusive of Lads and Boys).*

482,000 men in the textile trades earn . . . . .	28s. 1d. per week
414,211 men in the clothing trades earn . . . . .	30s. 2d. „
1,200,000 men in the building and woodworking earn . . . . .	32s. „
268,438 men in the public utilities earn . . . . .	28s. 1d. „
621,341 railway workers earn . . . . .	25s. „
956,185 agricultural labourers earn, including all allow- ances in kind . . . . .	9s. 3d. to 20s. 9d. „
3,942,175	

The wages of almost four million full-grown British men in the occupations enumerated are from 9s. 3d. to 32s. per week for full employment. Allowing for short time and unemployment they are at most from 8s. 6d. to 30s. per week.

Even in the most skilled and most highly paid British trades the very numerous unskilled workers are wretchedly remunerated. The skilled workers in the engineering trades, for instance, are among the most highly paid workers in Great Britain. Yet, according to a Board of Trade Report published in 1908, the weekly wages of the unskilled labourers in the engineering trades are only as follows :

In Blackburn . . . . .	19s.	In Sheffield . . . . .	20s. to 24s.
In Bolton . . . . .	18s. to 20s.	In Taunton . . . . .	18s. to 20s.
In Bradford . . . . .	22s. to 24s.	In Wigan . . . . .	18s. to 20s.
In Derby . . . . .	18s. to 19s.	In Edinburgh . . . . .	19s. to 20s.
In Leicester . . . . .	18s. to 22s.	In Glasgow . . . . .	18s.
In London . . . . .	24s.	In Belfast . . . . .	15s. to 18s.
In Manchester . . . . .	18s. to 22s.		



From the foregoing pitifully low wages, which come on an average to only about 19s. per week, about 2s. has to be deducted on account of unemployment, which reduces them to 17s. per week.

All the extremely low wages given so far are the wages paid in the more skilled and better employed occupations. They exclude the millions of porters, carters, dockers and nondescript 'general labourers' who make a living largely by doing casual work.

Now the question arises: What is the minimum wage on which a worker can support himself and his family? The minimum cost of subsistence depends evidently not only on the wage but also on good management on the part of husband and wife and on the size of the family. Mr. B. S. Rowntree made in his book, *Poverty*, published in 1901, a most searching and careful investigation into the labour conditions prevailing in the town of York. He calculated that the minimum cost of subsistence for an average family—that is, a family of two adults and three children—on food inferior to that supplied to able-bodied paupers in York Workhouse was then 21s. 8d. It is worth noting that the minimum cost of living, as established by Mr. Rowntree, allows nothing at all for luxuries such as beer and tobacco, amusements, recreation, newspapers, railway and tram fares, postage stamps, etc. It allows only for the minimum of food, clothing and shelter. Mr. Rowntree's book is ten years old, and as, during the last ten years, the cost of living has considerably risen, the minimum cost of mere physical subsistence for a family of five should now be approximately 24s. It appears, therefore, that the *nominal* wages of the 3,942,175 skilled and grown-up male workers given in the foregoing are partly slightly above and partly somewhat below the minimum cost of mere bodily subsistence. Their *real* wages—that is, their wages as reduced by short time and unemployment—would be pretty generally on, or below, the minimum of subsistence. The majority of our workers evidently live on the border-line; that is, in, or at least within grasp of, poverty and want.

Several prominent and conscientious sociologists have published estimates of the extent of poverty prevailing in representative towns of the United Kingdom. The Right Hon. Charles Booth, who investigated during many years the labour conditions of London, found that 30.7 per cent. of its inhabitants were living in poverty. Mr. Rowntree wrote in his book, *Poverty*, regarding the City of York:

Allowing for broken time, the average wage for labour in York is from 18s. to 21s.; whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is



21s. 8d., or, if there are four children, the sum required would be 26s. It is thus seen that the wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency. The above estimates of necessary minimum expenditure are based upon the assumption that the diet is even less generous than that allowed to able-bodied paupers in the York Workhouse, and that no allowance is made for any expenditure other than that absolutely required for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. 27.84 per cent. of the people of York are living in poverty.

The italics are in the original. Lady Bell, who made an investigation into the labour conditions prevailing among the workers in the important iron centre of Middlesbrough, wrote in her book, *At the Works* :

Out of nine hundred houses carefully investigated one hundred and twenty-five in round numbers were found to be absolutely poor. The people living in them never have enough to spend on food to keep themselves sufficiently nourished, enough to spend on clothes to protect their bodies adequately, enough to spend on their houses to acquire a moderate degree of comfort. One hundred and seventy-five more were so near the poverty line that they are constantly passing over it. That is, the life of one-third of these workers whom we are considering is an unending struggle from day to day to keep abreast of the most ordinary, the simplest, the essential needs.

The three independent investigations of Mr. Booth, Mr. Rowntree, and Lady Bell made in three different centres strangely confirm each other. All three show that about 30 per cent. of the people are living in poverty. Evidently the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman stated not without cause : 'There are about 30 per cent. of our population underpaid, on the verge of hunger.' Thirty per cent. of the population is equal to about 45 per cent. of the wage-earners. Apparently nearly one-half of our workers live in actual poverty. Mr. Sidney Webb stated before the Conference of the National Anti-Sweating League in 1907 : 'In the United Kingdom at least 8,000,000 of the people are at the present time existing under conditions represented by adult male earnings of less than 1l. per week.' Messrs. Cadbury and Shann wrote in their book, *Sweating* :

The average wage of an unskilled labourer in this country is from 17s. 6d. to 1l. per week, so that, even with regular work, such a man cannot keep himself and his family above the poverty line. And very few unskilled labourers get regular work. Generally in the United Kingdom an unskilled labourer does not obtain a wage to enable him to keep himself and family in a state of efficiency—that is, he is a sweated worker.

Workers who receive merely a 'living wage' cannot save money towards their old age. Hence pauperism is terribly prevalent in Great Britain. According to the Board of Trade *Labour Gazette* for February 1909 there were then 2,076,316 paupers in the United Kingdom. That is, about one person in every twenty-one had had recourse to the Poor Law for some kind of assistance



during the year. If we add to this number the pauper lunatics and 'casuals,' numbering about 250,000, who are not included in the foregoing figures, and add further the vast number of poor people who live partly or wholly on private charity, it appears that at least 3,000,000 British people, or one in every fifteen, are maintained by charity. From the Report on Old-age Pensions published in 1907 we learn that of 2,116,267 persons of sixty-five years and upwards residing in the United Kingdom no less than 1,337,984, or almost two-thirds, had an income of less than 10s. a week. Only one-third of the people of sixty-five years and upwards possessed a weekly income in excess of 10s.

The foregoing trustworthy statistics and extracts may serve as a warning against the misleading statements of those Free Traders who have the hardihood to tell us that the workers of Great Britain, who are deliberately, and with disastrous results, exposed by them to free and unlimited competition with the lowest-paid white and coloured labour of all countries, are the happiest and most prosperous workers in the world, the envy of the workers of the universe. The conditions of life disclosed by these figures and extracts are truly appalling. They are sufficient to make men desperate, and it speaks volumes for the patience of the British people that they have not long ago risen in revolt against those scandalous conditions of life which have been imposed upon them by the exploitation of Free Trade. At the time of the recent London Dock Strike I attended a mass meeting at Tower Hill, where about 50,000 men, dockers, porters and other waterside workers engaged in the hardest manual labour, were gathered. I spent a good deal of time in walking to and fro through the enormous crowd, but I saw scarcely any sturdy men among them. Practically all the men were undersized and looked debilitated and insufficiently nourished. Practically all wore discoloured and disgracefully tattered clothes, mere rags, and broken boots unable to keep out the water and fit only for the dustbin. Their appearance showed that they lived under conditions which are scarcely human.

Competent foreign observers are amazed at the frightful poverty prevailing in the 'paradise of Free Trade.' Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, wrote in his recently published book, *Labour in Europe and America* :

My arrival in Liverpool being on Sunday afforded me an opportunity of seeing numbers of gatherings of men in the public squares. A deep degree of poverty was written upon many faces in the throngs which I saw. Men with whom I discussed this matter, and whose statements, no doubt, were authentic, informed me that a large proportion of the workers are in a chronic state of unemployment—that poverty and misery are everywhere in



England, and that the reason for wan faces, tattered clothing, and unshod feet, even on the Sabbath, is to be found in the number of the constantly unemployed. The deepest impression that England made upon me came from its poverty. Everywhere are thrust before the traveller's eyes scenes of deplorable misery. Poverty is on view in all parts of London; slum backstreets border on fashionable thoroughfares; figures in dirt and rags slouch along amid the gay and well-attired promenaders of the parks.

On the 13th of May 1911 the great negro educationist, Mr. Booker T. Washington, laid down in the *Tuskegee Student* his impressions as to labour conditions in England as follows :

It is generally said the negro represents in America the man furthest down. In going to Europe I had in mind to compare the masses of the negro people of the South with the masses in Europe. I know no class among the negroes in America, however, with whom I could compare the men at the bottom in England. My own people in the South do not fully appreciate the advantages which they have in living in a country where there is a constant demand for labour of all kinds. If I were asked what I believe would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the English labourer, I should say that it would be for him to have the same opportunities for constant and steady work that the negro now has in the South.

It is, unfortunately, only too true that, as I have found by my own investigations, even the unskilled American negroes in the South of the United States earn more and live better than the skilled British artisans.

Whether wages are high or low depends obviously not on their nominal amount, but on their purchasing power. British nominal money wages have slightly receded since 1900, and, as, during the same time, the retail prices of commodities have very considerably increased, it is clear that a shilling will not buy as much food and other necessities of life now as it did in 1900. The fact that British real wages have during the last decade shrunk in a truly alarming manner will be seen at a glance from the following interesting and important official figures, most of which are extracted from a volume of Labour Statistics (Cd. 5458) recently published by the Board of Trade :

	Average Wages	Retail Prices in London	Retail Prices of Bread	Retail Prices of Bacon	Retail Prices of Sugar	Paupers in England and Wales	House- breakings
1900	100.00	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	688,505	11,248
1901	98.56	101.9	94.4	113.3	111.8	675,727	12,989
1902	96.96	101.6	101.4	111.8	100.00	692,875	13,192
1903	96.21	103.2	109.00	104.4	104.2	703,473	14,769
1904	95.56	104.3	108.1	108.9	110.1	722,070	15,749
1905	95.94	103.7	109.00	110.8	130.9	764,589	15,864
1906	97.60	103.2	104.3	121.1	110.4	774,209	15,621
1907	101.79	105.8	104.6	120.1	117.0	759,160	16,432
1908	100.97	108.4	112.8	113.3	115.6	772,346	18,804
1909	99.41	108.2	119.9	126.2	108.3	793,851	19,883
1910	99.70	109.9	114.8	138.9	124.3	790,496	—



Bread, bacon, and sugar are the most important foodstuffs purchased by the poorest workers. According to the official figures given in the foregoing, bread cost 14.8 per cent. more, bacon cost 38.9 per cent. more, and sugar cost 24.3 per cent. more in 1910 than in 1900. Clothing, boots, furniture, and many other items required in the household have also greatly risen in price. Yet our working-man's wages have, according to the careful and painstaking investigations of the Board of Trade, not increased by 20, 30, or 40 per cent. as they ought to have done, but they have slightly shrunk during the last ten years. Our workers were poor and are getting poorer. Therefore the number of paupers has increased by more than 100,000, and the number of burglaries has nearly doubled during the decade under review.

The Liberal Government supports simultaneously Free Trade and Social Reform. The foregoing figures and extracts show that the British workers suffer principally from the inadequacy of their wages, which are automatically kept low by putting British workers into free and unlimited competition with the worst-paid workers in any and every land. Mr. Lloyd George and his friends have proclaimed during many years that with their social policy they would create 'a new heaven and a new earth,' that they would 'banish poverty from the land,' etc. They have raised high hopes in the breasts of our workers, but what have they achieved? They have juggled with words and figures, and they have introduced a number of new taxes which have handicapped our industries, with the result that our workers are not better, but considerably worse off than they were in former years. The old-age pensions have not raised the insufficient wages of a single working-man, but have more likely reduced them. The Workmen's Compensation Act, which costs the employers about 3,000,000*l.* a year, has led to the dismissal or the non-engagement of many thousands of the weaker or the older workers who were still able to work, and has converted them prematurely into paupers. Regarding the Workmen's Insurance Bill Mr. Lloyd George stated himself at Birmingham: 'The employer does not contribute. It is the industry that contributes.' Industries working under Free Trade and exposed to foreign competition can bear heavy additional charges in the shape of new taxes for old-age pensions, or in the shape of contributions to the Workmen's Insurance Scheme, as a rule only by reducing the cost of production; that is, by reducing wages. Mr. T. Gavan-Duffy, a very prominent trade unionist, wrote, not without cause: 'The great mass of the workers, living now from hand to mouth, are too poor to pay anything by way of insurance out of the miserable wages they get. Many thousands are so poor that they cannot pay a few pence per week contribution to a trade union to protect their labour and their lives. These



12,000,000 of our population who are "living in the grip of perpetual poverty" are to have 4d. per week squeezed out of their poverty in the case of males, and 3d. per week in the case of females.' I remember reading in a trade-union journal: 'Mr. Lloyd George is trying to benefit the British working-man by feeding him on his own tail.'

The striking seamen, lightermen, dockers, porters, carmen, etc., received much sympathy from the public, because it was generally known that the majority of them live in poverty, but the strike of the railway-men created general astonishment. The railway-men were believed to be well paid. Their strike was considered a wanton act. That widely held assumption is not founded on fact. During the last ten years the average wage of the railway-man, according to the figures published by the Board of Trade, has been as follows:

*Average Wages Paid to Railway-men in the United Kingdom.*

	s.	d.		s.	d.
1900 . . . . .	25	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1905 . . . . .	25	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1901 . . . . .	25	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1906 . . . . .	25	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
1902 . . . . .	24	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1907 . . . . .	25	10
1903 . . . . .	24	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1908 . . . . .	25	0
1904 . . . . .	25	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1909 . . . . .	25	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

While the wages of railway servants have remained practically unchanged since 1900, the prices of most necessities of life have greatly risen, bread having in the meantime increased in price by 14.8 per cent., bacon by 38.9 per cent., sugar by 24.3 per cent. Consequently the real wages of the railway workers—that is, their wages as measured by their purchasing power—have severely declined. The wages of our railway workers as given by the Board of Trade are very near to Mr. Rowntree's poverty line, but they are considerably lower than appears from the Board of Trade figures.

Railway workers may be divided into two classes: the men who come into contact with the public, and those who are not usually seen by travellers. The former, such as ticket-collectors, passenger-guards and passenger-porters, look spick-and-span. They are comparatively well paid, and their salary is added to by travellers' gratuities. On the other hand, the vast army of signalmen, shunters, loaders, platelayers, goods-porters, carriage-cleaners, engine-cleaners, carmen, etc., are very poorly paid. The average wage of about 25s. earned by railway servants, which is usually officially quoted, overstates the men's wages, because the Board of Trade statistics of average railway wages include the wages of all persons entered upon the railway companies' wage-books, such as clerks, station-masters and inspectors,



who receive rather a salary than a wage. In 1907 the Railway-men's Union published an exhaustive and very valuable Census of the wages and hours of labour of railway-men, compiled by Professor Layton, the accuracy of which has never been questioned. From that report it appears that the average wage of the railway workers, exclusive of station-masters, inspectors and clerks, is 23s. 5d. in England and Wales, 22s. 4d. in Scotland, and 18s. 7d. in Ireland, the average for the United Kingdom being 23s. 2d. per week. It should in fairness be mentioned that most railway workers receive from the company their uniform, which represents the value of an additional 1s. per week. According to the report mentioned, the average pay of railway carmen is 19s. 11d., that of goods-porters 19s. 8d., that of platelayers 19s. 6d., that of carriage-cleaners 18s. 5d., and that of engine-cleaners—many of whom are boys—14s. 8d. per week. Of the railway workers regarding whom returns were obtained, no less than 134,000, or 42 per cent., earn normally less than 20s. per week, and as of these, at the time of investigation, at most 25,000 were boys, about 109,000 grown men received less than a sovereign per week. Of these 109,000 men only a very small fraction, certainly less than 20,000, were in the position of having their meagre pay supplemented by gratuities. Railway-men of all grades work very long hours. According to the Railway Census of Professor Layton, 67 per cent. of the railway workers work during ten hours, and 25.2 per cent. work during twelve hours per day. Moreover, their work is exhausting and dangerous. On an average every year 500 railway servants are killed, and 15,000 are more or less severely injured in the performance of their duties.

Long hours, low pay and strict discipline make men discontented. Dissatisfaction has for a long time been as great among the railway workers as it has been among the casually employed dockers and carters. Only it was less vocal. A man dismissed at the docks can easily get another job, but a dismissed railway servant cannot so easily secure employment elsewhere. Besides, he loses his uniform and official overcoat, an important consideration for a man who earns a 'living wage' and who has no superfluity of clothes of his own.

During many years the Socialists have been preaching their doctrine of discontent, and in view of the pitiful position of a very large portion of our workers their success has naturally been great. The trade unions have become permeated with Socialism. Until recently the trade unions were sectional in character. In the building industry there were seventy-two unions, in mining eighty-two unions, in the metal industries 207 unions, in the



textile industries 271 unions, etc. Altogether there were 1153 unions for fourteen industries. Many unions were small and weak, and they quarrelled among themselves. At the Rhondda Valley strike the hauling-engine men below and the winding-engine men above belonged to different organisations. They had separate agreements with the owners, and quarrelled among themselves. A few years ago the whole of the engineering and shipbuilding on the Tyne was laid idle by a dispute between the Fitters' Union and the Plumbers' Union as to which had the right to fit piping  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. They were agreed above and below that size, but could not agree as to where the dividing line should be. Instances of this kind could be given by the hundred. Intelligent labour men and Socialist agitators recognised that sectional unions quarrelling among themselves had little chance of obtaining by strikes better wages or fewer hours from the more or less united employers of labour. Hence during many years proposals to amalgamate the small unions into a few large ones were made, but they met on the whole with very little success. The ideal of the reformers of trade unionism, many of whom called themselves industrial unionists, as distinguished from trade unionists, was to have but one single union for every industry, a Cotton Workers' Union, a Woollen Workers' Union, etc., a strike of which would not merely hamper an industry, but bring it immediately to a standstill. 'One for all and all for each' was to be the motto. They thought that, pending the amalgamation of trade unions, the solidarity of labour against capital should be practised. They preached that if the men in a sectional trade, let us say the boiler-makers, should strike, the workers in all other unions of the iron industry should strike in sympathy, in order to close the works. If, nevertheless, production should be attempted with outside labour, the miners should stop the coal supply, the railway workers should refuse to transport the strike-breakers and the needed raw materials, in order to vanquish the capitalists. In case of need, intimidation and destruction of property should be resorted to. This revolutionary policy, which was preached and practised in France under the name of Syndicalism, was highly approved of by Mr. Tom Mann, who, with Mr. Ben Tillett, had engineered the London Dock strike of 1889. He had gathered experience in the direction of large strikes in Australia, and had returned to England in 1910. Shortly after his return he founded a little monthly, *The Industrial Syndicalist*, of which the first number was issued in October 1910, and it is principally written by Mr. Mann himself. Mr. Mann is a born orator, and he exercises the greatest influence over the workers. He is responsible for the enormous strikes



which we have lately gone through, and their wonderful success is bound to increase very greatly his power and prestige. Therefore it is very necessary to study the policy which Mr. Mann has laid down in various numbers of the *Industrial Syndicalist* as follows :

It is a big order we are here for: nothing less than an endeavour to revolutionise the trade unions, to make Unionism, from a movement of two millions, mostly of skilled workers whose interests are regarded as different from the interests of the labourers who join with them in their industry, into a movement that will take in every worker. We are here to declare that we know full well that the time has arrived when organisation by mere trade cannot carry the working class any further. A recognition of that fact will make for real headway; not to cry out against the capitalist, but frankly to realise that the workers are the enemies to their own progress. Undoubtedly the time is now ripe for industrial action as distinct from trade action. We are here to consider the interests of the workers as a class, and to proceed to organise upon lines which will meet the requirements of the whole working class. The carman, carrying foodstuffs for the scabs, is a member of his union. The carpenters who make to order the fittings to house them are unionists. It is these union men, and not the capitalists, who beat the other unionists trying to resist reduction or obtain increases. And so it must continue until we can organise by industries and not merely by trades, until we can unify the Industrial Movement into one compact fighting force.

It is Mr. Mann's ideal to make war to the knife upon owners of property. To him employers of labour are apparently *Hostes humani generis*. In the Middle Ages the doctrine prevailed that faith need not be kept with heretics. Similarly, Mr. Mann teaches that faith need not be kept with employers. He wrote :

*No more agreements.* It is entirely wrong for the unionists to enter into agreements with the masters. The object of the unions is to wage the class war and to take every opportunity of scoring against the enemy. It must be remembered that the capitalists are always carrying on the war. Scarce a month passes but some new machine or method is introduced which enables the capitalist to reduce his wages bill by throwing surplus workers into the street. And this goes on continually and quite irrespective of agreements.

He quotes with approval the following extract from the platform of 'the Industrial Workers of the World,' an American labour organisation :

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world, organised as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. These con-



ditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Mr. Mann's doctrine and the policy and methods which he advocates are deliberately and avowedly revolutionary :

You cannot change the world and yet not change the world. *Revolution is the means of, not the alternative to, Evolution.* I simply state that a working class movement that is not revolutionary in character is not of the slightest use to the working class. But what will have to be the essential conditions for the success of such a movement? *That it will be avowedly and clearly Revolutionary in its aim and method.* Revolutionary in aim, because it will be out for the abolition of the wages system and for securing to the workers the full fruits of their labour, thereby seeking to change the system of society from Capitalist to Socialist. Revolutionary in method, because it will refuse to enter into any long agreements with the masters, whether with legal or State backing, or merely voluntarily ; and because it will seize every chance of fighting for the general betterment—gaining ground and never losing any. 'Unite,' was Marx's advice long ago, but we have never thoroughly acted upon it. Now is the time to do it, and we will do it right here in England. We will lead them a devil of a dance, and show whether or not there is life and courage in the workers of the British Isles.

Mr. Mann greatly admires the violent policy of the Confédération Générale du Travail, which has elevated the wanton destruction of property into a fine art and an act of heroism, and he urges British workers to emulate the French in sabotage :

There are 700,000 Unionists in France ; and a large majority of these are covered by the C.G.T. They possess the fighting instinct. They are genuinely revolutionary. They, too, seek to secure better conditions *en route*, always giving attention to the reduction of working hours. And they are bent on an international propaganda for the overthrow of the capitalist system. They have eliminated the antagonisms and sectional craft interests, and they prove by their behaviour, that they dare fight, and know how to fight. They declare themselves revolutionary. They favour resorting, when advisable, to the general strike. But while working for the Revolution they do not neglect to do all possible to secure general betterment. They are, for the most part, anti-patriotic and anti-militarist, *e.g.*, they declare that the workers have no country, and are not prepared to fight in the interests of a bureaucracy ; but most distinctly *are* prepared to fight for the overthrow of Capitalism in France and elsewhere. Now, without urging a close imitation of the French or any other method, I strongly believe that, on the average, the French policy is one that will suit us best ; for whilst the temperament of the French is undoubtedly different from that of



the British, their interests are exactly as ours, and their enemy is also as ours—the Capitalist system.

Every number of the *Industrial Syndicalist* contains a full-page advertisement of Hervé's Text-book of Anti-Patriotism translated into English.

If Anarchism is the doctrine which denies the necessity of the State, and preaches hatred and hostility to it, Mr. Mann is an Anarchist :

No Board of Trade official dare do anything to advance the interests of the men. The Board of Trade is a Government Department. The Government is in essence, and in detail, the machine of the Plutocracy, through which, and by which, they keep the workers in subjection. For any man to imagine that a Governmental Department may be seeking to do anything that will facilitate the overthrow of the ruling class is to declare himself a fool. To 'tie the workers down,' that is their work. Tie them down by assisting the capitalists to get them pledged to five year agreements ; and to renew these agreements often enough so that it shall ever be an offence against the compact, or conference decision, or the law direct, for the worker to take any action to overthrow the parasitic class. How healthy, and glorious, and stimulating, and inspiring is this action of the French railway workers and their comrades who are backing them, in comparison to our 'tied-down' slaves !

A big strike among all the British transport dock and railway workers, such as we have recently experienced, was urged by Mr. Mann six months ago :

The three days' stoppage from work on the part of the North-Eastern railway-men, in spite of the fact that they were covered by an agreement (also for five years), gave a comforting indication that the Syndicalist spirit is already appearing, and entitles one to hope that it will, under suitable conditions, assert itself. What a shaking it gave the company when only a partial, sectional stoppage took place ! What, then, will the companies be able to do when once industrial solidarity is an accomplished fact ? We ought not to have these little spasmodic affairs, playing into the hands of the 'peace at any price' party. If we are to fight, let it be a real fight over the whole system, shipping and railways as well.

The shipping and railways, the trams and cabs, taxis and motor 'buses, motor cars and char-a-bancs, all being included in the transport industry, a stoppage on all these would simply be all-powerful to enforce anything the workers desired ; in three days the whole of the activities of Britain could be tied up as no other force could do it ; and we are definitely laying ourselves out to bring this about unless redress be obtained speedily by other means.

Mr. Mann's policy is both destructive and constructive. He intends not only to bring about a revolution, but promises also to abolish poverty by the limitation of the hours of work :

If the workers dared to declare that the first charge upon industry should be an adequate income for every worker, and acted accordingly, poverty



would immediately disappear. *Reducing the hours means employment for all.* To establish an eight-hour day on the railways would necessitate 60,000 additional men. A forty-eight hour working week at the docks throughout the country and another 90,000 men would be required here. Reasonable working hours for present carmen would necessitate another 7,000 to 8,000 men in London alone. I submit there is no other method whereby substantial economic betterment can be achieved comparable to that of reducing the working hours.

Socialism means to transfer all existing property from their owners to Society or to the State. Industrial Syndicalism proposes to transfer all property to the workers themselves. The cotton-workers are to have the cotton-mills and factories, the iron-workers to own the ironworks, etc. :

Industrial Syndicalism aims at making the existing movement a real fighting agency capable of scientifically conducting a *Class War*, the aim of which is *to capture the industrial system*. Industrial Syndicalism aims at perfect organisation, so as to enable the workers *to manage the industrial system themselves* once they have seized it. The word 'Syndicalism' should serve to remind us that we must combine with our native ability for organisation something of the fine revolutionary spirit of our French comrades.

Inquiry in the best-informed quarters shows that the trade-union leaders did not bring about the recent strike epidemic. The strikes were brought about by the men themselves, who had been inflamed by outside agitators. Even in the case of the highly organised railway workers, trade-union discipline broke down. The trade-union leaders were compelled to follow the men who had become unmanageable and who were determined to act upon Tom Mann's advice. The railway-men made the despatch of the twenty-four hours' ultimatum necessary. The triumph of the transport workers of all kinds was due to Tom Mann's policy of solidarity. Everywhere the trade unions which had received all the concessions which they had demanded, and which had signed agreements to return to work, refused to go to work until the demands of all the other striking trades had been conceded. True to Tom Mann's principle that faith need not be kept with employers, many trade unions signed agreements stipulating for a certain rate of pay, and immediately struck again for higher pay. On the 19th of August the Government was anxious for an immediate settlement of the general railway strike, not only because of the inconvenience which it caused, but because the engineers, numbering 100,000, the South Scottish miners, and the South Wales miners, who supply the Navy with smokeless coal, threatened to strike in sympathy. These threats forced the Government's hands. We stood before a general strike which would have crippled simultaneously our military and our naval



resources, a risk which might, perhaps, have been taken had the political horizon been free from clouds, but which could not possibly be run in view of the delicate and threatening position of foreign affairs. So a settlement between the railways and their men had to be made at any cost, and it was brought about by appeals to the patriotism of the representatives of the railway companies and the men, alternated with threats against the railways.

The position taken up by the railway-men is a peculiar and an interesting one. In 1907 the railway-men had agreed to accept Mr. Lloyd George's Conciliation Boards, which were to settle all disputes between the companies and the men, and to abstain from all strikes until 1914. Following Mr. Mann's advice, the men simply tore up that agreement. Their reasons will be found in a booklet by Mr. Charles Watkins, which will soon be published, with a preface by Tom Mann. I have seen a proof of it. The writer does not seem very dissatisfied with the Conciliation Boards as instruments for settling the differences between masters and men, but he complains that the 162 sectional Conciliation Boards threaten to split up the 'Industrial' movement among the railway-men. Besides, he is on principle opposed to arbitration and agreement with employers, who are to be crushed by the workers without mercy :

For the class in possession, conciliation and arbitration agreements are of good service; but for a class that has yet to achieve its emancipation, they are a repudiation of the purpose of its own existence, and a denial of the reason for any further development. No matter how perfect the scheme, conciliation in the long run is bound to lead to sectionalism. There can be no conciliation on matters that fundamentally affect the class interests of either party; these, by their very nature, are ruled outside the area of peaceful persuasion and compromise. When a class issue of any importance is raised, Might makes Right, always and everywhere. The policy of 'conciliation' is altogether a mistake at this time of day, with capitalism approaching its climax. Never in the history of the working-class movement was it so necessary for it to keep itself free from capitalistic entanglements, so that it may determine for itself how and when it shall fight its battles. With the accelerated speed of economic developments by which the workers' conditions are being so completely transformed, and with the increasing intensity of class antagonisms—necessitating on the workers' part common action against the whole of the forces of capitalism—the methods of conciliation and agreements are a fundamental source of weakness.

If the views here expressed are held by many railway workers, what then will be the binding force of any agreement between the companies and the men which is to supersede the broken agreement of 1907? If the spirit of Tom Mann influences the coming negotiations between the railways and their employees, the so-



called Railway 'Settlement' concluded on the 19th of August, with the assistance of the Government, will simply be a short-timed truce. The railway war will have to be fought over again, and will then have to be fought to a finish. After all, what is the use of voluntary or compulsory arbitration if the workers believe that in labour struggles *Might makes Right*?

Many trade unionists in the railway service favour railway nationalisation, and many Liberal politicians believe that railway nationalisation will prove the panacea which will solve all railway labour troubles. But can anyone guarantee that the workers on future British State Railways would abstain from striking? Mr. Mann and his followers are, however, absolutely opposed to railway nationalisation. They think that the railways should belong to the railway workers. In the words of Mr. Watkins :

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants are now endeavouring to work up a movement for the State ownership of railways. With their recent experience in mind, railway-men have little reason for placing any great degree of confidence in the State as an employer. As being the highest form of capitalist concentration and organisation, State ownership of the railways may offer to the trading and travelling public certain facilities and advantages it does not get at present, but in its relationship with its employees it is likely to be as unscrupulous an exploiter as is the private corporation. And this need hardly be wondered at. The State is essentially a ruling-class organisation, and its functions are chiefly coercive. Its main functions have always been the protection of ruling-class property and the keeping of the masses in subjection. The only interest the working class can have in the State is in wresting it from the grasp of the present ruling-class.

Labour has discovered a new weapon of tremendous power. It has begun to use it, and it will surely abuse it. During the last month the private employers, the great railway companies, and the Government itself have had to capitulate to labour. Apparently labour is all-powerful. Apparently the workers can obtain whatever wages and hours they care to demand. Apparently Mr. Mann is the coming dictator. However, there is an end to all things, even to the success of the new labour tactics. Intoxicated by its recent victories, the new labour movement will overreach itself and bring about its own defeat. In support of but 250 tramwaymen whom the Liverpool Corporation refused to reinstate Tom Mann ordered 80,000 transport workers in that town not to return to work, and on August the 23rd he threatened to bring about a national general strike unless these 250 men were taken back ! How long will such tactics answer ?

The present labour revolt will have the most far-reaching consequences. The demand for higher wages will not be limited to



the transport workers of all kinds. The factory workers throughout the country also will demand higher wages, and many of them will obtain them. We are apparently only at the beginning of a movement which will shake British industry to its foundations. Great Britain will cease to be a land of cheapness, of a cheapness which is based upon the merciless exploitation of labour devised by Free Traders. Employers can by the threat of bankruptcy be forced to increase wages and to reduce hours, but they cannot be forced to continue their business or to employ men whose productions can no longer be sold. The effect of increasing wages and restricting hours of labour is to increase the cost of production. Such a sudden increase is always fatal to the weaker employers, and many of these will disappear. The remaining large employers of labour will combine in order to be better able to hold their own against labour. Thus business will tend to become concentrated more and more in fewer and in stronger hands. As in the United States, the dearness of labour will compel employers to replace man by the machine wherever possible. That is not to be regretted. The cheap labour which Free Trade has given to Great Britain has been a curse to the country. It has degraded the nation, undermined the physique of the people, and has made for inefficiency in our methods of industrial production, which are incredibly far behind those of the United States. In many British works the same work is done by three cheap men which in the United States, with superior machinery, is done by one highly-paid man.

Under Free Trade conditions it is, of course, impossible for British employers to pay much higher wages than those which have prevailed hitherto. If Free Trade continues to be our policy, the British manufacturers, who are compelled to pay higher wages, will no longer be able to compete with foreign manufacturers and their low-priced labour. They will fail, their works will be closed, and ruin and distress will become general throughout the country. The masters can pay much higher wages only after the abolition of free and unlimited foreign competition in Great Britain. Free Trade implies internationally competitive wages. Therefore, Free Trade cannot be combined with high non-competitive wages. Our underpaid workers can apparently be no longer bamboozled by Free Trade politicians with fairy tales of their prosperity, the high amount of their wages, and the cheapness of living in Great Britain. They have become keenly aware of their poverty, and they demand higher wages. The present revolt of labour is in reality not a revolt against capital, but a revolt against cheapness and against the exploitation of labour under Free Trade. Mr. Mann has at a stroke altered the character and basis of British



commerce and industry. He has, perhaps without knowing it, killed Free Trade.

The most important social reform is not education, or thrift, or better housing, or the promotion of temperance, or workmen's insurance, but higher wages. A man who has to keep a family on twenty shillings a week lives in poverty, and will continue to live in poverty even if all the social reforms promised to him should be introduced. Double that man's income and he is likely to become a more self-respecting, a more sober and a better citizen, who will insist on better housing, better clothing, and better education, and who will either insure himself or provide for his future by thrift. If we double the wages of our workers—and they can be doubled under a Tariff—we shall destroy the worst of our social diseases and improve and elevate the race.

Of course, we cannot make the people more prosperous merely by doubling their wages. People neither eat money nor do they wear it on their backs. The prosperity of the people can be increased only by increasing production. By doubling production we shall double prosperity, for the additional articles produced will be consumed. To increase production we must have improved labour-saving machinery. A considerable rise in wages will make the introduction of the best labour-saving machinery indispensable. Thus by increasing wages we shall increase production, and by increasing production we shall increase prosperity. The labour revolt may prove a blessing in disguise. It should prove a most powerful stimulus to commercial and industrial Great Britain, and it may herald the beginning of a new economic era.

The revolt of labour is apparently only beginning, but the State cannot afford to keep neutral in the coming struggle, because it threatens to endanger its own existence. We must have security that labour will not cripple simultaneously our Army and our Navy, as it threatened to do during the railway strike. Full provision for the immediate militarisation, or the temporary nationalisation, in case of danger, of those industries on which our Army and Navy depend must be made in time of peace. There are more than 100,000 motor cars and lorries in the country. An alternative means of transport should be created by the War Office, by preparing the organisation of a national motor transport system if the railway service should break down. Our workers must be taught that they have the right to strike, but not the right to terrorise, assault, loot and burn. The forcible prevention of men from working by huge threatening mobs in the name of 'peaceful picketing' must be stopped, and the people must be taught that the destruction of railway stations and signal-boxes, the tearing up of the permanent way, the cutting of telegraph wires, and attempts



to stop and to wreck trains are not ordinary incidents of labour warfare, but crimes against Society and the State. A permanent force of special constables able to be called out at a moment's notice should be enrolled, and if the national and local authorities should refuse to take adequate measures for the protection of the citizens, the latter must create powerful voluntary organisations devised to repel by force mobs bent on violence and plunder. Lastly, legal proceedings should be taken against those who, from a secure distance, incite the mob to plunder, arson and civil war. We must prepare for the possibility of a revolution.

J. ELLIS BARKER.



1911

## THE HYBRID ART

THE distinction between prose and verse, so well maintained through all the centuries of good literature, is now in some danger of being questioned and discredited, perhaps even of being obliterated; for at least one writer of modern repute has published work<sup>1</sup> which he seems to describe as poetry borrowing from prose without ceasing to be poetry. This is but one among many recent signs of a growing or returning restiveness or reaction against the beauty of symmetry and the wholesome restraint of verse form.

Among other signs of this tendency to confuse the boundaries of poetry and prose we may note the following: The first proceeds from a recent poet laureate—Tennyson himself—as recorded in his *Biography*: ‘Verse should be *beau comme la prose*. . . . Almost any prose can be cut up into blank verse . . . (Of De Quincey’s prose), Not poetry, but as fine as any verse.’

I will next quote Aytoun as another modern poet infected with what I must regard as a heresy. ‘Poetry,’ he says, ‘is the art which has for its object the creation of intellectual pleasures by means of imaginative and passionate language, and language generally, though not necessarily, formed into regular numbers.’ What we complain of in this definition is the intrusion of the words ‘generally, though not necessarily.’

For the third example I will quote from the *Chronicle* for the 28th of January 1911:

A poets’ dinner . . . was held last night at the Hotel Richelieu. . . . The diners had assembled to hear a paper read by Professor Selwyn Image, whom Mr. Robert Ross justly called ‘The poet’s poet and the artist’s artist.’

In his address he maintained that to draw a hard and fast line between poetry and prose would be to cut oneself off from some of the finest literature the world has seen. The translators of the Bible were poets, though they wrote in prose. So also Sir Thomas Browne was a poet, and Matthew Arnold.

. . . . A lively discussion took place, and the general opinion seemed to be in agreement with that of the Professor. Mr. Herbert Trench went

<sup>1</sup> *The Agonists*, by Maurice Hewlett. Macmillan, 1911.



to the heart of the matter when he said that the time is approaching when we must recognise that the old distinction between poetry and prose must go. The test of a poet was his fertility of imagination, combined with his emotional equipment, as expressed in the medium of his choice. It would be absurd to deny the title of poet to Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, or Ruskin. They were essentially poets.<sup>2</sup>

I have no space for a longer list of backsliders or innovators, as I may perhaps venture to call them; many names of eminence must be omitted; and some reference might be made to the doubtful immortality of Walt Whitman, and even to the fictitious renown of Martin Tupper, who are still within living memory.

But although this disregard of verse form has never been asserted with such instance and authority as in our own day, the innovation or the tendency is by no means without precedent; it dates, indeed, almost from the very birth of verse. Nevertheless, any brief history of poetic forms will convince us of the rightful and the unvarying triumphs of metre over unmetrical rhythm. Let us turn for a moment and take the retrospect; it need not extend beyond the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, for here we have an eloquent review of the Greek and Latin methods of verse, written by a poet of insight and experience. From this we learn that although from time to time experiments were made in the direction of freedom, or even licence, all the best work produced by the Greek and Latin poets has the primal qualities of simplicity and symmetry; and the writer sternly condemns 'degeneracy into licence, and violence'; while he exhorts attention to the best Greek models. It will be enough to add for our own part that the one very great poem produced by the Latin literature stands for all time as a model of perfect form.

Nor will it be necessary in our retrospect to glance at other ancient literatures and their poetic methods—the Hebrew, for example, wherein verse is least predominant; it will be enough if we pass at once to our own poets, making perhaps occasional reference to the French and Italian. What we have to chronicle will be chiefly the changing fortunes of variety and uniformity in our verse systems. We learn that verse itself is a gradual triumph of uniformity over variety; our Anglo-Saxon systems 'acquired a good deal of exactness in time.' But here, again, in our own literature, we have a convenient judicial and impartial summary in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*; and again the verdict is for precedent and perfection of form. Pope makes every allowance for experiment and innovation.

<sup>2</sup> Surely we have a strange assemblage of names in this extract: Arnold, Browne, Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, Ruskin. Does this imply that none of these writers wrote verse?



Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare,  
 For there's a happiness as well as care.  
 Music resembles Poetry, in each  
 Are nameless graces which no methods teach,  
 And which a master-hand alone can reach.

This might read like a surrender to the enemy, but Pope adds, and with stern emphasis :

Moderns, beware! or if you must offend  
 Against the Precept, ne'er transgress its end.

And earlier in the *Essay* he writes :

Learn hence for ancient rules a first esteem ;  
 To copy nature is to copy them.

And under this head he tells us that Virgil was an apt pupil of Homer.

The only objection I can raise against these sensible couplets of Pope is the fact that in dealing with the subject of licence they make no distinction between music and poetry ; however, it was not until after Pope's day that these two arts—' a sister and a brother,' as Shakespeare styled them—drifted apart ; Pope, therefore, is not to blame. As to Horace, the music he mentions is either an infant in the arms of some maturer muse, or a handmaid at her table. But the importance of inquiring into the exact relationship between poetry and music will appear as we proceed.

What we learn from Horace and Pope we learn also from the French and Italians ; and although the latter strayed now and then from the path of true form, the return soon followed, and, again, simplicity and symmetry are the rule, and they culminate in the great achievement of Dante.

In the foregoing brief reference to our own literature I had room for little more than the summary of one poet ; much therefore was left unnoticed, including treatises and discussions, and even controversies on the subject of verse methods ; and some note might be taken of Macpherson's *Ossian*.<sup>3</sup> But my purpose is gained if I merely draw attention to the fact that while symmetry has prevailed, doubt and theory and experiment in the matter of poetic forms are by no means confined to our own day. It will be interesting, however, to remark that the attempts to ignore metre as an element of true poetry, and to extend the meaning of poetry till it includes imaginative prose, are mostly found in writers of prose ; as to the poets, they rarely preach deviations from verse-form, and in practice they respect it ; and I prefer the opinion of poets. Yet the others must be reckoned with, but still more briefly, and we begin with Plato ; he seems to have realised the

<sup>3</sup> *Samson Agonistes* will be examined later.



importance of poetic form more fully than did Aristotle, who had little respect for metre, and who appears to be followed by Bacon—so often his disciple; but here we will quote:

Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination. . . . It is taken in two senses, in respect of words or matter. In the first sense it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present. In the latter it is (as hath been said) one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse.

—*Advancement of Learning*, ii. iv. i.

Coming nearer to our own times, we may cite the words of one who was poet as well as prose-writer: 'Prose,' said Coleridge, 'has as its opposite—verse; poetry, fiction, creation, has as its opposite—actual fact.' Here also lurks the heresy of Bacon and the others; to get closer to the truth we must—as I venture to believe—supply an omitted clause in the definition—viz., 'but poetry must take the form of verse.'

At this point I may reveal my own opinion of the relationship between prose and poetry. I admit at once that prose may be emotional or unemotional, imaginative or practical, æsthetic or intellectual; and that it may or must be rhythmical; yet I shall endeavour to prove that there is no debatable border-ground between poetry and prose, no serving of the two masters, no halting between this God and this Mammon of literature; and that the distinction between them is real, enormous, and *to be jealously guarded*.

In fact, this confounding of the two arts is primarily a matter for schoolboys. I have before me some 'scraps of sallow manuscript' written when I was a youth, and headed 'A new style of poetry, simply this: poetical thoughts and expressions not arranged in any cramping metre, but more as in rhythmical prose, etc., etc.' I was afflicted with the malady common to beginners (and some others), an impatience of formal metre, and a desire to return to rhythmical yet formless prose.

Next I will state more precisely my main contention; it is as follows: Although metre of itself does not constitute poetry, there is no poetry without metre, and, I may add, there is no prose with metre. Further, the art-value of metre has been seriously underrated.

With the exception of rhyme and systematic alliteration, which ally themselves to metre, other differences between poetry and prose are more or less debatable. This at least is certain, that unless we keep close to metrical form as to a centre, we shall find ourselves talking round our subject in an infinite number of circles that widen infinitely.



But in the history of evolution metre is both preceded and followed by rhythm, which must therefore claim our attention. There are first the vaguer and more indefinite rhythms of nature unaided by art: the song of the bird, the ripple of the brook, the 'lute of leaf and bough.' Next we have, as a transition, what Cowper calls 'the sweet music of speech'; this, still vague, still formless, may nevertheless be highly cultivated, as in oratory and the finer prose generally; but at this stage it has usually gained a grace from the more definite harmonies already created by metre. Next there is the rhythm that is superadded to metre, its modifications; for the skeleton must be covered with flesh; the mere metrical structure (as in our modern verse) of foot and line, and perhaps rhyme, must be pervaded and vitalised and unified by a plastic rhythm due to the variable elements of pause, quantity, pitch, assonance, emphasis, and alliteration.<sup>4</sup> This is the rhythm that follows metre.

Now, the claims of metre are opposed on two grounds: it is sometimes urged that the natural and formless rhythms are sufficient in their beauty; or, again, that the function of metre is quickly superseded and forgotten in the finer rhythms of poetry.

The first objection we meet in this way. While copying nature, art seeks to improve, to idealise; and does this chiefly by the processes of selection, exclusion, and arrangement. In the realm of sound, for example, articulate or inarticulate, it supplies a metrical element, an element of proportion, a definite relation of parts to one another and to the whole. That the resulting organic harmony is an added beauty is proved by the mere existence and popularity of poetry and music.

Verse, then, is the result of the principle of proportion (and selection) introduced into articulate sound, and music of the same principle introduced into inarticulate sound; and the primary method employed to produce this effect of proportion is the same in both, in verse it is the 'foot,' in music the 'bar' or 'measure.'<sup>5</sup> To these are added other metrical and structural elements, and the result is an organism advanced in complexity and shapeliness.

But let us take an illustration from the natural world. We regard for a moment the invertebrate and the vertebrate, a

<sup>4</sup> Of course we must add an occasional change of foot, and the occasional use of extra syllables.

<sup>5</sup> Throughout their earlier development, singing, dancing, music, and verse are intimately associated; and the element that creates the regularity, the proportion, the harmony, is the same in all. It is a principle of time-measurement based chiefly on the human footfall in march or dance—'nunc pede libero . . . nunc Saliaribus'—based also on the intervals of respiration and other bodily movements. 'Pede libero,' for in verse this measuring element is aptly called a 'foot.' Originally this 'foot' was a measure of *quantity*, modified, however, by accent; in modern verse and in music it is a measure of beat or stress or *accent*, with a slighter regard to quantity. Metre, it may be



mollusc and a man, and at once, referring to Shakespeare, pronounce man to be 'the paragon of animals.' Briefly, and returning to our main subject, prose, in a sense, is the invertebrate mollusc, poetry the vertebrate man. For by virtue of his intelligence man carries on the work of nature; under this head, again, we have nothing more apt than the words of Shakespeare: 'Art . . . does mend nature . . . but The art itself is nature.' Thus we explain the remarkable statement of Browning, where he tells us that objects of nature 'are better painted'; and in Shakespeare, again, we read:

In sweet music is such art,  
Killing care and grief of heart  
Fall asleep, or, hearing, die.

And lastly, referring to the art which is our subject, we may quote Tennyson on Virgil: 'Wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man.' From all these we gather the true function of art, and the true nature of poetry.

The other objection, that metre in poetry is unnecessary or is lost in rhythm, may also be answered by an appeal to Shakespeare. Was this greatest of poets the better or the worse for his metrical experiences? Could his rhythms have been developed independently of these? Can they be detached from them? To the first question I reply, 'Better, by all means,' and to the others, 'Certainly not'; the practice and the resultant of metre more than justify its existence, and it remains an integral part of the resultant, a law within the law; for the enveloping law of rhythm cannot exist alone; we cannot have our man without his bones. Or we may put it thus: we may as well expect to separate rhythm from metre as to grow a rose without a tree, or that our flower will not wither if gathered. We cannot detach the form from the substance, the variety from the uniformity; the most finished reading of Shakespeare can only disguise, and never destroy, the metrical structure.

This principle applies also to music, to which some attention must now be given; for to this art—vainly as I think—appeal is made by the inventors of the hybrid product. In fact, the modern development of music has increased the tendency to confuse poetry with prose, and given a new vigour to the age-long struggle between form and formlessness.

At the outset, music and verse were more closely related; the

added, is effected chiefly by a *predetermined* regularity in the use of long or short syllables, or of accented and unaccented syllables. Larger metrical and structural elements follow, such as the line, which includes definite groups of feet, and phrasing, which is chiefly an inner line arrangement formed with the aid of the pause, and thus it helps to fashion the paragraph. And it is much the same in music.



musical sound *accompanied* the articulate in a more literal sense, note for syllable, and so forth; and in the later evolution of either art some common tendencies are discernible, such as a growing identity of substance with form, the amplifying and multiplying of the formal elements, and an increasing desire to disguise them and to be independent of them; and finally (I now speak of verse only, for comparatively music is a new art), because variety in art is imperative, and whatever is beautiful must also be new, there were periodic returns to more evident form. New tastes are ever being created; here, also, in the realm of art, fashion not seldom prevails; we cannot always wait for the true perspective of time; and already perhaps we are inclined to revolt from the poetry of Browning and the prose of Meredith. But absolute formlessness we need not fear, whether in verse or music; it is as unattainable as it is undesirable.

And what is the history of prose? as briefly, this: left destitute of definite art-form, which was reserved for verse and sound, it developed its rhythms—its phrases and cadences and periods—with the aid of the more definite and loftier harmonies already created by poetry and music. But, forgetting their nature and the reason of their existence, forgetting at the same time its own primary purpose, it first envied those harmonies, and then sought to imitate them, and at times even to encroach upon them.<sup>6</sup> At this stage it must suffer rebuke.<sup>7</sup> In prose, however, as in verse, we shall recognise periodic returns to simplicity, whether in substance, form, or colour.

It was noticed above that after the days of Pope the arts of poetry and music became yet more distinct, but there were always fundamental differences. To begin with, in language we have prose, and there is little in music that corresponds to prose; we use formless language, we do not as yet use formless music. Therefore, in comparing poetry with music, we have first to remember the existence of prose, and the danger of confusing it with verse. Next, although the various prose styles were evolved later than verse, the imperative need for which was earlier felt and met, verse nevertheless was developed from the prose material already matured as a means of expressing rudimentary thought and lower emotion. It follows that any attempt to break down verse systems is in reality a return to prose, a fact of degeneracy, a reversion from art to artlessness. But on other grounds under this head the analogy between verse and music fails; we must take

<sup>6</sup> I could point to many examples of modern prose in which metre is introduced, apparently by design.

<sup>7</sup> It appears, therefore, that although through the exigency or the ingenuity of art, prose and verse may at times approach, they cannot meet without changing and destroying their nature and their purpose.



into account the intellectual element that exists in the word-symbols whether spoken or written; they are heavily weighted, and rendered unfit for the lighter, more complex, and more extended combinations and effects of the inarticulate sounds, their ampler and more varied cadences and phrasings, which are impossible to verse. In music, again, the structural elements are more numerous and less formal, and some of them are more minute; and of course the inarticulate sounds have a far wider compass than the articulate. Whatever liberties Wagner may have taken with his purely instrumental music, he had the genius to recognise the limitations of verse. But in music he never really abandoned form, though he often discarded conventional formality; the principle of the beat, for example, so vital to the art of both poetry and music, is carefully maintained by him; his scores are always 'barred,' and form is always present, or felt as an unseen presence; it is never destroyed. In music, moreover, the relation between the material and its expression is closer and more immediate than in verse; this is partly because the musician appeals primarily and directly to a cruder and a readily responsive sense—the outward ear; music, indeed, is the only art that wins upon the animal intelligence, and a butcher-boy will soon catch and piece out a melody.

From this follows the unsuggestiveness of poetic motive and poetic context as compared with music;<sup>8</sup> in this art the atmosphere is charged with suggestion, and indeed vibrates with it, and a temporary suspense, a rapid change of form, is possible where anything of the kind in verse would be disastrous. Yet in verse we have more than compensation, for, strangely enough, this very dependence on form is due to the greater subtlety of the music; 'Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard Are sweeter'; as we have seen, these silent melodies of verse are vital with thought as well as with emotion, and Shakespeare is greater than Wagner; this is true also of the colouring of verse. Through no outward sense, therefore, but through the mental ear and eye these subtle effects of sound and colour pass into the very soul, but only when they are presented in some comprehensible and perfect form. That all great poets have felt this must appear from the easily recognisable symmetry of their best productions. But this brings me to what I regard as by far the most important consideration of all; for in this quality of perfect form in poetry (and again, with a difference, it is true of music, and I now bring the two arts nearer together), we may comprehend not only a finer beauty, but also an ampler use. Whatever the circumstances may have been that brought poetry to its birth, our forefathers were not slow to dis-

<sup>8</sup> In prose, again, this suggestiveness is still weaker. See later remarks on poetic form as an aid to memory.



cover one priceless power inherent in its measured and symmetrical utterance; it made language *rememberable*; it served not only for pæan and elegy and 'chorus hymeneal,' but also for history and biography; thus the first great epics grew from form to form, and orally, and from generation to generation; and for myself let me hazard the confession that for every thousand lines of verse I commit to memory I could reckon perhaps only a dozen of prose; and let me further testify that when I repeat to myself some of these thousands of lines that are in my brain, I live another and a better life, a life that is always at my command. Poetic literature, therefore, appears to be not only grander, more beautiful, more impressive, and more permanent than prose or any commixture of prose; it is also more capable of retention and more available, and therefore also more vital; as we have seen, and must venture to repeat, it can be retained and assimilated till it pulses in the veins and becomes the very essence of our being.

Yet more, the metrical, the verse form of beauty which is beyond the genius of any prose or prose compound to assume, is a symbol—the symbol of some immortal idea; let it therefore remain as perfect and as jealously guarded as whatever may be in our limitations of space and time; let it be a Shape of supreme yet comprehensible loveliness, lawful and flawless; let it be of itself and through its form an available inspiration and aspiration; so one such masterpiece of art will create another, as when Keats wrote his sonnet on looking into Chapman's Homer, or that on a picture of Leander, or his Ode to an Urn. However, to explain the principles of art is not my purpose; but it is my purpose to prove that poetry is an art, that prose, if an art, is of a lower order, and that any mixture of poetry and prose is no art at all.

Of course, I am not speaking of prose as a separate element in poetic drama—in Shakespeare, for example; but even this great artist had to learn his craft. Indeed, if we turn to *Richard II.*, one of his earlier plays, and notably a play of attempt and experiment, we find a curious passage that allows us, I believe, to see him 'trying his hand'; and for the purpose of this article it will be of immense interest and profit to watch him for a moment. After reading the disorganised verse of II. ii. 98-122, we imagine the poet thus debating with himself: 'That ought to do for an experiment in making the speech proclaim the man; the emergency is too much for York; his old wits are bewildered and confused like the blank verse of his utterance—verse? But is it verse? It is neither verse nor prose! Well, let it pass, and serve as an experiment, though a poor one; and it must not happen again. I have decided to write my drama in verse, and what is the use of trying to produce an effect by destroying the ideal medium of utterance that serves my higher and more comprehen-



sive purpose? I gain nothing by letting doubtful art in at one door, while good art goes out at another.'

This passage is regarded as corrupt; that may be; yet it may not, for, on the other hand, *the former speech by York* (ll. 87-92) *is precisely the same in structure, a mixture of verse and prose.* Further, at the close of the second speech, in the rhyming tag :

All is uneven,  
And everything is left at six and seven,

the poet seems to take it for granted that we have noticed the correspondent unevenness of his blank verse.

So also, when Gaunt has declared that

the tongues of dying men  
Enforce attention like deep harmony,

Shakespeare proceeds to give us a specimen of 'deep harmony' in couplet and quatrain. Yet more, while the queen is mere woman and her feelings are mere sentiment, her language is invariably enfeebled by conceits; but when she becomes tragic she speaks the finest and most forcible verse in the whole play. So also, when York has recovered his presence of mind, he gives us 'As in a theatre the eyes of men,' etc. There was a time when even Shakespeare had to make his ventures, and feel his dramatic and poetic way.

From our second great poet, Milton, we must now learn something of importance to our subject. The same tendency to destroy definite form is observable in rhyme systems as in metrical systems; chiefly, however, where the rhymes occur in metrical systems that are themselves irregular, as in most of our English odes. I must therefore give some attention to the subject, for in my opinion irregularity of rhyme produces the same destructive or irritating effect as, for instance, the occasional rhymes (*terminal*) in the blank verse of Shakespeare<sup>9</sup> and Milton. These are much rarer, however, in the later poet; I note only six examples in the First Book of *Paradise Lost*.

But in two of his poems, *Lycidas* and *Samson Agonistes*, Milton will furnish the best illustration available for the subject I am now discussing—namely, the combined irregularity of metre and rhyme. Successful as this irregularity must appear in *Lycidas* (Johnson, however, thought otherwise), the exception should only prove the rule; the licence is less suited to our language than to the Italian from which Milton borrowed it; and it proved disastrous in *Samson Agonistes*. Opinion may differ, but

<sup>9</sup> This has no reference to the rhyming couplets often employed by Shakespeare at the end of a scene, chiefly as a kind of bell to announce the fall of the curtain.



this time I think Johnson gets nearer to the truth;<sup>10</sup> at least, I recognise in this poem more than one sign of decadence. A growing laxity is discernible in many writers of verse whose term of authorship extends over many years; it may be due chiefly to desire of change, and to weariness of the long struggle between impetuous thought and prescribed art form; and it may verge on licence, not freedom. And if this is true of some of Shakespeare's later work, it is still more true of Milton. In *Samson Agonistes* even the blank verse is becoming disintegrated, and from this we may infer an undue licence in the other parts. The chorus on our modern page is often shapeless or artificial; to my thinking, we miss gesture and quantity and music and song and other elements and agencies that once helped to give it being and a composite beauty; and whatever the irregularities in classical drama, those in *Samson Agonistes*—especially of the Chorus—often seem to transgress the bounds of art. Possibly by employing rhyme at unexpected intervals, the poet thought he would gain something of symmetry; but again, from my point of view, the effect is disconcerting.

And now, in respect of metre in poetry, let us venture to repeat that disregard of form is no evidence of skill or power or good taste; it may imply, not mastery, but incompetence or impatience; and this impatience is not confined to beginners nor to great poets like Shakespeare and Milton, who have given us bountifully of perfect form; it occurs now and then—and at times it abandons all composite harmony—in some lesser poet, and may bring him notoriety for awhile, a vogue, but no immortality. Such poets, I fear (and the same may be said of all who confuse prose with verse), have not the genius to understand art form, or they will not take the trouble; it is easier to produce some hybrid compromise, but, again, it is not art.

## II

With the aid of the principles briefly enunciated in the foregoing pages, we shall be able to form a more reliable opinion of such a work as Mr. Maurice Hewlett's *The Agonists*, which may be regarded as a type of the Hybrid Art. It involves, indeed, all our preliminary considerations. Independently of these, however, if we may judge from his Preface, the writer condemns his own methods. As stated above, he admits a combination of

<sup>10</sup> In *Lycidas* the irregularity exists only in the intermittent rhyme, and the occasional use of a shorter line. Even thus I cannot admit the usual defence that the poem must be regarded as 'a piece of music with its phrases and concords and discords'; nor in this instance is the defence necessary. As I have shown, there is no truth in the analogy; and, further, we should have to find the same analogy in *Samson Agonistes*, which is certainly impossible.



prose and verse; and certainly he gives us of his abundance; indeed, he reminds us irresistibly of Artemus Ward, who praised his prison fare because, as he said, it was not stinted, and it had plenty of variety, for there was always beans and bacon, and if he didn't hanker after beans, he could help himself to bacon. Still, we may doubt whether *The Agonists* possesses even this pleasant variety. Tom Hood once read on a notice-board 'Beware the dog,' and he forthwith took a piece of chalk and wrote underneath, 'Ware be the dog?' It is really much the same with this notice-board of Mr. Hewlett: where are the beans or the bacon? Each becomes either; their beings mix; where is the poetry, where is the prose? I must be pardoned this jesting, for the matter has in it an undeniable element of humour. This may appear even from a short passage, such as the following, which is taken almost at random:

Pasiphaë! where is she?

Minotaur ravens—O king, have mercy!

[*The Priest intervenes.*

PRIEST.

Praise we the Gods!

[*Minos in ecstasy of pride.*

MINOS.

The Gods! I am a God—

Son of all-seeing Zeus! See to him, there—

Give him meat and drink—anooint his feet

With wine and oil; heap a shield

With golden treasure; let flocks,

Fatlings and firstlings, be his.

Let his name be glorious, call him

Augur of Minos; let his place be set

High at our table, who hailed our son,

Olive-crowned, Victor!

[*He turns fiercely to Daedalus.*

Ho, thou

Ill mist, scowling upon us,

Darkener of days, thou boaster!

Gird, twist thy fork, scorpion!

Lo, the World-Disposer,

Disposing of thee, maketh sport

Of thee and thy mumblings there.<sup>11</sup>

The verse (when we can find it) of which this passage is an example, is to be read as prose (and the prose as verse?); and, still more wonderful, when the process of intellectual digestion is com-

<sup>11</sup> *The Agonists*, pp. 69, 70. In fairness I quote not fewer than nineteen or twenty lines—but are they lines?—and are they nineteen or twenty? I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon. My ear gives no help; I must ask help of the eye—the printer, and read 'Ho, thou,' as part of the line preceding. This cannot be determined by metrical scheme or art-structure; and there are plenty of 'lines' of two syllables on other pages.

And now, suppose that I learnt twenty pages of this composition by heart,



plete, the resultant 'ought to be revealed as verse.' These 'Directions for Use' are as bewildering as the ingredients of the mixture, and, again, they are certainly amusing; they remind us of bygone devices to indicate stage scenery—'This is a tavern'; so on the paintings of our childhood we may have written, 'This is a cow.' But, to be exact, let us take some of this Preface word for word. I am afraid that it reads as a striking example of the French *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse*.

First, by way of defence for such a passage as the above, the writer has 'considered more the beauty of the whole.' I have heard that the very greatest of artists will not scorn attention to detail; where shall we find a flaw in *Othello*? And this idea that the whole must atone for the parts—why, the architect may forget his corner-stone or his buttress, or put a bonnet on the head of a caryatid, or a tobacco-pipe into the mouth of a gargyle. But it is too early yet to lose our patience, and we proceed.

As we have learnt on our former pages, in poetry more than in any other art, more even than in music, we comprehend the whole by virtue of the symmetry of the parts, and by this alone. With ease we learn by heart Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and *Minstrel*, but who could assimilate in such fashion so much as one fourth of *Ivanhoe*? And who could assimilate and so gain real mental comprehension of *The Agonists*?

But let us return to the 'Directions for use'; they at least will guide us. Yet surely, the author ought to have said, 'You must read it *as if it were poetry*,' not 'as if it were prose,' for we presume that he intended to put poetry before us. Yet how can we be sure—how can we be sure of anything in this *Hybrid*—or in the Preface? Here, in the same paragraph, the writer speaks of his 'versification,' his 'prosody,' his 'metrical system conditioned by the subject'; yet, for all this, that 'poetry may borrow from prose without ceasing to be poetry'; that 'the verse be read to them as prose' and 'the indicated pauses followed'; how shall we find the concord of this discord?

on what principle could I mentally arrange them in lines? Why should I not re-arrange the passage before us after this fashion? :

The Gods! I am a God—  
Son of all-seeing Zeus!  
See to him, there —  
Give him meat and drink —  
Anoint his feet with wine and oil;  
Heap a shield with golden treasure, etc., etc.

This arrangement, I venture to think, is more musical—and it is more metrical. I may be in error; yet at least I turn with relief to some passage in *Shakespeare*, such as the Death of Cleopatra. Here we have that utmost freedom in dramatic blank verse which was examined in the former division of this article; but the metrical system, however modified, is by no means destroyed. We may note, moreover, that the waiting-women serve in some slight measure as a chorus.



But let us attend seriously to the following directions :

- (i) The verse is to be read as prose,
- (ii) With the stresses where they would naturally fall ;
- (iii) Full value is to be given to the vowel sounds of ordinary speech ;
- (iv) The indicated pauses are to be followed.

We take the last of these : what are the indicated pauses? Are they the lines of this composition, its metrical bars? but—and this is the crucial question—if any intelligent principle is involved, why may we not ‘indicate’ for ourselves?

So with the rest of these directions ; they are either gratuitous or meaningless ; and were not confusion worse confounded, nothing would be left to the intelligence of the reader.

Perhaps I should not be disposed to condemn these intrusions so emphatically had they appeared for the first time in a volume of this scheme and scope ; but the fact that they exist in embryo as ‘directions’ for the reading of three short lyrics in the writer’s former volume, *Artemision*, makes them doubly irritating. Whatever may be said of them here, there was no excuse for them in the other book ; the claim that the darkness of irregularities (including rhyme) will vanish in the light of the vast whole, is there invalid ; it is invalid here.

Again, ‘the music which I have certainly heard, but am incapable of rendering otherwise than by rhythm’ ; what rhythm, of prose or verse? ‘One conventional measure’? certainly not, we admit ; but we must have *measures*. Then there are statements unintelligible because they are so astounding—‘The burden of the iambic pentameter has been too many for the poets—and it seems, for their hearers.’ (What does *many* mean?) When I recover from the astonishment that overwhelmed me on reading this statement, I may venture to urge, ‘But there was a poet called Shakespeare ; I have dared to admire him ; indeed, I know him almost by heart, and by virtue of these very pentameters!’

In regard to this Preface, I am concerned only with modes of expression, and not with fable or philosophy ; but I must add a note on this curious passage—‘a philosophical underflow, which, if I have been rightly inspired, ought to have been discernible in my music.’ Now, whether music will ever become articulate, we cannot say ; but it is not articulate at present ; we still live on words, not on inarticulate sounds. But again, where is the music? Vainly the author appeals to Wagner, whose ‘libretti were written on a strict metrical system ; but his music was not.’ Wagner, therefore, knew something of the difference between poetry and music, and, as I venture to believe, might have taught this writer a good deal that he has not learnt. As to the music



of Wagner being unmetrical, that question was examined in the former part of this article, where also it was pointed out that the wider and more indefinite phrasings of music are absolutely impracticable in verse.

It seems scarcely worth while to pursue the subject any further, but I have yet to notice the irregular rhymes in *The Agonists*; here, however, I need only refer to the former division of this article, and add that in my opinion the irregular employment of rhyme in Mr. Hewlett's *Agonists* adds certainly to the general confusion, the bewilderment—the chaos.

MORTON LUCE.



## ALCOHOL IN AFRICA

A good proportion of the space in that section of the British Press which deals with African missionary and philanthropic problems, besides journals of more general scope such as *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, has been taken up recently with the question awaiting the decision of Europe and especially of this country on the importation of alcohol into Africa, its manufacture there, and the sale of it to natives. It is being asked if the restrictions at present in force in the Conventional Basin of the Congo (including nearly all Central Africa), and in British Northern Nigeria, should be universally applied all over the rest of West Africa, in the Egyptian Sudan,<sup>1</sup> in Madagascar, and in such parts of South Africa—German, Portuguese, and British—as those wherein the native still has more or less unrestricted access to ardent spirits.

In French, German, British, Portuguese, and Spanish West Africa (including the Portuguese Province of Angola), in Portuguese East Africa and Zambesia, in the Anglo-Egyptian and French Sudan, in German South-West Africa, Cape Colony, the Orange State, the Transvaal, and Natal alcohol may, under licence, be given or sold to negroes or negroids, or may be imported by them, just as it may be to or by white men. In the Belgian Congo (except the coast strip), in Northern Nigeria, much of British East Africa (except the coast) and Uganda, German East Africa (except the coast), Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland, the giving or selling of alcohol in any form to a native of negro blood is a punishable offence, except of course

<sup>1</sup> Since Article XC. of the 1889-90 Brussels Conference pledged the Powers of Europe to forbid the importation of spirits for sale to natives, or their distillation in a broad zone across Africa between 20° N. lat. and 22° S. lat., the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, like the French Sudan, should have been a 'prohibition area.' But somehow these stipulations seem to be evaded in French Somaliland, the Egyptian and the French Sudan, and French Nigeria. Abyssinia under the last years of Menelik's rule was seemingly prohibitionist. In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Greeks seem to do much distilling of spirit from grain, an art they have taught to many of the Sudanese negroes, who now provide their own ardent spirits, and in spite of Muhammadanism are becoming a very drunken people: that, at least, was my impression ten years ago.



when administered as a medicine by a qualified medical man. In all these last-named regions the importation of alcohol or its local manufacture are hindered rather than helped by local laws. They are what would be termed in America 'prohibition' countries, so far as the natives are concerned.

It is understood that the Brussels Conference dealing with this and other African questions is about to meet again, and that possibly fresh legislation may spring from an agreement between the Powers assembled at that Conference, which may extend to West Africa, and, it may be, to South Africa and to the Sudan, the provisions now in force in regard to a vast area of Central Africa known as the Conventional Basin of the Congo (including parts of British Central Africa, of French Congo and the Cameroons), and all British Northern Nigeria.

At the present time the struggle in the United Kingdom between those who bitterly oppose the dissemination of distilled alcohol amongst the natives of Africa, and those who if not favourable to the trade are at any rate of opinion that it does no particular harm, is concentrated on the British Protectorate of Southern Nigeria; and the protagonists on either side are the missionaries of the Church of England and of other Protestant Churches at work in West Africa (who are uncompromising 'prohibitionists'); and Mr. E. D. Morel, lately a special correspondent of *The Times* in those regions, and celebrated as the champion of native rights in the Congo Basin, on the Gold Coast, and in other directions. That Mr. Morel, who has hitherto worked so heartily with the missionaries in defence of native rights to land and to complete freedom of commerce, should have in any way seemed to disparage attacks on alcohol in Africa, has come as a great surprise to the missionary party and to certain philanthropic societies, and has aroused some bitterness of feeling.<sup>2</sup>

The officials working under the Colonial Office in West Africa (and, before the Union, in South Africa) have also exhibited signs of divided counsel, besides the philanthropists. Articles which have appeared in this Review and elsewhere have in former times

<sup>2</sup> By those who feel this bitterness we are referred to Mr. Morel's former utterances on this subject in his book *Affairs of West Africa*, published in 1902. 'The European Missionary also denounces drunkenness, and with a fervour at times which is not always discriminating. But he is terribly handicapped (1) by the European trader, about one-fifth of whose total trade consists in the importation of freshly distilled liquor, often but not invariably containing various impurities, and in quality not exceeding that which is sold in low public-houses in this country, and which, freely mixed with water, may not be very injurious, but drunk neat, as for the most part it is in the coastal regions of West Africa, is—we have overwhelming testimony to that effect—harmful; (2) by the European Governments who, although they do now and again raise the duty on spirits in deference to public opinion, tacitly encourage a traffic without which their whole administrative machinery would become temporarily paralysed, seeing that from 45 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the revenue of their



denounced the evils wrought by distilled alcohol in the Sierra Leone coast strip, and have made clear the desire of the local administrators of the Sierra Leone Protectorate that distilled alcohol should be as far as possible excluded from the interior of that flourishing possession. It was almost a matter of course down to a few years ago that officials directly appointed by Downing Street to work in South Africa took the side of the Temperance party in seeking to restrict the sale of distilled alcohol to natives of South Africa. Especially has this been the case in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, and Zululand, while from the very beginning of the British protectorate over the regions north of the Zambezi it is clear that all responsible officials have cordially co-operated with the orders of their Government in maintaining very strictly the regulations initiated by the Brussels Conference in regard to prohibiting the sale of alcohol to the natives.

Perhaps a temperately written article on this subject may not be without its use at the present time, when the national mind is making itself up in the direction either of intensifying restrictions regarding the manufacture of distilled alcohol in Africa or its importation from abroad, or the actual prohibition of its sale to natives of the country.

The distillation of alcohol from various fermented juices of fruits, such as the grape, apple, or pear, etc., or from liquors derived from honey, malted barley, rice or other grain, arose, probably, in Asia and Eastern Europe as far back as four thousand years ago, and whisky was made in Ireland by distillation in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Arabs in the Mediterranean basin developed distillation during their five hundred years of enlightenment, and invented the word 'alcohol' (*al-kohl*, a powder, paint, or essence), though owing to the Muhammadan prohibition of intoxicants they made little use of their stills for manufacturing any strong waters for drinking purposes. In England, France, Spain, Italy, Southern Germany, and the Netherlands spirits were scarcely drunk, except as a cordial or medicine, until the beginning of the 17th century.

Though fermented drinks were early invented by primitive man in Africa and America, the manufacture of ardent spirits by means of distillation was unknown till it was introduced by Euro-

Colonies is derived from this traffic. These circumstances may, or may not, be preventable. They exist, and cannot be ignored.' He adds in a foot-note : . . . 'The merchants are sometimes violently attacked on account of this trade. Personally, I detest the West African liquor traffic. I look upon it in the same light as the opium traffic in the Far East—a blot upon the escutcheon of Christian Europe. But those who denounce the merchants might just as well, and more logically, denounce the Governments. *Per se* the liquor traffic is not a lucrative trade to the merchant, but to the local administrations on the coast it is the backbone of revenue. . . .'



peans. In Africa a disregard of the methods of distilling alcohol was largely due to the spread of the Muhammadan religion over the northern and eastern parts of that continent—a religion which not only shut off Negro Africa from contact with mediæval Europe for a considerable period, but was a faith which in its basic principles forbade the use of wine and other intoxicants. It was not, therefore, possible to establish a taste for foreign and for distilled alcohol until European nations reached the coasts of Negro Africa by sea, and were independent of any Muhammadan opposition; or until, with the opening up of Egypt during the nineteenth century, Greek traders were enabled to spread the rudimentary ideas of distillation amongst the negroes of the Egyptian Sudan, while simultaneously the non-Muhammadan Indian traders imported the same ideas into the Zanzibar coastlands.

The drinking of distilled alcohol began to take root in West Africa during the seventeenth century. It was not, indeed, common amongst the European soldiers, seamen, and merchants, before that period. They drank wine or beer, as the case may be; 'strong waters,' cordials, 'the water of life' (as brandy was first called) were only used as expensive drugs. Then the Portuguese took to the distilling of the juice of the sugar-cane into rum—aguardente—and imported it into West Africa from Brazil and into East Africa from India. The French and British conveyed large quantities of brandy to enraptured African chiefs, delighted at this speedy method of obtaining complete intoxication. Holland was well to the fore with her gin.

By the eighteenth century distilled alcohol was playing a tremendous part in the evolution of human affairs in West and South Africa. In West Africa it ranked almost above gunpowder as the chief inducement to capture prisoners in warfare and raids, or to condemn them as malefactors in civil life, so that they might be sold as slaves to the Dutch, British, Portuguese, Danes, and French, who required them for the opening up of Tropical America. Distilled alcohol, in fact, was the chief bait used for the establishment of that devastating slave-trade in the West African coastlands between the Senegal on the north-west and Angola on the south-west, which brought natives from the very heart of Africa out of a life of absolute savagery to one of comparative civilisation in America, but a life which—especially in all parts of America under the British and Dutch flags—was positively an infernal existence to the unfortunate negro. Yet these several millions of black people performed a gigantic task under the superintendence of Europeans in laying the foundations of a civilisation in North-Temperate and Tropical America which is already producing astounding results.

To obtain brandy, rum, or gin, the negro of West Africa would



perform marches of hundreds of miles, and risk his life perpetually in battle, either with his fellow-negro or with the forces of Nature. By means of the lure of alcohol the white man has got at many of the secrets which the Dark Continent was loath to yield. An explorer would be followed almost anywhere if he had alcohol to distribute as a ration.

Yet it was obvious, even as early as the eighteenth century, that distilled alcohol was ruining many negro tribes. Together with smallpox, it accounted for some hundred-thousand Hottentots in Dutch South Africa, who drank themselves dead or imbecile on the gin and brandy imported or distilled by the Dutch colonists, or who were so weakened in constitution by their potations that they were still less able to resist the encroachments of disease, both native and foreign. When distilled alcohol touched the fringe of the Bantu peoples and its ravages became obvious to the minds of this more intelligent type of negro, it was viewed with horror by their native chiefs. The Dutch authorities had prevented the early missionaries of the Moravian churches from preaching a too vehement temperance propaganda; but when after the British occupation of the Cape there came out bold Scotch Presbyterians, English Nonconformists, and French Evangelicals, who brooked no check or interference from the civil or military authority, the native chiefs of Bantu South Africa soon found teachers who sided with them in denouncing the sale or consumption of spirits. It is probably due to the action of British and French missionaries in the southern third of Africa that distilled alcohol has had so little effect for evil on the native population; but I think it can be shown by the evidence at our disposal that it had already done for the Hottentots south of the Orange River.

In Portuguese Guinea, in the coastlands of Liberia, the Gold Coast, Dahomé, Lagos, the Niger Delta, Kamerun and Congo, between 1882 and 1907 I have encountered negro tribes that have been seriously affected in their physical stamina and *morale* by distilled alcohol. I have found that it distinctly diminished their natural increase,<sup>3</sup> and that it led to incessant quarrels, which sometimes grew to the dimensions of civil wars; that the tribes most given to the consumption of ardent spirits (with the exception, perhaps, of the Kru people) were lazy and unenterprising, and were constantly obliged to give way either to the more vigorous and less alcoholised peoples of the interior or to foreign negroes imported by Europeans.

At the same time I have been fully aware, through other journeys and experiences, that the disgusting squalor caused by this perpetual craving for drink (stimulated by imported spirits) was only a worse phase in the West African coastlands of the

<sup>3</sup> By provoking abortion and still-births amongst the women.



alcohol nuisance existing generally throughout all non-Muham-  
 madan Africa, and even within the areas covered by that faith.  
 In former times, travel in East Africa, in the central basin of the  
 Congo, in South-central Africa, and in the Nigerian Sudan, was  
 again and again rendered difficult by the drunkenness amongst the  
 natives or amongst one's own porters. Every living African  
 traveller of old times can tell the same story, and can tell it of  
 regions perfectly innocent of distilled alcohol. Here, of course,  
 the people drank the fermented sap of palm-trees, or beer from  
 bananas or from grain.

The difference between these liquids and brandy, rum, gin,  
 whisky, etc., was, of course, much greater than that between dis-  
 tilled alcohol and the wine and beer of civilised countries (see  
 note 4). These native fermented drinks might make people  
 quarrelsome, but did not make them mad. They affected their  
 health but little, at the worst perhaps producing certain gouty  
 symptoms. On the other hand, to the mind of the native, palm-  
 wine and maize-beer, as compared with the distilled alcohol of the  
 European, were 'as moonlight unto sunlight and as water unto  
 wine.' Like the farmer at the rent dinner in the fifty-year-old  
*Punch* joke, who got 'no forrader' on claret, the negro had to  
 drink quarts of his palm-wine or his sorghum beer before he even  
 felt a slight elation,<sup>4</sup> while he certainly never lost consciousness

<sup>4</sup> For the convenience of the reader I might give here a comparative table show-  
 ing the approximate amount of *pure alcohol* contained in the principal fermented  
 drinks of the world, and in the types of distilled spirits imported into Africa or  
 manufactured there for human consumption.

Name of liquid	Proportion of alcohol to volume of liquid Per cent.
Whisky (Irish) . . . . .	60 to 74
Whisky (Scotch) . . . . .	45 to 72
Rum . . . . .	66 to 82
Brandy . . . . .	46 to 67
Gin . . . . .	about 50
Trade gin (as imported into Africa) . . . . .	about 44
Port wine and sherry . . . . .	an average 19
Champagne and Burgundy wines . . . . .	from 12.5 to 16
Bordeaux wines clarets) . . . . .	from 10.3 to 11.5
Moselle, hocks, and other light German wines . . . . .	9.5 to 11
Stout and porter beer . . . . .	4 to 6.1
English ales . . . . .	3.8 to 5.5
German beer . . . . .	3.5 to 4.5
Indigenous African fermented drinks :	
Raphia palm-sap, one day old . . . . .	2.1
Ditto, after one week's keeping . . . . .	3 to 4
Oil palm, borassus, coconut, and other palm-saps . . . . .	3 to 3.5
Beer made from maize . . . . .	about 2
" " " sorghum or millet . . . . .	about 1.5

I have taken these figures from trustworthy authorities, but I fancy that the  
 proportion of alcohol in *old* fermented palm-wine is a little underrated. I should



and became a god under the influence of these wines and beers. But one small glass of Portuguese rum, Schiedam or Hamburg gin, of brandy or whisky would send a glow through his lethargic body and brighten his wits temporarily; and another glass might give him all the crude joys of intoxication.

It is somewhat the same with the European in Tropical Africa. Wine and beer may be agreeable to his taste, but if very agreeable may as likely as not be provocative of gouty symptoms or headaches. A stiff glass of whisky-and-water, a gin cocktail, a nip of brandy, will seem to give him at the time the fillip, the energy, the enterprise he demands. Their later effects on his system will be far more pernicious than those produced (in some cases) by wine and beer. But as this effect does not immediately follow on their consumption he will attribute the various complaints of the liver, kidneys, and stomach which they produce to the African climate or to other causes.

Herein lies one of the difficulties of the settlement of the alcohol question in Africa. Distilled alcohol is not only as bad for the European as it is for the negro, but its effects are perhaps worse, or at any rate more patent to the eye, in a land where men of European race are still rare, and each is, so to speak, under special observation. Yet the European in Africa is very loath to part with his liberty in regard to his dietary, the majority of them, especially those of Nordic race, still clinging to their whisky, brandy, rum and gin in the belief, which not all the united opinion of the greatest physicians and surgeons of the day can shake, that alcohol is a stimulant and, taken in moderation, a harmless one.

I am timid about expressing my own opinion in this direction, because to attack alcohol nowadays is a more dangerous emprise than to attack the principles of established religion. The manufacture of alcohol or fermented drinks has created such vast vested interests which have so permeated the Press in parts of the United Kingdom and of the United States, of Germany, Holland, Portugal, France, and South Africa, that to denounce distilled spirits as a poison to the human system is to call down on one abuse which is not argument. I can only say that in my own personal experience any form of distilled alcohol is a poison, especially to a system enfeebled by much malarial fever. I know that, physically, most other Europeans in Africa are, as I am, unable to drink distilled spirits, even diluted with water, without suffering more or less directly. I am also aware that the consumption of brandy, rum,

be inclined to think certain types of palm-wine, especially from the Raphias, after some weeks' keeping might show about 6 per cent. of alcohol; but in this condition they are so nasty that they are probably not drunk to excess. From this table it will be seen how weak in alcohol are the native drinks of Tropical Africa compared with the weakest wines of Europe.



gin, etc., has been disastrous to European enterprises in Tropical and in South Africa. It has lost us battles, it has provoked many needless quarrels with native races, it has led naturally honest men into dishonest courses, and has blighted and ruined many a promising career. I formed these opinions after my first visit to Tropical Africa between 1882 and 1883, and from that visit came back a convinced abolitionist and teetotaler, so far as ardent spirits were concerned. I do not take quite the same view in Africa or anywhere else regarding the consumption of wine and beer. Personally, to my great regret (because I like their taste), I am unable to drink either, on account of their effect on my health; but no one can prove that the natives of Spain or Portugal, of France or the Rhine Valley, of Italy or Greece, derive any material harm from drinking their home-grown unfortified wines; and I have no doubt similar things might be said of California, Cape Colony, and of Australia. The reason why wine-drinking in England is often so unwholesome and, in fact, leads to alcoholic poisoning, is that almost all foreign and colonial wines, except some that come from France, have, before they are exported to Great Britain, to be fortified with added alcohol. The Englishman who goes to Germany and drinks Rhine wine and finds to his surprise that he is not one whit the worse, nevertheless gets ill when on his return he attempts to consume similar quantities of imported hock. Sherry in South-western Spain is no doubt quite as wholesome as is unfortified port in Portugal; both port and sherry are unwholesome in Britain.

The non-Muhammadan native of Africa craves for a modicum of alcohol, and if he cannot get distilled spirits is miserable without fermented drinks, either those locally manufactured, or such as might be imported in the form of wine and beer from abroad. Mr. Morel, when acting as *The Times* correspondent in West Africa, published an interesting interview with the Governor-General of French West Africa, at which the latter apparently put forward the idea that the negro's craving for alcohol—at present met by the importation of brandy, rum, gin, and whisky—might be satisfied if these distilled spirits were ousted in favour of wine and beer imported from Europe. At the same time to create a market for French wines in West Africa might be a splendid thing for French viticulture, an industry which has certainly been hit at the present day by the diminished consumption of wine in Britain and the United States owing to the spread of total abstinence.

The idea is not one which should be heedlessly denounced, if only the beer was no stronger than French or German lager-beer, and if the wines were unfortified. Is it really necessary to 'fortify' so many foreign wines if they are imported to England? The



Portuguese export to their West African possessions a red wine of excellent quality and taste, which is unfortified, and at the same time pronounced by not a few doctors to be an excellent blood-making and stimulating drink, especially diluted with water. I do not see why in the French possessions (where, curiously enough, this Portuguese red wine is very popular) its place should not be taken by French-grown wines, and why such French wines should not spread far and wide through the negro countries of Africa, displacing not only the execrable distilled spirits (which I personally would exclude *absolutely* from the consumption of Europeans and natives alike) but also the various wines and beers made from the sap of palm-trees or from native-grown grain. It must be remembered that one of the arguments adduced by Mr. Morel and others for not interfering unduly with the importation of distilled spirits, is that unless you can give the native something to displace palm-wine in his affections, he is going—as he increases in numbers—to affect for the worse a good many African industries which are based on the growth of more or less valuable palm-trees. A palm-tree that is tapped for wine produces no dates, no coconuts, no oil nuts (according to its species) which are of any value, and the values of these fruits of the different palms far exceed in importance the sugary drink furnished by their sap.

In the same way in South Africa, if the white men could be trusted to play fair, and not under the name of wine circulate strong waters, there would be no reason to condemn the sale of home-grown wines produced in Cape Colony. I have met with Cape wines, even in early days, as far north as the Ovampo country, where they competed with the wine brought from Portugal. Both were good and seemingly quite wholesome.

Anyone who has the patience to go through the vast mass of recently published correspondence, official and unofficial, would be made aware that there is scarcely anyone with authority to speak who can assert the wholesomeness of distilled spirits to white or black living in Africa, and there are many who specially denounce the quality of the spirits—the gin and bad whisky more especially—that are imported for native consumption. Here and there a doctor is found to say that a bottle of trade gin submitted for analysis is not more deleterious than a bottle of so-and-so's whisky or of ordinary brandy. But I doubt if any doctor of reputation could be brought forward who would assert over his signature that trade gin was fit for consumption by a European. One of the last and worst things that can be said of a white man in West Africa is that he has taken to trade gin. The end is not then far off. Only, unfortunately, it is generally preceded by a period of complete moral irresponsibility. Now, I should like the apologist for trade gin to bring forward a pathologist of repute



who would assert and prove that what is bad for the European mentally and physically, is innocuous to the negro. The negro has a very tough constitution in some directions, and perhaps may resist a little longer than the white man the effects of constant potations of ardent spirits, but he seems to me to be just as surely poisoned by the bad whisky, bad brandy, bad gin, as the European, and not to resist very much longer the superior brands of such spirits. Apologists for the trade, dismissing for the time being the effect of distilled alcohol on the coast, plead that it does no harm in the interior, because on the journey thither it is boldly diluted with water by the negro vendors, and consequently only reaches the people of the interior in the form of grog; and to support this thesis quotations are made from my own writing of the eighties, in which I have described the process by which the middlemen or negro traders of the coast halt on the outskirts of interior kingdoms and mix their gin freely with water, thus doubling the quantity which they have to sell. But these are old-fashioned arguments now. It is overlooked that in nearly every European colony in West Africa (to say nothing of South Africa) there are railways penetrating far into the interior. The negro marches with the times—marches faster than most of us have any idea of in Europe. If there is a railway, you may be quite sure that negro coast-traders (to say nothing of the European traders) will not send their goods in slow, easygoing fashion on men's heads. The cases of gin, the demijohns of rum, the casks of brandy, landed from the ocean-going steamer, are sent immediately by train to depots far inland, if they are intended for the interior trade. Moreover, sophisticated natives of the interior, who, ten, twenty, thirty years ago were actually prevented by the negro coast-merchants from visiting the coasts, not only come to the coast stores now to purchase their alcohol, as it arrives from Europe, but are quite able in their distant homes to tell whether it has been adulterated or not, and to refuse it if much diluted with water. In short, distilled spirits now are penetrating a good deal of Negro Africa which has hitherto been sealed to them. They are even being drunk by the Muhammadans, who hitherto have thought that drunkenness was the vice inherent in pagans and Christians. Still, to do it justice, the spirit of Islam throughout Africa is as much as ever on the side of abstinence from alcohol, with the result that a good many Muhammadan negro nations are of better physique than the pagan or Christian negroes of the coast.

Some enlightened native chiefs, anxious to preserve their people from the effects of drinking distilled alcohol, encourage Muhammadanism even if they do not adopt it as their own religion. They realise that if their people become Muhammadans they will not only be temperate and sober, but they will gain greatly in self-



respect and in warlike qualities. This tendency accentuates the hatred which the Christian missionary and the far-sighted politician is beginning to feel in regard to alcohol. I admit, with some sorrow, that the attitude of the Roman Catholic missionaries has not been so doggedly on the teetotal side as has been that of the Protestant Churches. Many of the Catholic missionaries are natives of countries like France, Spain, Portugal, Rhenish Germany and Bavaria, where wine is a customary drink and a harmless one, and where an occasional thimbleful of liqueur or brandy can be taken without its provocation to further excess. They do not realise the Nordic weakness or the negro weakness where access to fierce spirits is concerned. Yet missionaries of all branches of the Christian faith deplore (as do a few far-sighted politicians) the spread of Muhammadanism in Africa, and the hold which it has obtained over such a large proportion of the continent. And they do so nowadays, not so much from shallow-minded ideas about worship and faith, but because to their thinking Muhammadanism arrests men at a mediæval stage of human culture from which little real progress can be made. Civilisation based on the Koran and on the traditions of Muhammad's teaching carries the negro many stages beyond his cannibalism, fetish worship, and squalid dirtiness of existence. But it cannot produce a complete and a wholesome civilisation like that of the leading negroes of the United States, of the French West Indies, of Jamaica, Natal, and Brazil. For the same reason, politicians anxious for the prevalence throughout the habitable globe of the white man's principles of life, based on modern science and on Christian ethics, must view with apprehension the spread of Muhammadanism in Africa.<sup>5</sup> And if this spread is to be encouraged in order to save the negro from abuse of alcohol, the politician should be still more ready to adopt a drastic policy of excluding distilled alcohol as an import into Tropical Africa, or of not allowing it to be manufactured there, except for purely industrial purposes.

As before remarked, it is chiefly on the protectorate of Southern Nigeria that attention is concentrated from an 'anti-alcohol' point of view at the present time. Here it would seem that the greatest proportionate amount of spirits is imported and consumed per head of native population; here drunkenness is—according to the accusers—most flagrant and most harmful to native life. The coast regions of Lagos and the Niger delta have been celebrated for drunkenness (on distilled European alcohol) since the experiences of Clapperton and the brothers Lander in the early nineteenth century; and when I lived in this region as a Consular officer in 1885-88 it justified the same diatribes as it does now.

<sup>5</sup> I gave reasons to explain this in my article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for June 1910, 'The Negro and Religion'.



I hesitated then, however, as now to denounce these negroes of the Egba, Edo, Jekri, Ijō, Ibo, Akwa, Efik, and Ibibio tribes, because of the hard life they lead in this country of dense rainfall, frightful thunder-storms, blazing sun, stinking marshes, gloomy forests, insect-infested sand, and jungle haunted by leopards, puff-adders, tree-cobras, and all-devouring ants. European and negro alike in this exhausting and unhealthy climate crave for some stimulant which may enable them to resist its depressing effects on mind and body. The land is amazingly rich in natural products,<sup>6</sup> and for the biologist in zoology or botany is a storehouse of wonders.

According to the expert testimony of highly qualified medical men well versed in chemistry and pathology, distilled spirits are of no avail whatsoever, even in the most diluted form, as a stimulant to the flagging energies of mind and body in Equatorial West Africa. On the contrary, the use of them is said, especially among negroes—to pave the way for the ravages of tuberculosis, besides producing cirrhosis of the liver, and other more or less dangerous complaints. Indeed, the relations of alcohol to tuberculosis form a question of the utmost seriousness which has not been sufficiently investigated by British pathologists or politicians. The Congress of Colonial and Tropical Agriculture held at Brussels in May 1910, which included amongst its members some of the most advanced men of science on the Continent and in the Americas, decided that 'alcohol was the most active and widespread element in the demoralisation of the native races, and that everywhere it prepared the ground for tuberculosis.' Certainly, tuberculosis (though it existed among negro and negroid races in the Egyptian Sudan three or four thousand years ago) has of late, and coincidently with the introduction of distilled alcohol, increased its ravages amongst the negro population of the West Coast of Africa and all those parts wherein spirits are sold to the natives. It is perhaps most of all in the United States of America and the West Indies and Pacific archipelagoes that the coincidence of spirit-drinking and the increase of tuberculous diseases has been most clearly noted, as has been the diminution of tuberculosis quite recently within the areas wherein prohibition has had most time to take effect. Likewise, in the United Kingdom, where there has been most alcoholism and where there is most at the present day (parts of Scotland, Ireland, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Midland England, which are far more shockingly drunken than the worst part of West Africa), the ravages of tuberculosis are such as to become a national question of the first importance.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> It does a trade with the outside world, mainly Great Britain, of an approximate annual value of 9,200,000*l.* So it is worth 'bothering about.'

<sup>7</sup> The races who have shown themselves most prone to abuse of alcohol have been the Nordic Europeans, the northern Mongols and the Persians, the North American Indians, and the Negro; and these are the races most prone to tuberculosis.



An impartial and honest investigation of the evidence—especially of the evidence that meets the eye—of the harm which is being done by distilled alcohol in West Africa (and to a lesser degree in South Africa),<sup>8</sup> leads one to the conclusion that in Southern Nigeria, for example, the importation of distilled spirits should be absolutely prohibited (except as a drug to be used by qualified medical men). But what would be the effect on the revenues of this Protectorate of such a course, is the question next to be asked. From the latest statistics which have been obtained and published by the Duke of Westminster's Committee (the 'Native Races and the Liquor Traffic')—statistics which I have not seen refuted—there were imported into Southern Nigeria during 1910 for consumption by six and a half millions of people 4,700,000 gallons of spirits (distilled alcohol). This was nearly a million more gallons than the amount imported during 1909, and the highest figure yet reached (as far back as 1905 the yearly amount imported into Southern Nigeria was only 2,670,000 gallons). The sum realised by duty on imported spirits during 1910 must therefore have been considerably over 800,000*l.* (The figure given for the amount realised by duties on imported spirits for 1909 was 691,186*l.*) Yet the total revenue of Southern Nigeria for the year 1910 was probably not much more than 1,600,000*l.* (In 1909 it was 1,388,243*l.*) Consequently, if these figures are approximately correct, the Administration of Southern Nigeria in prohibiting the importation of distilled alcohol would sacrifice a present revenue of over 800,000*l.*—a half of its revenue, in fact.

This revenue has been needed sorely in the general interests of the natives (even more than of the Europeans) in extending sanitation to improve health (which, it must be admitted, is largely balanced by the harm done by alcohol), in building railways, cutting roads, clearing obstacles out of canals, creeks, and streams, and so improving navigation : in short, in opening up the means of carriage all over the Protectorate, so that men may go hither and thither in safety and comfort to trade, and so that the enormous wealth of the forests may be brought even from the most remote parts of the Protectorate for sale to the European merchants. And as this native wealth of the country belongs mainly to its indigenous inhabitants (the reverse, in fact, of the policy of

<sup>8</sup> Mrs. McFadyen and other white women who have had the courage to speak out recently on the question of black man and white woman in South Africa attribute the recent cases of indecent assault on the part of the negroes in the Transvaal entirely to the maddening effect of the alcohol (presumably 'dop' or Cape brandy) which is allowed to be sold to them at the licensed stores in the Transvaal, Orange State, and Cape Colony. Read also on this subject that remarkable novel—one of the cleverest ever written on South Africa—*The Dop Doctor*. Abuse of distilled alcohol prompted in the United States innumerable sexual crimes among whites and blacks, which have singularly diminished where prohibition has been put in force.



the Congo), the more Southern Nigeria can be opened up to commerce, the richer will become its millions of indigenous negroes.

But those who are on the attacking side say: 'What is the good of all these public works if the Europeans are constantly subject to fall into alcoholism and die from the complaints it induces, and if the natives are becoming weaker and weaker in constitution from the same cause? Had you not better get rid of this poison, even if its exploitation brings you in 800,000*l.* a year?'

It must be noted that the same arguments are held to apply to the stoppage of the liquor traffic in other parts of British West Africa—namely, if the importation of spirits is prohibited, how is the administration to become self-supporting? We should have to furnish subsidies from the imperial purse, which is hard on the British taxpayer. To answer this question one is led to consider how this problem is dealt with in East Africa, Uganda, and British Central Africa (Nyasaland and Rhodesia). There, no great revenue can be raised by the exploitation of spirit-selling. Yet as the introduction and maintenance of law and order and the construction of public works are of immense benefit to the negro native, it is only fair that he should contribute according to his means to the country's revenue by some form of supportable taxation. The question has been solved in these countries by export duties and the institution of a hut tax, which is more or less cheerfully paid, and is beginning to contribute a most important sum to the annual revenue of these lands. Why, then, should not export duties and a hut tax be instituted in Southern Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, as a set-off to the abolition of the revenue levied on distilled alcohol? Mainly because merchants object to the former and in regard to the latter the British Government fears to grasp its nettle firmly.

Nor is it altogether to blame. In 1897 Sir Frederick Cardew, when Governor of Sierra Leone, having to take over the large area of the Sierra Leone Protectorate behind the little coast colony, had to raise a revenue for its administration, and did so by instituting a hut tax on similar lines to the hut tax already initiated by the present writer in British Central Africa, or to the hut tax in force in Natal, etc. Unfortunately, with this quite justifiable measure<sup>9</sup> was associated a too sweeping assertion of the rights of the British Crown over the land of the native chiefs of the Sierra Leone Protectorate. Moreover, the tax was put in force abruptly, even stupidly, by a subordinate officer. The result was the Sierra Leone rising of 1898, which was not put down without stiff fighting and considerable bloodshed on both sides. Since that time, except in the tiny Gambia colony, the Colonial Office has been timid of

<sup>9</sup> Which the Colonial Office after some consideration and change finally adopted.



reintroducing this question of the hut tax in West Africa. The very people—some of them—who are now attacking the Colonial Office in this matter of alcohol inveighed against it for even entertaining the idea of a hut tax in British West Africa, though a little reflection would have shown them that it was quite reasonable that natives should be taxed in moderation for the infinitely superior conditions of life which British intervention had brought about, that they should not become a burden on the taxpayer of the British Islands, and that they were able to see for themselves in every year's accounts how the money thus raised in their country was spent on their country only. But to avoid 'rows,' and possibly occasional punitive expeditions to put down lawlessness provoked by this idea of direct taxation, the British Government has preferred to support its Protectorates and Colonies in West Africa mainly on alcohol, rather than to send diplomatic officials to explain patiently this whole matter of taxation to the native chiefs and peoples, and get them to agree—as they did voluntarily in Nyasaland and Uganda—to some reasonable system like a hut tax, which would make every able-bodied native contribute at any rate a tiny quota annually to the expenses of administering his own country.<sup>10</sup>

This end was gained—and in Uganda certainly, it was gained peacefully and happily—largely by the enlistment of the missionaries as negotiators. The native had come to feel that the missionary, whether or not his doctrine regarding spiritual matters was believable or acceptable, was really a disinterested friend of the negro, passionately anxious to help the negro to a better position, physically and morally, and ready at all times to defend him against injustice or abuse. Therefore, if his missionary advisers recommended favourably to his notice this idea of direct taxation under proper guarantees, his acceptance of the principle was a rapid one, and his adhesion to it has been now undisturbed (in East, South, and Central Africa) for something like eleven years.

I know Southern Nigeria sufficiently well to feel sure that if the question was put fair and square to the people of that country and to the chiefs, in the course of two or three years the mass of the natives would agree to pay a small hut tax, especially if they were told that rum and gin were the undoing of their land, and that the entrance of these liquors would forthwith be abolished. I would not suggest any obstacles being put in the way of the importation of unfortified wines and wholesome European beer. French

<sup>10</sup> A hut tax levied throughout Southern Nigeria, an end not to be attained for perhaps ten years, would at most bring in about 200,000*l.* The deficit caused therefore in the present revenue would have to be met by increase of customs duties on other imports now lightly taxed, or by an export duty on native products, or by a grant-in-aid from the Imperial Parliament. None of these are popular expedients to put forward.



and Portuguese wines (not port or sherry) not only could do little harm, but might be positively beneficial, especially drunk diluted with water. Of course, officialdom would have to be constantly on the alert (assisted by the missionaries) to see that under the guise of wine nothing stronger than mere wine was introduced.

I have dealt quite frankly in the text and in a foot-note with the financial difficulty which will arise if the introduction of spirituous liquors into Southern Nigeria is hurriedly stopped. A prudent Colonial Office may meet with some sympathy if it at any rate takes this point very carefully into consideration before acting. But where it cannot expect any sympathy at all, but strong condemnation, would be if in addition to the already vexatious 'vested interests' created by a two-hundred-year-old trade in imported spirits it proceeded to create new vested interests and new means of alcoholising Southern Nigeria by means of the establishment of local distilleries to manufacture alcohol out of sugar-cane, palm-wine, etc. (except, of course, alcohol for purely industrial purposes). Yet the anti-alcohol party was startled by the promulgation in 1910 of local regulations approved by the Secretary of State which actually made provision for the possible erection of distilleries in this Protectorate, and there was nothing in these regulations or the published correspondence thereon to suggest that the alcohol issuing from these establishments would be a chemical agent or fuel only, and not a liquid for human consumption.

The present problems of South Africa show us what a sickening nuisance can become the vested interests of winegrowers and distillers, who acquire wealth and who misuse that wealth and influence to force their poisonous wares down the throats of ignorant and helpless people. The 'brandy farmers' of the Cape dominate ministries and are perpetually trying to warp legislation in Cape Colony, Orangia, the Transvaal, and Natal, so as to find wider and wider markets for the 'dop' spirit which has wrought such infinite harm among blacks, whites, and yellows in British South Africa. Similarly the new Republican Government in Portugal is finding it difficult to cope with the clamorous demand for increased facilities for rum-distillers in Angola, and for the raising of any embargo on the sale of rum to natives. France has to open North Africa and such other parts of the world as she can influence, not only to her wines, but likewise to her brandies, which are far less wholesome. To gratify the planters of Réunion and Martinique, Madagascar is being flooded with fiery rum (the introduction of spirits was prohibited by the Hova queens from 1868 onwards), and the Malagasy tribes are already suffering in physique and morale from the abuse of distilled alcohol.

It is obvious that if Britain is to initiate a prohibition policy



in Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone, and United South Africa is to do so in Africa south of the twenty-second degree of South latitude, this anti-alcohol action must be international through some Brussels Conference, and not confined to Great Britain or to her daughter nation of South Africa. In South Africa the German authorities on the west, and the Portuguese on the east, must be induced to adopt a common policy in regard to prohibiting the sale of distilled alcohol to natives; otherwise there will be constant evasions of the law by means of smuggling, or natives will leave British territory to settle in the adjoining regions where they can indulge their taste for rum or gin to their hearts' content. Likewise in West Africa, it is no use taking drastic steps to exclude alcohol from the ports of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Southern Nigeria, if there is not complete co-operation on the part of France, Portugal, Germany, Liberia, and Spain. If between the northern parts of French Congo and the Senegal River there is any one port or strip of coastline which may serve for the importation of strong waters, these will be disseminated amongst the natives. That, at least, is the argument of those who would excuse our own Colonial Office from taking further action in Southern Nigeria *unless* it can induce other European nations to adopt as drastic a policy. But the critics of this inaction, especially the missionaries, say that we should set a good example, even if the others will not follow, and should not allow the impression to continue that whereas the British Government strongly disapproves of alcohol in Northern Nigeria, it is indifferent to its ill-effects in Southern Nigeria, and that whereas it endeavours to make the large Protectorate of Sierra Leone a temperate country, it is cynically unmoved at the drunkenness of Freetown City and at the gradual dying out of the old Sierra Leone colonies of freed slaves from an unrestricted affection for brandy, rum, and gin. I would hope that the next Brussels Conference may agree to exclude distilled alcohol (except as a drug or a chemical agent) from all the coasts of Tropical Africa, and Madagaskar, and that the Union of South Africa may be led to take measures similar to those in vogue in the Southern States of North America to exclude or prohibit all forms of distilled alcohol as beverages for human consumption by white as well as black. When this is done, as material an improvement will take place in the home politics of South Africa as has followed the adoption of these happy measures in the United States. But I should do nothing to discourage the importation and circulation of unfortified wines and of light beers.

Yet this concession leads me to consider another phase of the alcohol question in Africa. Why is it that in Western Equatorial



Africa white men and black men alike have this craving for alcohol? Even the healthy European newly arrived and not naturally inclined to stimulants feels in the exhausting and depressing climate of the African coastlands a sinking, a loss of energy, a craving for some pick-me-up about the hour of sunset. If he cannot have something to stimulate his brain, stomach, and limbs, he feels without even the necessary energy to sit down to a meal. This and similar episodes of lassitude are met by the Muhammadan negro of West and West Central Africa with the chewing of the kola-nut. The nut of the kola-tree is intensely bitter, so much so that a draught of water afterwards seems inexpressibly sweet. But there is no doubt that it is a great nerve stimulant. Like all such things, it can be abused, and will no doubt, as its vogue increases, create a special malady—'kolaitis.' But in anything like moderation it seems to produce a most beneficial effect, exceeding that of tobacco, and far superior to alcohol, on both natives and Europeans in Africa. Kola now enters as an important ingredient into several forms of cocoa and of nerve tonics that are much advertised in the Press. Would it be possible to manufacture from the kola-nut some drink which would be a palatable and *wholesome* stimulant? The worst of alcohol is that besides being unwholesome it is not really a stimulant. It produces a false stimulus for about half an hour at most, and is followed by a period of depression of the vital energies that to a European in Africa, saturated with malarial parasites, is positively dangerous. But one does require—negro and European alike—something in one's diet to stimulate the brain and the stomach in Tropical Africa. Tea, to some extent, meets this want, but only partially, and too much tea is bad for nerves and digestion. Coffee is, perhaps, a better stimulant than tea in Africa, and yet, though Africa is the native home of coffee, it is so little cultivated there, and, comparatively speaking, so rare as a wild plant, that it is actually less easy as a general rule to get coffee than to obtain tea. The temperance cause would be much benefited, however, by the spread throughout Tropical Africa of good, cheap coffee. Bovril and similar preparations of beef might become useful stimulants. A cup of hot bovril drunk instead of a cocktail might serve the purpose of a stimulant far more effectively, and leave no harm behind. Yet, of course, to those (of whom there are many in Tropical Africa) who have weak kidneys, bovril and similar essences of meat are dangerous. All who have studied the question agree that in many parts of Africa the climate and the conditions of life of black men and white men call urgently for a stimulating drink or form of diet, and that this need lies at the root of the craving for alcohol. Yet alcohol is a poison more or less diluted, but always a poison. Let us



strive earnestly to keep this poison out of the reach of backward races unable as yet to protect themselves by a knowledge which is only very partially spread amongst the foremost nations of the world. But let us at the same time try to find for them, as for ourselves, a stimulant which shall really stimulate and yet leave behind it no harmful effects.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

One last suggestion in the nature of a postscript. To deal wisely with this, as with other subjects of diet and hygiene, we want the accurate knowledge of specialists, not the biassed decisions of diplomatists or the rash measures of the emotional and unlearned. Previous international Conferences at Brussels may have pretended that they were called together to effect philanthropic purposes on the mute body of Africa. In reality we all know—the crocodile tears of the late Baron de Lambertot notwithstanding—that they were summoned to legalise the ambitions of various European Powers and potentates to found African dominions. Let this next Brussels Conference on the question of alcohol in Africa be a *real* thing, and its component members be composed of physicians, surgeons, anatomical chemists, pathologists, anthropologists, missionaries, clerics, colonial governors, and a few educated natives of Africa. Let the President be a person of sound common sense like Theodore Roosevelt, Lord Cromer, Herr Dernburg, or Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. Let us learn once and for all authoritatively that distilled alcohol is a poison or a provocation to disease, and secondly that it is essentially harmful to backward peoples like the negro; and on such a definite, indisputable pronouncement our Governments can act.

H. H. J.



SOME ORDINARY OBSERVATIONS ON  
EXTRAORDINARY OCCURRENCES.

PERHAPS because the germs of a subject once generated insist ardently on taking shape, every book I pick up haphazard, every chapter left by an interrupted reader, every page turned down by accident of circumstance points to the framing of that subject into some tangible form.

A volume found under my hand of Carlyle on the *French Revolution* opens at this phrase, 'that man is what we call a miraculous creature with miraculous power over man; and on the whole with such a life in him, and such a world round him as victorious analysis with her physiologies, nervous systems, physic and metaphysic, will never completely name, to say nothing of explaining. Wherein also the quack shall in all ages come in for his share.'

Here is matter directly applicable to that borderland between miracle and mind, that delicate function of the nervous system that cannot always balance between conscious and unconscious fraud where psychical and physical experiences meet.

Again, in a country house, I find a thoughtful hostess has placed a carefully selected tome for the sleepless by my bedside, Charles Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, refreshing by virtue of its wonderful literary method, exhilarating by the variety of its ideas, not too exciting to thrust the reader headlong out of bed in pursuit of some new-fangled discovery, but stimulating enough to give a pleasing direction to the thoughts of insomnia, and probably because it is midnight it opens at this phrase in 'Witches and other Midnight Fears':—'It is not books or pictures or the stories of foolish servants that create these terrors in children . . . these terrors are of older standing . . . they date beyond body . . . or without the body . . . they would have been the same.'

Clearly the sign-posts on the road of my intention impel me to write down the hustling thoughts that point in the direction of miracle and mind. There are scattered along our wayside of life always these white finger-posts, wilfully ignored by those who aim only at a desultory walk through existence and refuse to acknowledge any driving power save that of self, ignorantly overlooked by most who are none too observant of the symbols of their



time; finger-posts converging perhaps in the end by apparently circuitous routes only to one centre or terminus, but leading through such a widely divergent country of experience that the mind of the traveller may look at things in a new light and colour at the goal of his journey.

There would always appear to be a confusion between the Divinity that shapes our ends and that much rough-hewing that we are able to accomplish for ourselves. Of how much or of how little education can accomplish, let us leave to the reasoning of the sentimentalist who desires to organise entertainments for the criminal classes; but of how much character and environment have to do with ultimate human destiny there is no doubt whatever. That predisposition to certain hereditary weaknesses will develop if there be opportunity for them, or, what is better said, if there be temptation for them, is a well-established fact. The whole problem of vicious habits and their gradual development consists in how far circumstances will either repress or encourage such vice. If, therefore, a human being is born with a predilection for evil or good, shall it be to his credit or his discredit if he succumbs to evil or cultivates good? If a happy philosophy assumes that we are all born with a balance of both natures, what, then, becomes of the dogmatic formula that we are all born miserable sinners? That at once disposes of any free volition on our part and comes back to the heathen doctrine of Fatalism. Our destiny is surely shaped for us by a Higher power, but we have so much of liberty left us that we may choose the road by which we arrive at it. All are fulfilling a destiny beyond and above the control of the individual.

The popular fallacy is that if the individual were to know exactly what advantages will eventually come to him he would make no exertion to acquire them, or, inversely, if he were made to dread the future he would not go to meet it. This is obviously absurd. Let us, for instance, assume that in the horoscope of two men of varying calibre it is foretold to each that he shall make a fortune in gold-mines. The spirit of adventure in the one leads him to the Rand or to Klondyke to survey the ground for himself. The spirit of adventure in the other takes him no further than Throgmorton Street to gamble in gold shares; yet both are adventurers who have attained the same object with the means congenial to each, and neither would have accomplished it by expecting fortune to wait on him without further effort. No, the signs are not wanting on our road as to which way we shall go, but there is a choice of many turnings . . . there may be a *cul de sac* at the end of one, a ford to cross at the bottom of another, a savage dog to beware of half-way down a third; these things are not recorded on the finger-posts, we take the risk of them as we shape our way



unknowingly or knowingly to the *ultima Thule* of our journeying ; but the task was set us before we started without so much as an asking of our consent.

Because it was a pagan custom to consult the oracle, any endeavour to peer into the future by seeking the advice of crystal-gazers and tellers of cards is forbidden and soothsaying as a profession is punishable according to the English law, for the endeavour of all modern preventative legislation is to protect the credulous from their own follies. It is to be taken for granted that there is always a number of people of feeble intellect who expose themselves to the subjection of unscrupulous persons, and are thus used for undesirable purposes, but though it is no doubt advisable and right that a State should protect its subjects, much useful experience of life and much beneficial acquaintance with hard facts are thus lost to the weak-minded, and the fool, saved from the consequences of his own foolishness, remains a fool to the end.

It seems to me that this sectarian dread of horoscopes and fortune-telling is at the most or worst only superstitious, and the evil influence is merely a question of how much or how little there may be in the power of *Suggestion*. If, as would appear to be the case, a horrible murder story told at great length and in many special editions of our newspapers brings in its train a number of similar crimes, then suggestion must count for something and journalism is responsible for much of the criminal record of the day. Why then do we not legislate against the recital of such horrors and why do we not prosecute the editor for regaling us with every loathsome detail, instead of directing all our fury against the fortune-tellers who are but striving to earn a living just like any newspaper?

We hear from time to time of a crusade against the fortune-telling sibyls of Bond Street intermittently conducted by the police at the instigation of a silly season campaign on the part of some halfpenny paper, and we are tempted to speculate how much good is done in saving the shillings of the credulous, and how much evidence is lost to the student of psychic research? By the Bond Street sibyls are meant those high priestesses of prophecy, whose brass-plates outside an open door bear the cryptic inscription of 'Palmistry,' and invite the passer-by into the shrine of mystery where the future (or more truly the past) will be unveiled for a small financial consideration. It is given to all of us to stand at the parting of the ways at some time in a career and to wonder which of several roads will lead to the desired goal. The heads and tails of a coin flung into the air more often than not come down with advice contrary to our inclinations, but precisely because all life depends on the energy or spirit we put into a



throw, the tossing of a coin is as useful to us as the evidence of an expert who can after all only give us *his* experience at similar cross-roads. The most astute King's Counsel at the Bar, though he can advise us on a point of law or recommend a course of action based on his knowledge of legal precedent, cannot determine the humour of the judge nor the effect made by the manner of a witness on the twelve good men and true of the jury. The tossing of a coin may have been of more service, therefore, than the opinion of a K.C.!

It is the natural instinct of blind human nature to turn for a solution of the future to those who—giving them the benefit of the doubt—may have some gift of second sight. Indeed, the conquerors of the world—Darius, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon—have all consulted the astrologer. Who shall say whether part of the monstrous self-confidence of those giants was not brought about by belief in the prophecy of the seer, by the force of auto-suggestion induced by the prophecy, that curious activity of the mind with which our waking consciousness has so little to do? Who shall determine whether the fortune-teller is not merely an instrument that visualises what is already known if not remembered by his client, or whether indeed the oracle is able to do more than telepathically record that dormant conviction of which, deep down in his subconscious mentality, the consultant is aware but not actually cognisant. If this is so, then the clairvoyant is but practising a form of self-hypnotism by which he is able to project himself into the mind of the sitter and all question of fraud disappears. It becomes a mere experiment that may be or may not be successful, and is no more a case for the police courts than an endeavour on the part of a medical man to alleviate pain by the simple process of suggestion.

I have a recollection of some soothsayer in Bond Street having a machine that registered will power just as there are machines for the trial of physical strength. If my memory does not play me false this one had a magnetic needle and it called for some mental energy to drive the needle to a given point. It does not dwell in my mind that I witnessed any abnormal gyrations of the needle when I touched it, so that I assume I was deficient in whatever it proved, but it may have been an ingenious piece of Bletonism in order to fit some clue to the disposition of the client. This magnetic will-power machinery seems to me harmless enough if it accomplished what is very clearly necessary to any successful effort at clairvoyance, that is if it set up a current of understanding between the medium and the subject. The person who keeps a jealous and rather antagonistic guard over tongue and facial expression is almost as baffling to the medium as the over-garrulous person who betrays at once the object of the visit. A



sympathetic neutrality is the best atmosphere for psychic potentialities, and under the latter heading I should be inclined to class some of the most interesting experiments that I have seen in palmistry, if even undertaken for gain. One lady, who has adopted palmistry as a profession, has the gift so highly developed that she is able to read names in the lines of the hand quite glibly and without previous acquaintance with the client. Here is no longer matter for either magistrate or priest, but one of investigation for the professor, and any excursion into the land of mystery, where the mind, detached from its envelope, exhibits some force independent of the accepted canons of nature, should be encouraged and not persecuted. These experiments are, however, held to be an attempt to tamper with the powers of darkness and as such are forbidden to the faithful. As to the science of astrology, authority considers that merely a subject for children's fairy tales and so it does not come within the scope of the law like theomancy.

We may attribute a bad harvest to the planetary system or a cold summer to the unwelcome intrusion of a comet's tail, but we will not admit that one or the other can affect the infant emitting its first feeble cry in some obscure corner of the earth. Everything is to be reckoned by mathematical calculation, but such attributes of the human mind as genius, depravity, virtue, or vice are put down to a mere accident of birth. If so, to what accident? To the selection of parents? How comes it then that no two children of the same parents are alike either in form or disposition? Why should one member of a family *have* an ear for music and another have *no* ear at all, but perhaps a good eye for drawing, where both have the same mother and father? We endeavour by deliberate crossing to reproduce dogs and other animals with exactly similar points; we try by the most careful nursing to grow flowers so infinitely like one another that each blossom on one stem shall be uniform; yet no one has ever succeeded in giving birth to the *facsimile* of brother or sister. The nearest approach to likeness in feature exists quite frequently in twins though their characters and mental attributes may be different; would not that point to the fact that being born within a few moments of one another, the same planets are present at their birth? Yet in an age of mathematical precision we refuse to consider as ludicrous that most mathematical of all occult sciences, the science of astrology and the influence of the planets on the human being at the hour of his first appearance on earth.

Here then we come back to the belief of the ancients and the superstitious faith of almost all the great figures in history in the infallibility of their horoscope. The effect of this on the fortune of war may not be underrated. It is the same that can be observed



in the play of individuals at public matches of cricket and other games of skill and is queerly ascribed to nerves, but is in reality more closely associated with the subtle force of suggestion than any physical quality. Again, the belief in the horoscope is to a certain extent a form of fatalism that leads—if not to resignation—at least to philosophy. As many have been helped to do great deeds by the hope that a thing *is* to be as have been comforted by the reflection that it was *not* to be. Hamlet's reflection,

There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them how we will!

is no less fatalistic than Napoleon's belief in his star, but the poet bends his phrase to meet his creed, and by the insertion of the word 'Divinity' bathes it in the omniscience of Him who sees the fall of a sparrow.

It has always been the endeavour of the Christian divine to reconcile the conception of an All-powerful Will with the theory of man's capability of controlling his own volition. 'It is the will of God,' says the priest over one shoulder, administering solace to the afflicted. 'It is your weakness that leads you into sin,' he scolds over the other shoulder to the penitent, and, in the struggle to preach submission on the one hand and conquest of self on the other, he flounders in his logic and loosens the faith of his flock. We pity with a compassionate commiseration the shivering Lascar who rolls overboard in a storm murmuring 'Kismet' without making any effort to save himself, but if a Christian drown after fighting for his life we whisper that it was the will of the Almighty. For fatalism as such is abhorrent to the teachings of the Church, and in the attempt to make both ends of the argument to dovetail a horrible presentment is produced of a revengeful Deity that will not be appeased.

The trouble about a serious interest in all psychic phenomena, is that so enormous an amount of fraud, wilful or unwilling, is mixed up with it that it tries the patience of the earnest-minded. I do not refer to those who are unfortunately compelled to try to make a living out of it, they are necessarily obliged to simulate reality if even the reality is not always present, but I refer to the amateur as distinct from the professional dealer in psychic wares. Among amateurs there appears to exist a quite unaccountable vanity in desiring to be considered mediumistic which is an awkward stumbling-block in the way of genuine research.

The girl of the seventies and eighties who hoped to make herself interesting by taking to her bed and pretending to have lost the use of her limbs or refusing to eat in the presence of others was no doubt a remnant of the earlier Victorian young lady who indulged in fainting fits and megrims. Both have disappeared in



these days of hockey and golf; but they have given place to the visionary who perceives 'auras' round the heads of her perplexed companions, communicates with the 'dear dead,' and refers the conduct of her affairs generally to her 'spirit guides.' How much of all this may be voluntary or involuntary self-delusion, though certainly a matter of inquiry for the school of pathologists, considerably obstructs any claims to mediumship. Or given that the subject is allowed a pencil and affects to write automatically at the dictation of some of these influences, how often does this writing reveal a message of importance to us? Seldom anything but a mass of ethical twaddle in which there is little that is convincing, although it has often the merit of fluency. We find in it for the greater part the cheap metaphor and hyperbole coming from nowhere and leading to nothing that is to be met with in most tracts purporting to be of a religious nature.

The great anxiety is to distinguish how much is inspired and how much is self-induced in all this 'crank-spiritualism,' as the Americans would call it.

Anyone who has tried automatic writing with the help of a Planchette or a Ouija board, or the more simple process of an alphabet and a reversed wine-glass will have observed the mixture of irritating platitudes and trite sentimentalities that are recorded by these instruments, to say nothing of the rather rude remarks that are written down without our apparent connivance, all of which may be the effect of unchecked human nature masquerading under the disguise of a visitant from 'beyond' and revelling in freedom from restraint. Then suddenly, embedded in this unconvincing rubbish, there appears some significant phrase, some obscure sentence bearing the imprint of importance, gleaming with an intelligence that we are only able to understand long after by the light of later knowledge. The truth is that every delusion, if not inspired by deliberate intention of fraud, must have originated from some incident and more likely than not there have been at some time some slight psychical phenomena that have given rise to it, and—what is more important still—there may be a recurrence of them. Yet because at a given hour there has been a genuine manifestation of such phenomena, it is not said that there will be a satisfactory repetition of it or even a repetition of it at all. If this were admitted by the mediums themselves, we should be spared many irritating imitations of what may have been at some moment a real demonstration of those mysterious forces which science has only recently acknowledged as worthy of investigation. In England, although there is a distinct bias in the direction of the *horrible*, there is very little general interest in the *occult*. A lapse of memory, a dual personality, or a telepathic communication at the time of death is left to the examination



of a very small section. For myself I should frankly never have been drawn towards the whole question had not my imagination been arrested by a prophecy the explanation of which has never been furnished and which for obvious reasons has never been published before.

On the 27th of June 1902 the grave news of the late King's illness cast a gloom over London and the postponement of the Coronation was announced, no date being given at the moment for its probable accomplishment owing to the serious condition of the Royal patient.

On the Sunday immediately following upon that, I was staying at a country house in the Eastern Counties, when the talk came up of an article in a periodical of that week on the subject of table-turning and table-rapping. We adjourned after luncheon to a cool panelled room of Elizabethan date, and there being several people present who had taken part in the discussion, I suggested trying an experiment in table-turning. One other guest and I then placed our hands on the surface of a small round mahogany table, and to our astonishment it responded in a very few moments by tilting very markedly. We established at once a code by which each tilt represented the letter of an alphabet, the tilting to cease at the letter intended; two tilts for 'no' and three for 'yes' completed our very primitive, if laborious, method of communication.

The first question I put very naturally concerned the late King's recovery.

'Will the King get well?'

Three tilts for yes.

'Will he be crowned?'

Three tilts for yes.

'Shortly?'

'Yes.'

'Spell the date.'

'August.'

We scoffed at the idea that the King should be dangerously ill in July and yet be well enough to be crowned in August. The table tilted violently, as if in annoyance, repeating August.

'What date in August?'

'Twelfth!'

Now the first probable date given out was the 12th; it was later altered to Saturday, the 9th of August. There were four or five witnesses on this occasion and we dismissed it with some impatience at the time, thinking the answers had been at random.

A few minutes later a still more extraordinary prophecy was made in the same manner, but as it concerns the tragedy of a broken engagement and a hasty marriage, it is still too recent to



make it public even in the interest of psychical research. Subsequently both dates and prophecies given proved to be right. What, then, can be the explanation of this? If the physicians knew in the first week of the late King's illness that it was not sufficiently critical to prevent his being crowned, then we may assume it was a telepathic communication. In the other case, the person whom the prophecy concerned was present and still engaged to be married, and therefore unaware of the other entanglement, although the latter may have been known to others at a distance. I can offer no explanation of either, and indeed these are the two only instances of direct prophecy that have ever come within my observation, nor have I ever again been able to get any equally satisfactory results from similar experiments. It would seem by that as if only the uninitiated were vouchsafed a glimpse into this world of mystery, and as if the veil were not to be lifted for more methodical or disciplined exploration.

At one time on a protracted theatrical tour I employed my spare hours in making some notes on the spiritualism with which the northern provincial cities are riddled. I visited, among other places, meeting-houses devoted to the cult of spiritualism, fitted with benches or pews, and hung with texts relating to the spirit and the life hereafter. These halls appeared to be frequented by the respectable poor, and may have taken the place of more sectarian places of worship. But beyond the rather commonplace assertion of some high priest with an illiterate accent that he saw my spirit guide standing behind me in the person of an old man with a beard whom I failed to identify by the description, I saw and heard nothing that did not point to the most ordinary self-delusion. In the same city I was photographed, accompanied by a blurred figure in vague garments of an early Victorian outline, an old negative being no doubt used for the purpose of the modern picture. In another busy city of the North I was introduced into a spiritualist community, consisting more or less of town councillors, shopkeepers, and of middle-class society generally, who held Sunday meetings, at one of which I came across a medium who was afterwards caught red-handed in London in a very clumsy effort at deception. On the first occasion at which I saw him the tests were no doubt too severe for him for nothing noteworthy happened, but I was struck by the fervent interest on the part of these North-country folk. On the second occasion, when I met with the same medium in London, no tests were imposed on him, in order to leave him to work his own wicked will in the way of grey gauze hallucinations, but the séance was chiefly curious on account of the attitude of a well-seasoned journalist who sat by my side, and who insisted on recognising the features and voice of his departed wife in what was obviously a very ill-educated man



imitating a woman's voice and manipulating some yards of smoke-coloured muslin. All these unintelligent attempts at fraud are distinguishable only for the immense opportunity for suggestion and auto-suggestion that are often produced by them.

As the whole theory of suggestion was first established by the Nancy and later by the Charcot school of pathology, it is perhaps natural that it has permeated into the practical life of the day more in France than in other countries. Certain it is that the plea of suggestion has been set up as a defence for criminals in the French Law Courts for many years, more especially where women have been concerned in a more than usually dreadful crime; but though there is nowadays a growing sentimentalism over here when any *cause célèbre* is engrossing public attention, it is well to remember that pathologists very distinctly assert that it is not possible to suggest evil to a well-disposed character even in a trance condition and that the *virtuous* waking personality cannot be influenced to do anything *vicious* even under hypnotic suggestion. This defence then falls to the ground, and should be sparingly used to create sympathy for a confirmed evil-doer. The plea that in the case of a woman an absorbing affection for some man compels her to overlook in him what would fill her with horror in others, though it leans towards the sentimental creates a more wholesome sympathy than the effort to clothe a crime in pseudo-scientific wrappings.

I have always felt that the Church of all ages encouraged the theory of suggestion by its linked-up form of continual supplication from the prayer wheel of the Buddhist to the endless prayer chain of the present day. The latter, by the way, sent anonymously by post, known to most of us whose names figure in a directory or book of reference, possesses some of the worst features of mental blackmail ever invented by unscrupulous ingenuity to frighten the superstitious. It commences by a prayer that is ascribed to some dignitary of the Church of England with the request that the recipient shall write it out on nine consecutive days and post it unsigned to nine others. If this command is at once complied with an immediate boon may be looked for from a benign Godhead, but if neglected or ignored, disaster and catastrophe must invariably and shortly happen. Thus, an unseen and unknown correspondent playing Providence clearly relies on frightening the credulous by bringing about some disaster through mere weakness of mind.

In Lancashire I assisted at an exhibition which, if not directly ascribable to suggestion or deception, I do not pretend to explain. It appeared to me to be genuine, but I only assisted at it on one occasion, and had no later opportunity for any revision of my first impression; I have not since heard that the medium was ever



found guilty of fraud. It was presented to me under such very simple conditions that it disarmed suspicion, which may, however, have been part and parcel of the skill of the *metteur-en-scène*, who was a working-man verging on seventy employed as a weaver in a neighbouring mill, the scene being the back kitchen of this old man's cottage. He was fetched from his loom on my arrival, and asked leave to tidy up while I waited. I had, therefore, ample opportunity of inspecting the premises. They presented nothing more than an ordinary stone floor and a round deal table, on which the old man's wife had been making bread, and which she pulled into the centre of the room while I was there; all this offered no indications of traps and machinery. On the return of her husband, she drew down the blind and lighted a small oil lamp covered with a piece of red material leaving rather more light than is necessary for developing photographs. Her reason for using the bare back room rather than the more comfortable front one was, she explained to me, to avoid the curiosity of her neighbours if they should see the blinds down so early in the afternoon. The medium was not absent many minutes, and had not, as far as I could see, changed his clothes in that interval; he was of bowed and grizzled figure, and in ordinary intercourse painfully deaf, though when addressed a little later, in a state of trance, he could hear everything even if spoken in an undertone. If either of these conditions were assumed, it required a good actor to simulate and a good memory to maintain this deception. I had two companions with me who seated themselves as I did at the round table.

The customary deep sighs and groans from the old man heralded the approach of the influences attempting to communicate. Here, then, we have our weaver in a trance muttering messages in broken English—his controls being, I believe, of foreign nationality. The wonder was that they spoke English at all! These are points on which I am however always ready to indulge the medium; they have really very little to do with disproving any actual phenomena. After some lapse of time, he called out to me to place my hand in his, and then instantly, with something of a whirring and buzzing that may have existed only in my imagination, for I was too much surprised to observe my own sensations at the moment, the table flew up to our clasped hands and fell to the ground as he released them. My natural conclusion was that his feet were curled round the legs of the table and that he obtained some leverage by pulling my arms across it. The next time it was repeated, therefore, I groped with my feet for the medium's, I pressed the foot nearest to me in his boot; the one I kicked being firm and immovable, I did not gather that he had freed his foot from it. An interval of silence followed, which was presently broken by the medium



starting up and crying out to me : ' Give me your chair, friend ! ' I rose and complied. He placed it on the table, and then invited me to step up. I mounted the table and took my seat, the chair being of a common Windsor pattern, with my back to the medium, but facing his wife and my friends. At his request I held on to the chair, my arms being straightened backwards away from my body, and he laid his hands on my wrists. When I turned my head, his eyes were on a level with mine ; he must, therefore, have been standing up. Again I heard a curious rustling sound, and felt the table gently rising towards the ceiling. Neither on my journey up or down was there any jolting, and I do not remember any pressure on my wrists, of which he let go when the table returned earthwards. Next he invited one of my friends who accompanied me to the séance to jump up and sit beside me. We put an arm round each other's waist so that we might not fall off, and each clasped the chair with the other free hand. Again the medium placed his hand on our wrists, and we travelled quietly through the air and back to earth. If human and mechanical force was used on this occasion, it demanded certainly a considerable test of its quality, for it had, both collectively and singly, two very solid bodies to move !

Not content with these manifestations, the chair and my friend were removed, and I was asked to stand on the medium's hands, placed palm downwards on the table. Thus, with my left and right foot I stood on the right and left hand of the medium, who on this occasion sat down. If he lifted me by getting a purchase with his legs on both legs of the table he had, at any rate, the sheer weight of me on both his hands. I do not know whether ju-jitsu is accountable for a solution of this, but I went up and down very smoothly and steadily without a jar. I think I remember that my two companions held my hands standing on each side of the table to save me from a fall. Nor was the medium short of breath, or otherwise discomposed after these efforts, though he seemed rather fatigued when he awoke from his trance, and his previous hardness of hearing returned. The blinds were then drawn up, the lamp extinguished, and we were pressed to partake of a luxurious Lancashire tea, with new bread and buttered scones of the old wife's baking. The small fee which I induced them to accept for the lost afternoon's work can certainly not have been the motive for the séance, to which the medium only reluctantly consented because I had been introduced by a professor well known to be interested in psychic matters. I have never returned to the scene of my levitations since then, and have only once heard of the medium again, when I think he had been invited to give a séance at an hotel in another city which was barren of results. This to the incredulous will prove conclusively that the necessary



staging and machinery being absent there was of course no performance. To the student there may be a second explanation. It is possible that in his own environment saturated with his personal element, the medium would be more *en rapport* with his controls, or with whatever it was that produced the phenomena I witnessed, than in a hostelry of necessarily shifting influences, where rooms are nightly inhabited by different travellers and from which one person's magnetism would displace the other.

Assuming that the old man had hypnotised me into believing what in reality I had never seen, then my companions must equally have been hypnotised, and if so, why should I have had sufficient reasoning power left to try and verify whether the medium had his feet on the ground or not? Again, assuming that he had lifted the table with his legs, we have to remember that he was an old man past the prime of life and bowed by work. If his strength was equal to lifting two rather solid people seated on a deal table of considerable size, then we should have heard of him as a strong man on the music-halls instead of earning a few shillings a week as weaver in a mill.

Of my two companions at this séance, neither can be said to be very useful witnesses. To the one—who is ready to attest this in evidence—this was an entirely new excursion and she had at any rate the advantage of having clean tablets of memory on which no previous psychic experience had been inscribed. The evidence of the other is useless, as she belonged to the order of what I must call the confirmed spirit-drinker, by which I do not mean one who is addicted to alcohol but to spiritism; and, like the dram-drinker ready to swallow anything from absinthe to methylated spirits, the confirmed spiritualist is ready to believe in anything that proclaims itself as hailing from the land of shadows, whether assisted by the strains of a concertina played by invisible hands or reflected in mirrors covered with phosphorescent paint. It is by the way a more than suspicious sign when the medium asks for a musical accompaniment to help him to a trance condition. It is very usually a pretext to cover the rustling of garments while assuming some disguise for the impersonation of a materialised shape.

With the semi-darkness that is customarily a condition of spiritualistic séance I do not quarrel, although the only instance of a prophecy I have cited was delivered in the bright sunlight of a July day. Obscurity, it is urged, is more propitious to the development of phenomena, and this may be explained by the fact that the sitter's attention is not distracted by external things. The whole paraphernalia dear to the medium's heart has, after all, little to do with the origin of any phenomena, though it may have a direct bearing on its effect. Whether a seer demands



a crystal, a black mirror, a glass of water, or a pack of cards, or the unattractive ingredients of the *pot-au-feu* concocted by Macbeth's witches, the setting of the scene and its accessories are immaterial—they have but the object of focussing the mind's eye on the question involved and of obtaining the answer by concentration of purpose. The Thane of Cawdor's fate was not decided by the 'cold toad' and the 'fillet of a fenny snake' thrown into the cauldron, but by the *suggestion* made in the words, 'All hail, Macbeth, that shall be King hereafter!'

Sometimes we are tempted to think that, like the herbal remedies of old wives' tales, it is the intention that effects the cure and, save for the prescriber's reputation, the herbs might well be left out. The friction of a golden circle on an inflamed eye (preferably a wedding ring, I believe) is surely a remedy of tradition only, yet many a child's nurse has applied it to the swollen eyelid of her charge, and it would seem to have as much curative value as the nursery-rhyme-process of 'Kissing the place to make it well,' which has an immediately soothing effect on an infant. Be it remarked, however, that a child that has hurt itself cries on account of the nerve shock of the accident and rarely on account of the pain caused by it; the scheme of relieving the pain by a kiss therefore makes a direct appeal to its imagination and thus indirectly to its nervous system. On how much or how little suggestion has to do with the miraculous cures of Lourdes, I think even scientific men hesitate to pronounce. That religious exaltation may produce a state of anæsthesia is an accepted fact, but that this should lead to a permanent cure of disease or a cure outlasting even a few hours, is not conceivable; yet such is undoubtedly frequently the case. Moreover, when at Lourdes some years ago, I myself witnessed the cure of a severe case of neuritis in the arm at a moment when there was no pilgrimage and no religious enthusiasm, and when the only other visitors were country people assembled for worship at Christmas-tide and not intent on asking for miracles to be performed. Nor was the patient a very ardent believer in such miracles, although a Roman Catholic. The immediate disappearance of the neuritis coeval with the bathing of the wrist in the sacred spring in the colder spirit of inquiry rather than in the heat of great faith is at any rate a coincidence worth noting. The cure in this case was maintained for some years.

The Brahmin who with a verse of exhortation compels the lotus trees to bow their branches to him (I have heard this attested by the wife of an eye-witness), the countryman who whispers his secret to the bees, the Russian actress who gratefully accepts the images of seven elephants from seven women who wish her well, all are but repeating a formula of incantation, a sacrificial offering to that unknown force that lives, if they but knew it, within



themselves. But there is something awe-inspiring and fearful in any hidden power of which we cannot discern the mainspring, especially when we feel that we are carrying it about with us whether we will or no, and that every movement and thought of ours is recording it; left somewhere in the bricks and mortar in the stones and plaster of our dwelling-houses or in the arbours and shades of our gardens. It is in consequence of this that the atmosphere of some houses and rooms has an essentially home-like feeling of welcome, while in others a sinister sensation of foreboding or a depressing narrowness of purpose meet us at the threshold, quite independent of architects and builders, or of the taste of the furniture and equipment.

Most stories of haunted houses are nevertheless usually the outcome of tradition and are due to suggestion by the memory of some fantastic or horrible crime that has been committed there. Yet in such ancient cities as Florence, where few houses are of later date than the sixteenth century, and where the antique palaces and villas are still inhabited by the descendants of those whose blood dyed the stones and walls of the city—in that city whose history is stained with the stories of family feuds, of racial jealousies—it is curious to note that few, if any, stories of haunted houses have survived. Nevertheless witches and witchcraft were more than usually fashionable from the earliest records of Florence and still contrive to flourish there. The fact is, I think, that ghosts are not encouraged or reared in Roman Catholic countries owing to the habit of saying masses for the repose of the dead, thus preventing all subconscious suggestion of an uneasy spirit's return by *removing the motive of its visit*.

The great difficulty of getting any corroborative evidence of a ghost story would always seem to me a most doubtful circumstance. We are told of stories of haunted houses that, when sifted, recede further and further away from us, and until I have heard of a ghost from an eye-witness, I must content myself with believing that most of the records of apparitions seen in places that are notoriously haunted are merely vivid dreams, the result probably of the involuntary dread produced by the remembrance of the legend. I myself, after spending a good deal of time over psychic literature, have had very vivid dreams of such phenomena, and I have had this curious experience: that the room in which I have been asleep is as clearly seen by me in my dream as in a waking condition, and that the short interval between my dream and my complete return to wakefulness produces much the same effect on me as a return to consciousness after a fainting fit, to which I attribute the very common reply made by those who think to have seen a ghost. To the question, 'When and how did the ghost disappear?' the usual answer is that the seer had fainted away with



horror and that on recovering consciousness the apparition was gone.

Weighing one story with another from hearsay evidence, there seems finally to be nothing in any of them to lead one to assume that they are not emanations of the brain and no sort of proof that the visitants are from another world. At one of the séances presided over by the now notorious Husk at which I was present, the figures that appeared on the table before me, very clumsily stage-managed though they were, all purported to be the spirits of those who had passed over, and many people round me declared that they recognised in them the likeness of departed friends, and I even heard them holding converse with what was very evidently a person with a mere theatrical 'make-up.' I recollect taking the precaution of not being introduced to the medium so as to have a better opportunity of observing his methods than I should have had, had he singled me out for his demonstrations, and a rather amusing incident was the result of this. Someone next to me remarked aloud that though everyone else had been flicked by spirit hands or blest by a supposed Church dignitary with the sign of a luminous cross and visited by an apparition, I alone had been neglected, upon which the figure of a man with a black moustache and a white veil sprang up before me. Everyone asked eagerly whether I recognised him, and I hastily cast about in my mind for some initials by which to address him. Anxious to test the genuineness of this materialisation, in my confusion (at the general attention I was attracting) I could recollect no letters of the alphabet except R. Y. S., from which Club I happened to have that morning received a letter. 'Are you R. Y. S.?' I asked, with the solemnity that befitted the ceremony, and the would-be spirit bowed his head in assent, the medium taking it for granted that these were the initials of someone I had been thinking of and wished to communicate with.

What I am obliged to think was telepathy came under my notice some little time ago while staying at the house of a relative in Essex. I had retired to rest early and fallen asleep almost immediately on going to bed.

Half an hour later I dreamed that I was standing in a lane that skirted the park in which the house stood and that a heap of cobble-stones as for road-mending was deposited in a pyramid on my left. I then saw one stone detach itself from the heap and roll down the rather muddy roadway. I watched it bounding along faster and faster to the bend of the road when it gave a lurch into a ditch, and I was roused up with the distinct consciousness of having received a message to go at once to find what was hidden there—where the stone had fallen. Not yet quite awake, I bounded up, and hastily collected my clothes. A few



minutes later, having ascertained that the night was dark and windy, second thoughts prevailed, and I retired to bed again, still with an uneasy feeling that I was obstinately neglecting a mission. The following morning I told the story to my hostess, and she agreed to accompany me after church to the scene of my dream. After luncheon there was a heavy storm, and though I still felt uncomfortable in my mind about not going out, I succumbed in the body to the comfort of a warm fire. It was not until Monday morning that my hostess came and told me that a man had been found 'dead in the ditch at the edge of the chase,' which was a few paces from the scene of my dream. Subsequently it was found to be a case of manslaughter; a brutish story of a public-house brawl on a country road—a quarrel at closing time between two men the worse for beer, *a flint picked up from the roadside* and flung at the head of the other, a dazed journey through the park across which there was a right of way, and a fall into a ditch, where the man succumbed from loss of blood. That he had actually walked along the lane of which I had dreamed came out afterwards, when it was found that he had knocked at the door of the bailiff's house, quite close to the spot, and had been refused admittance by some person who had taken him to be a belated countryman staggering home under the influence of drink, and had not seen in the darkness of the night that he was wounded in the temple.

This is clearly the case of a soul in its death agony giving out some of this unsuspected and unconscious force that reaches the person most susceptible to it in the neighbourhood, but it reaches a mind unfamiliar with this untabulated, unformulated type of message, and it remains unanswered, leaving the man to bleed to death. The difficulty in our ultra modern method of life is to make time or opportunity to *obey* these telepathic calls on the instrument of our sympathy. We so often record after some terrible tragedy or accident that we had a distinct presentiment of evil previous to it, but frequently when we have risen in the morning with this same presentiment nothing of moment has occurred at all, whereas some unsuspected catastrophe has struck us as a bolt from the blue when life's barometer was set on fair; so that until there is more definite scientific understanding of telepathy, it is wisest to investigate everything in the nature or with the aspect of a warning. It is better to have the mortification of many false alarms than to overlook one real message.

The trouble of all psychic experiment is that to most people its purpose and ultimate result mean nothing at all. To have ascended to the ceiling on a kitchen table seems—broadly speaking—a most unprofitable form of entertainment. And when it has been proved that there has been no fraud or delusion, what then?



asks the utilitarian, because, to the average mind, the first mooted of an unknown force is totally void of interest. When radium becomes a marketable commodity at a thousand guineas for a fraction of an ounce it has justified the attention that has been given to it. When a heavier than air principle has taken shape in a vehicle that can be ordered from a coachbuilder, it is beginning to be of importance; but so long as levitation cannot save us the cost of an aeroplane, or telepathy does not help us to dispense with the telegraphic apparatus, the subject is not one that calls for general interest. That some day, sooner or later, that force, which is neither of the mind nor of the body but has something of both, may be adjusted to practical purposes is just as much within the realms of possibility as that electricity can be adapted for household use.

To the greater multitude there is something alarming in the supernatural only because, as the word implies, it is above the ordinary. To them the age of miracles is over and science holds the day. That miracles may even have a scientific explanation has not yet penetrated the popular mind.

For those who are convinced of its significant importance three qualities are indispensable—namely, patience, perseverance, and prudence. Patience to wade through the wearisome repetition of frivolous communications; perseverance to proceed in spite of ineffectual and abortive experiments; and last, but not least, prudence to sift and weigh every atom of evidence rather than accept even the smallest particle of doubtful authenticity. As to the far-reaching subject of suggestion, that is one that has passed into the region of science and is no longer looked upon as a superstition, although it may be said that

*All superstition is but suggestion in its unacknowledged and unconsolidated shape*

GERTRUDE KINGSTON.



1911

## THE ETHICS OF MEDICAL PRACTICE

THE introduction of the National Insurance Bill—into the merits of which as a piece of experimental social legislation I do not propose to enter—has been the occasion of a certain amount of criticism of the action of the medical profession in relation to that measure, and more generally of the relations of doctors to the public. The criticism has not lacked frankness, nor has it erred on the side of generosity. The medical profession has been described as 'being out for fees.' A writer in the July number of this Review<sup>1</sup> described the medical profession as having been 'roused by Mr. Lloyd George's proposals as it has never been roused before, and united as it has never been united before,' and goes on to ask what has roused and united it. The answer is effective rhetorically, whatever may be said for it from the side of truth and charity. 'What has roused it? What has united it? Not the fear that the Bill will lead to a lessening of the efficiency of medical practice; not the possibility that by careful modification the Bill can be made a great instrument for removing the practice of medicine from its sordid commercial associations, placing the doctor in a position in which he can devote himself entirely to the practice of his art and to the real work of doctoring—that is, teaching, so far as he knows them, the true laws of healthy living; not that at last there seems some possibility that the doctor may be able to forget bad debts and devote to his patient not merely one half of his attention, but also that other half which hitherto he has been wont to concentrate on his patient's pocket. It is none of these things which has served to rally the doctors, but that which seems always to unite the representatives of vested interests—namely, the fear that their incomes are in danger.' We are further informed by the same writer that 'to read the letters which doctors have sent to the newspapers, to read the articles and reports in the medical Press, and to have attended the recent meetings of the British Medical Association, one would never guess that the medical profession cared two pins for the dignity of its craft or for the national health.' The indictment does not stop here. 'The

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1911, 'The Insurance Bill, the Doctors, and National Policy,' by Harry Roberts.



work of the 30,000 private practitioners, who constitute the overwhelming majority of doctors in this country, is being almost wasted'—so this gentleman informs us, 'so far as the health of the nation is concerned. The work of doctoring, as conducted at present, where it is not pure quackery, consists almost entirely in "curing" or relieving the symptoms of disease, rather than in preventing disease or in improving the health and vigour of the race.' As a final compliment we are assured: 'After all, the medical profession, sugar over the truth as we may, is at present parasitic upon diseased persons; and so long as the system of fees which obtains at present is continued, to stamp out disease means for doctors the destruction of their host.' The Friendly Societies, not having got their way in the House of Commons, have joined in this tirade, and so far from confessing that they have in the past sweated the doctors, fling back the accusation that the real offenders are the doctors who sweat their assistants.

Many of my professional brethren probably regard these accusations and innuendoes as unworthy of notice, still less of serious refutation. They may hold that their position in the body politic calls for no defence, that their work needs no vindication. They may point to a recent division in the House of Commons, whereby one of the chief demands of the medical profession in relation to the Insurance Bill was conceded by 387 votes to 15, as a sufficient proof that, when united, its influence is practically irresistible. I grant all this, but I am not sure that slander should go unrebuked, or that it is always wise to allow the enemy to blaspheme. We may fairly ask some of our critics what are their credentials, what do they really know of the conditions of medical practice, its difficulties, dangers, and responsibilities, and whether they are prepared to give some plausible proof of the truth of these accusations of quackery, selfishness, venality, and lack of the elements of honour and public spirit. A great statesman of a past generation once used the famous words that 'he did not know how to draw up an indictment against a nation.' Few wise men will venture to draw up an indictment against an entire profession. Every profession has its seamy side, its black sheep, its residuum of inefficiency, pretence, and moral failure, but it is not by such things that any profession can be justly judged. We do not despise the legal profession because there are scurrilities in the police courts, or the clerical profession because some curates talk nonsense. If the cheap surgery, the shilling or the sixpenny doctor, offers an easy target for scorn, we may admit that the scorn is natural, and perhaps not wholly undeserved, while we remind the critics that the public gets what it pays for—that and neither more nor less.

I do not propose to make any extravagant claim for my profession, or to ask that there should be conceded to it 'a character



for exceptional philanthropy and nobility'—a claim at which the writer already quoted sneers. My contention is a more modest one—viz. : that doctors should not be held up to undeserved contumely, that they should be recognised as filling a useful and indispensable office in the Commonwealth, as not inferior in honesty and public spirit to any similar body of educated men, and as inheritors of an ancient and honourable ethical tradition, older than recorded history and in the main—in spite of the faults of individuals—preserved untarnished. The Hippocratic oath—too familiar to demand quotation—sounded the note of moral responsibility and ethical obligation which has never ceased to vibrate, and which is not silent to-day, although the medical profession does not encourage vows or creeds. *Facta non verba* has always been its motto, and by that motto it abides. 'By their fruits ye shall know them' is a sound principle, not to be gainsaid by any profession or by any individual. Can the science and art of medicine abide that test? I think it can, but before we consider that point let us inquire what are the charges brought by the present-day detractors of the medical profession. They would appear to be three in number—viz. : (1) That it is selfish and mercenary in its attitude towards the National Insurance Bill, and, I presume, in other matters and relations; (2) that it devotes itself to 'curing' disease, the 'cure' being often mere palliation, while it neglects the real work of prevention; and (3) that much general practice is sheer humbuggery—'Everyone in the know,' so we are informed, 'is aware that, with a few exceptions, drugs have no useful influence on disease at all.' This is a formidable indictment. Is it a true indictment?

Let us look at these charges in order. Doctors are probably as regards care for self and regard for the pocket not very different from other men of their own social position and educational standard, but the point is rather this : Are the traditions of the medical profession conducive to selfishness and greed? Does a young practitioner on commencing his life-work find himself in an atmosphere where personal profit takes precedence of professional honour, where pocket and reputation come first and regard for the interests of the sick comes second? There is, I would submit, a very general impression that the precise contrary is the fact. No profession does so much unpaid work as the medical profession. No men so often give their services where the prospect of any financial reward is doubtful as the doctors. If the frequent complaint of the general practitioner that 'the doctor is the first to be called in and the last to be paid' is not literally true, it is at least, as we say of some works of fiction, 'founded upon fact.' If the general practitioners of the country were to take the world into their confidence on the subject of bad debts they could a tale



unfold. When the head of the household is removed by death and leaves behind an impoverished family, the widow and the orphan know well that in most cases the doctor will be the last to insist upon his pound of flesh. Our great hospitals—not the least of the glories of our present-day civilisation—set the standard and pitch the key. Their staffs are unpaid. Mr. Jordan Lloyd, in his address to the British Medical Association at its annual meeting in Birmingham last July, stated that ‘not less than 600,000 operations were philanthropically performed last year in the United Kingdom.’ If we reckon the average money value of these operations at the low figure of five guineas each, we find that the surgeons gave the nation in one year a present of 3,000,000l. The physicians may fairly be credited with an equal sum, so we reach the conclusion that through the medium of our hospitals alone the public receives annually six millions’ worth of gratuitous service from the members of the medical profession. I shall not attempt to estimate the money value of the gratuitous service rendered by the medical profession through the agency of our numerous philanthropic institutions—other than hospitals—and in private practice. Such a calculation would manifestly be a guess, but the total is without doubt enormous. It is not agreeable to have to insist upon such facts, but it is right that the nation should be reminded of them. No individual and no profession should look for gratitude in this world. That is an extra, which may or may not be accorded. But everyone has a right to ask for justice.

The assertion that the opposition of the medical profession to the National Insurance Bill has been dictated solely by selfish motives and fears of loss of income cannot be sustained. In the first place, that opposition has not been unconditional. The authorised exponents of medical opinion have from the first recognised that the measure was a bold attempt at grappling with admitted evils; and that it was capable of satisfactory amendment. In the second place, the measure is so complicated, and the dislocation of medical practice which would ensue upon its operations is so great, that no one can predict with certainty what its financial results to the medical profession would be. Some doctors would lose financially; others would gain. The net result remains doubtful. The attitude of the medical profession towards the Bill—and this point was made quite clear by the memorandum issued by the College of Physicians of London—has been largely determined by the conviction that contract medical practice—of which the Bill contemplates an enormous extension—can never be entirely satisfactory and is the prolific parent of many and great evils. Unless this attitude is understood, criticism of the position of the medical profession is a mere beating of the air. What are the conditions



which should regulate the relations of doctors to their patients? These can be readily defined. The patient or those responsible for him should be free to select the medical practitioner in whose skill, experience, and character he or they have confidence. The practitioner should give the case adequate care and attention at a scale of remuneration which satisfies him. The relation of doctor and patient should be terminable on either side for adequate cause. Now, all these conditions are more or less violated in the case of contract practice, of which club practice furnishes the most common and the least desirable variety. The patient has not a free choice of his medical attendant, but must accept the services of some one chosen for him. The practitioner is in many cases overworked and underpaid, and under too great a temptation to neglect his 'contract' clients in order to devote himself to his private patients. The relation of doctor and patient is not terminable on either side in case of dissatisfaction arising, but is compulsorily continued even when relations have become strained. Is the medical profession to be accused of selfish motives if it views with great concern a proposed immense extension of a type of medical service the existence of which may be a financial and economic necessity, but which can never be quite fair either to doctor or to patient? Granted that contract medical service seems in our present stage of civilisation to be the only mode in which certain classes of the community can obtain any medical service whatever. Granted, too, that the evils of contract medical service vary widely from being gross, clamant, and intolerable to being relatively trivial and harmless. The system can never be good so long as human nature remains what it is. It has been well said that the aim of all wise legislation is to make it easy to do well, hard to do ill. Contract medical practice reverses this wholesome principle. It encourages pretence, imposition, malingering, and unreasonableness on the part of the patient, and it puts too severe a strain upon the strength, staying-power, and good faith of the doctor. Mr. Lloyd George seems to think that in promoting a huge development of contract medical practice he is appreciably hastening the advent of the millennium. He will find himself mistaken. Experience in Germany should act as a salutary warning. The Leipzig Union of Doctors pledged to decline service under the National Insurance Act has now a vast membership, numbering many thousands. It is easy to represent a movement of this kind as a piece of mere trades-unionism, but surely a body of professional men are within their rights in declining to serve under a system which they honestly regard as inimical to professional honour and detrimental to the best interests of the nation.

I take it, then, that the charge that the medical profession is a mercenary profession is not capable of being sustained, and that



the suggestion that doctors devote one half of their attention to the patient's health and the other half to his pocket is simply an unworthy gibe, reflecting light upon the temperament of the writer but none upon the objects of his criticism. George the Third is reported to have once said that 'Shakespeare was a very dull fellow, but that it did not do to say so,' upon which statement the only possible comment is that it throws no light upon Shakespeare but much light upon George the Third.

The second charge, viz. : that doctors devote practically all their energies to more or less abortive efforts at curing disease, but little or none to its prevention, is even more surprising. Has the writer been enjoying a Rip Van Winkle sleep that he is so little alive to the spirit and performance of present-day medical science? Is not this the age pre-eminently of preventive medicine? Is not the sanitarian or the public health reformer, now so much in evidence, either himself a medical man or engaged in applying the results of medical investigation? To what do we owe the spectacle of nations freed from the ravages of small-pox and typhus fever; a regenerated Cuba, a Panama Canal with a normal death-rate, West Africa no longer the white man's grave, the average duration of human life rapidly increasing, tuberculosis undergoing a steady and almost rapid extinction, the decline in the sickness and disability rate of our benefit societies, if not to preventive medicine? The two great organisations which concern themselves with this subject—the Royal Sanitary Institute and the National Institute of Public Health—as it happens, have held their annual meetings this year in Ireland, the former in Belfast and the latter in Dublin. The programmes of their proceedings are before me, and the share taken in their work by members of the medical profession is a large, almost a dominant one. While such questions as water supply, sewage disposal, house construction, and the regulation of industries naturally figure largely in these discussions, no less attention is devoted to matters directly within the purview of the medical profession, such as the prevention of typhoid fever and tuberculosis, medical inspection of schools, the compulsory notification of disease, infant mortality, and the new science Eugenics. To suggest that the medical profession is silent or apathetic with regard to such questions, or grudges the time and labour necessary for their elucidation, is simply absurd. In Ireland we have at present a widespread and active organisation for the suppression of tuberculosis—inaugurated by her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen, and largely carried on by women—which has already borne rich fruit and is destined to change the face of the country from the health point of view. Has the medical profession obstructed or discountenanced this most necessary and beneficent work? Quite the



contrary. Some practitioners have held aloof, whether from indisposition to join in any form of propaganda or from pressure of other duties or from motives into which it is not necessary particularly to inquire, but in all parts of the country doctors have been ready to give their services as lecturers and demonstrators, and to add their quota of sympathy and moral support. To suggest that the medical profession is 'parasitic upon diseased persons' and devoid of enthusiasm for preventive measures is not merely to use an unsavoury metaphor, but to circulate a libel which is, however, too inept to do much hurt. Would it be possible with any decency to suggest that the legal profession is 'parasitic' upon the rogueries, or the clerical profession 'parasitic' upon the immoralities, of mankind? Such language exceeds the limits of legitimate controversy. The professions of law, divinity, and medicine have been evolved to meet certain primary needs of humanity. The progress of civilisation does not make them less, but rather more necessary. Life becomes busier and more arduous, rather than the contrary, and the time is far distant when every man will be his own lawyer, his own doctor, and his own higher critic. Sneers at the specialists in all departments are dear to certain types of mind, but the sneer is dictated as much by envy as by scorn.

If insufficient attention is given to preventive medicine, the responsibility for such slackness must be laid at the right door. Our educational systems must take a large share of that responsibility. Future generations will undoubtedly look back with wonderment at educational methods and ideals which made it possible for children and adolescents to undergo an elaborate course of education, extending over many years, without acquiring any knowledge, except by some lucky chance, some casual incursion of the sanitarian or the First Aid lecturer, of their own body or of such subjects as ventilation, diet, and exercise. They will note the vast mass of miscellaneous lore which the unhappy youth of the present day has to acquire—much of it of dubious value—and ask with some scorn whether hygiene is not more profitable than the dates of the Wars of the Roses or the prosody of a Greek chorus. Herbert Spencer is undoubtedly right when he insists that the first condition for success in life is '~~to be a good animal.~~' Medicine is for experts, but hygiene should be for the multitude. No knowledge is likely in the long run to be so profitable, so productive of good, so preventive of evil.

The third charge against the medical profession is that much practice in the lower levels of professional life is mere quackery, a routine administration of more or less useless drugs, a pandering to the age-long superstitions of the ignorant multitude. Now, let it at once be confessed that this is the weakest joint in the



armour of the medical profession. Such things do exist. They are bad. They ought to be remedied, though it does not need a study of Schopenhauer or Hartmann to suggest the thought that bad physic, like bad law and bad theology, will always be with us. But it is well to be just even to the shilling doctor. He is not the pick of his profession to begin with. He is what he is, and where he is, by a sort of process of survival of the unfittest. He is overworked—it requires a good many patients at a shilling a head to keep a roof over his head and to make his bread and butter moderately secure. He finds his clients only too ready to consume his medicines, only too slow to pay any heed to his hints about hygiene, personal habits, cleanliness, ventilation, and diet. *Populus vult decipi.* It thinks it has a royal road to health *via* the medicine bottle, and it likes the shortest cut. The practitioner, who may have begun professional life with moderately high ideals, adapts himself, all unconsciously perhaps, to his environment, by a law of nature which applies to man as much as to the blind fish in the caves of Carniola. Yet, with all his failings and limitations, it is not unreasonable to hope that the shilling doctor at least does more good than harm. He is the product of evolution, and if we want to eliminate him we must begin by educating the people whom he serves with such indifferent efficiency, but not wholly to their disadvantage. Yet it may be questioned whether the path to better things is to be found through a wholesale discrediting of drugs. The human race has to fight disease by the best weapons at its disposal, and the experience of countless generations is not to be lightly cast aside. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* All wisdom is not the exclusive perquisite of the twentieth century. Usage and tradition have a place in medicine as in other things. It is true that drugs which *cure* in the strict sense—*i.e.* drugs which are specific and directly antagonise disease—are few in number. Perhaps they could be counted on the ten fingers. But drugs which help the curative forces of nature, which stimulate or restrain normal function, which relieve pain, promote nutrition, hasten excretion, increase energy, and avert collapse, are not few but comparatively numerous, and their number is constantly undergoing augmentation. Some practitioners who find fault with their tools would be better employed in learning how to use them better. The evil is not so much that the public expect, and the medical profession prescribes, useless drugs, as that drugs are allowed to occupy the first place while oftener they should occupy the second. The medicine bottle will not take the place of sound living, but we need not throw away a piece of coal or of road metal because it is not a ruby or an amethyst.

Some of the criticisms from the ethical side which are often



passed upon the medical profession show a mistaken point of view. The severity with which doctors usually speak of the quack or the purveyor of secret remedies is usually put down to professional jealousy. It is forgotten that one of the most sacred traditions of the medical profession—a tradition embodied in the declaration required of candidates for entrance to some medical corporations—is that if any member of the profession makes a discovery for the good of humanity he shall share it with his brethren. The purveyor of secret cures assumes the character, therefore, not merely of a swindling charlatan, but of an enemy of the human species. Yet there are some people of education and intelligence who are unable to see why the discoverer of a new remedy for disease should not enjoy the financial rewards of his discovery as much as the inventor of a new variety of sewing machine or automobile. But the two things are not on the same plane.

Again, medical etiquette is a frequent subject for ridicule as being excessively artificial and unintelligible, the fact being that it is simply a code of rules and customs gradually evolved by experience, necessary for the regulation of professional relations, and little else than an application and adaptation of the Golden Rule to professional life.

As I conclude these remarks the doubt arises again in my mind whether the art of medicine needs any *Apologia*. Its triumphs are written on the page of history and shine nowhere more brilliantly than in the records of the last few decades. It has lifted the shadow from innumerable lives and brought comfort to countless homes. It has transformed the face of lands ravaged by plague, cholera, and malaria. It has helped to populate the Valhalla of the nations, no longer exclusively reserved for the warrior and the bard. A few years ago a Paris newspaper took a poll of the French nation to determine who, in the opinion of the people, was the greatest Frenchman of the nineteenth century. Pasteur received the largest number of votes, Victor Hugo being second. The cult of the soldier, appropriate enough in the earlier stages of human evolution, seems passing. It is gradually being recognised that it is nobler to save life than to destroy. If medical science does not compile an *Acta Sanctorum* or publish a martyrology, it is not for want of materials. Men have freely given their lives for the advancement of knowledge and the relief of human suffering without expecting any canonisation or looking for any martyr's crown. The *ethos* of the medical profession is intolerant of self-advertisement.

I alluded in the earlier part of this article to the Hippocratic oath as striking the ethical note for the art of medicine in its early days. Let me quote a few sentences from our own Hippocrates—Sydenham—and see if the *morale* of the Englishman is



not equal to that of the Greek. 'Nevertheless, I have always thought it a greater happiness to discover a certain method of curing even the slightest disease than to accumulate even the largest fortune, and whoever compasses the former I esteem not only happier but wiser and better too. With respect to practice I declare that I have faithfully set down all particulars, also that I have contributed to the utmost of my abilities that the cure of disease might, if possible, be prosecuted with greater certainty after my decease, being of opinion that any accession to this kind of knowledge, though it should teach nothing more pompous than the cure of the toothache or of corns, is of much greater value than all the vain parade of refinements in theory and a knowledge of trifles, which are perhaps of as little service to the physician in removing diseases as skill in music is to an architect in building.' British medicine has never lacked its Sydenhams, and does not lack them to-day. He is the typical British physician, and his spirit has never ceased to animate British medicine.

In spite of churlish criticism, there is good reason for believing that the medical profession never stood higher in public esteem than to-day, and that its repute and influence are steadily on the increase. This result is due no doubt in large measure to the brilliant discoveries of modern medical science and to the victories over disease of which those discoveries have been the occasion. As contributory causes may be reckoned the growing scientific temper of the age, the spread of education, and the growth of social legislation, as opposed to absorption in *la haute politique*. Benjamin Disraeli long ago announced as one of the watchwords of his party the dictum *Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas*. The phrase was laughed at by some people at the time, but it does not sound ridiculous to-day. The public health reformer occupies the limelight now, and the eye of the nation is upon the homes of the people rather than upon the Oxus or the Hindu Khush. Who shall say that the change is not a salutary one?

A facetious person once remarked that when he felt in low spirits he took out his early testimonials, read them and felt comforted. There is a famous passage in one of the essays of R. L. Stevenson which I commend to my medical brethren when they feel disheartened by ill success or ingratitude or unjust criticism. It is a passage which no doctor can read without a thrill of pride, perhaps not unmingled with some trembling of soul lest the high eulogium should, after all, be imperfectly deserved. The passage runs as follows: 'There are men and classes of men that stand above the common herd: the soldier, the sailor, and the shepherd not unfrequently; the artist rarely; rarelier still the clergyman; the physician almost as a rule. He



is the flower (such as it is) of our civilisation, and when that stage of man is done with and only remembered to be marvelled at in history, he will be thought to have shared as little as any in the defects of the period and most notably exhibited the virtues of the race. Generosity he has, such as is possible to those who practise an art, never to those who drive a trade; discretion, tried by a hundred secrets; tact, tried by a thousand embarrassments; and what are more important, Heraclean cheerfulness and courage. So it is that he brings air and cheer into the sick-room, and often enough, though not so often as he wishes, brings healing.'

The verdict of Stevenson may be allowed to outweigh that of many lesser people.

J. A. LINDSAY.

3 *Queen's Elms, Belfast.*



*A MASTER OF THE HORSE*

THE family of Keppel traces its descent from Walter Van Keppel, who flourished 1179-1231, and was the founder of a monastery at Bethlehem, near Doetinchem, in Holland. In 1688 the descendant of this Lord of Keppel accompanied the Prince of Orange to England, and in 1695-6 was created Viscount Bury and first Earl of Albemarle.

From that date the Keppels have identified themselves with the fortunes of their adopted country, and have been among the foremost and worthiest of her soldiers, sailors and sportsmen.

William Anne, the second Earl of Albemarle, for whom Queen Anne stood godmother in person, married Lady Anne Lennox, daughter of the first Duke of Richmond. The latter, as is well known, was the son of Charles the Second by his mistress Louise Renée de Perrencourt, of Querouaille, whom he created Duchess of Portsmouth.

George, the third Earl, was the eldest of a family of fifteen. As Lord Bury he was A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland at both Fontenoy and Culloden, in which latter battle his father William Anne commanded the King's Northern Forces. On the famous 16th of April 1746 young Lord Bury went into Prince Charlie's deserted tent and found there a silver punch-bowl, also a holster-case filled with mugs, knives, forks and spoons. These he at once took to H.R.H., who gave them to him, and they are now, among other historical treasures, heirlooms of his descendants. He was deputed by the Duke to carry to the King the dispatches announcing the victory of Culloden, and later, through the same influence, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the celebrated Cuban expedition. This consisted of 16,000 troops, though only 4000 sailed from England, the rest being brought from Martinique and North America. Lord Albemarle subsequently received for his services on this expedition the sum of 122,697*l.* 10*s.*, while his brother, Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel, better known as the famous Admiral Keppel, was rewarded with a sum of 24,539*l.* 10*s.*

With this prize money for the conquest of Havannah in 1762.



Lord Albemarle purchased the estate of Quidenham in Norfolk from Mr. Bristowe, the latter having recently bought it from the family of Holland, who had long been its owners. Two years later, in 1770, Lord Albemarle married Anne, daughter of Sir John Miller, Bart., of Chichester.

In 1768 Augustus Admiral Keppel likewise purchased a small estate in Norfolk, Elveden Hall, Thetford. Ten years later, on the 27th of July 1778, he had a memorable though indecisive action with the French Fleet off Ushant. Owing to a disagreement between himself and Palliser, his second in command, the French were suffered to escape. Both Commanders were tried by court-martial the following year, but were exonerated from blame, and all England rang with the joyful tidings of the acquittal of the brave Admiral Keppel, while public illuminations and rejoicings took place in honour of the event. During the years which followed his celebrity was emphasised by the fact that his head in effigy adorned the signboards of public-houses throughout the land, but fortunately he was not dependent upon this means of perpetuating his physiognomy for posterity. Although a plain man, on account of his broken nose, many interesting portraits of him exist. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted him on several occasions, and one full-length picture of him done by the great artist, owing to its remarkable fire and life, is considered to have created a new era in the art of portraiture. At last, so weary did Lord Keppel become of being painted, that as soon as each artist had completed his head, he used to order his valet to dress up in his uniform and act as model in his place. In 1782 he was created Viscount Keppel and became First Lord of the Admiralty.

Admiral Keppel survived his elder brother, for but two years after his marriage Lord Albemarle died, on the 13th of October 1772, leaving a son of five months old, William Charles, to succeed him as fourth Earl of Albemarle. To this nephew the Admiral left his property of Elveden on his own decease in 1786, when for a short time it was let as a sporting estate to the Duke of Bedford.

Subsequently William Charles himself resided there till 1813, and it was to this house that, when under twenty years of age, he brought his first wife, herself under sixteen years old, Elizabeth Southwell, daughter of the twentieth Baron Clifford. It is a coincidence not without interest that while the bridegroom, through his maternal ancestry, was descended from Charles the Second, the bride was the descendant of Walter de Clifford, the father of Fair Rosamond, and her family likewise included many soldiers of renown, besides the handsome soldier George de Clifford, who wore Queen Elizabeth's glove set in diamonds as a plume in his cap.



The first exploit of the girl-bride, Lady Albemarle, at Elveden, was to slide down the banisters, with the result that she had to have her head trepanned. History repeated itself in a curious fashion when, many years later, one of her sons performed the same act with the same result at Quidenham in 1821. His sister, Lady Caroline Keppel, used afterwards to relate how she listened to her brother's cries while the operation of trepanning was being performed, the use of chloroform being then unknown.

After the birth of two sons, William, Viscount Bury, in 1793, and Augustus Frederick (afterwards fifth Earl of Albemarle) in 1794, the young bride, Lady Albemarle, dreading the further responsibilities of motherhood, left her home suddenly and returned to her mother, Lady de Clifford. Two years passed before she decided to go back to her husband, during which time he, with unruffled dignity, had declined to make any move towards reconciliation. When the husband of twenty-four heard that the wife of twenty had consented to return to him, he ordered out his yellow coach drawn by four grey horses and, with great condescension, drove to meet her ladyship at a half-way point on her homeward journey. Further than that he declined to proceed.

Lady Albemarle was apparently a woman of great taste, judging by the manner in which she contributed to the furnishing of Quidenham; while later in life Lord Albemarle transformed the old Elizabethan Hall, with its multitude of small rooms, into a Georgian residence with a lesser number of great rooms. The exterior was red brick with white stone facings and pillars. During his minority the house had been occupied by a family named Lovelace, who possessed over the estate the curious right of turbary, the privilege of digging peat upon another man's land. In virtue of this, they continued annually to cut a sod in the park at Quidenham, until, no doubt, the right of turbary was purchased from them by Lord Albemarle.

One alteration in the surroundings of the Hall, however, which dated from his father's time, is said to have been connected with a picturesque local legend. Before 1762 the road from the neighbouring village of Eccles to Kenninghall divided the church and Home Farm of Quidenham from the park, and the site of the old bridge over the water which runs through the latter was considerably to the east of the present bridge. George, Lord Albemarle, had diverted the road so that subsequently the church and the greater part of the Home Farm were practically in the park.

Now, a village story had been handed down for generations that at the point where the old bridge used to cross the water a ghostly funeral procession took place at midnight on certain occasions. One of the ancient owners of the Hall, a godless and profligate Holland, left directions that when he died his coffin was



to be carried to the grave, as the church clock struck midnight, by twelve drunken men. This was done; but when the funeral train came to the bridge close to the churchyard, the bearers, with the coffin, either fell or walked over the parapet into the river. And to this day the villagers maintain that on certain nights can still be heard the ghostly tramp of that unhallowed funeral train, moving along with shouting, laughter and ribald songs till it reaches the river. Then comes the loud splash as it falls headlong into the stream, followed by the horrible curses and cries of the drowning men.

One winter Lord Albemarle received information that a gang of poachers was intending, on a specified night, to make a raid upon the Quidenham pheasants. He therefore determined to forestall them by lying in wait with his keepers at the western end of the wilderness, sixty yards below the old bridge. The men in ambush accordingly hid there till midnight, when, suddenly, in the prevailing silence, they were startled to hear the sound of a ponderous coach approaching. Looking out, they perceived a hearse drawn by four strong horses crossing the old bridge, while to their horror they all saw distinctly in the moonlight that the coachman driving this was *headless*! The gruesome vehicle wound slowly along towards the Hall and disappeared. Whether after this sinister event the ambush dispersed promptly is not stated, but it is asserted that when Lord Albemarle arrived at the Hall his face was ashen with fear. What he and his confederates had beheld was accepted by all to portend some disaster to the Keppel family; but apparently no evil event befell in connexion with this phantom, which seems at last, in public opinion, to have degenerated into quite an ordinary occurrence in the ghost-haunted park of Quidenham!

George Cruikshank, the celebrated caricaturist, however, took a different view of that dubious locality, for when he lived in the village of Kenninghall, he made sketches of some of the trees in Quidenham Park and peopled one of them with fairies.

Apart from the improvement which William Charles early effected in his home and its surroundings, he lost little time in devoting himself to the serious business of life. He made his maiden speech in the House on the 21st of February 1794, and although subsequently his utterances there were few, they were recognised to be of such ability that it was soon a matter of profound regret to his adherents that he neglected to take a more prominent part in the great political arena. One of the reasons, no doubt, for this apparent apathy is to be found in the fact that the party with which he was allied both by inheritance and temperament remained so long in opposition, and indeed for a considerable period the prominent Whigs refused to countenance



the so-called machinations of the Tory party even by an attendance at Westminster. In his native county, however, Lord Albemarle's attitude was reversed. His enthusiasm and energy were quickly acknowledged to be boundless, and he spared no endeavour to further the interests of the Whig party. Recognised by his friends to be an excellent *raconteur* and agreeable companion, at the great political gatherings for which Norfolk was then famous, even while still a youth he became a leader whose satire could sting and whose wit could scintillate in a manner which at once knit to him the hearts of his partisans and was invaluable to the cause he was championing. Nor were his powers of organisation, and, perhaps, those of endurance, less useful adjuncts. As the *Annual Register* many years afterwards pointed out :

His Lordship was one of that class of men rarely to be found who could preside at a public entertainment for an indefinite number of hours without permitting the spirit of social intercourse to evaporate or the joyous ebullitions of a crowded assembly to overstep the bounds which the most dignified good breeding could impose. To others it would be no light task, but to him it seemed an easy and pleasurable duty to maintain the animation and satisfy the expectations of a party of five hundred persons during the long hours of the winter's night.

Yet those were days when feelings were deep and strong. The 'dignified good-breeding' was so prone to be impaired by a too-lavish flow of the sparkling bowl, the 'joyous ebullitions' of a mixed assembly were too apt to be exchanged for violent political vituperations and 'animation' of an undesirable character. When one reflects, too, that a public dinner with its accompanying speeches was often known to extend over a space of eight to ten hours, it will be recognised that it required no small powers of tact, of patience, of level-headed self-control, to sustain the goodwill and keep active the sympathy of the often heterogeneous elements of which it was composed. A man who could do this was a small god amongst his fellows; his value, his popularity, became unbounded. Such was the case with Lord Albemarle; and to the charm of his personality it was soon observed that he united yet a stronger link which riveted the devotion of his dependents.

In the same county as Quidenham another great landowner was already showing by precept, example and experiment how it was possible to transform the condition of the land and its occupants. Mr. Coke, of Holkham, was resuscitating the art of agriculture, and Lord Albemarle, twenty years his junior, fell in eagerly with the schemes of his neighbour and friend, thus affording a strange contrast to his own warlike ancestors. 'Mr. Coke certainly conducted his operations on a larger scale than Lord Albemarle,' states the *Register*, 'and being twenty years senior



to him, his lordship may be considered rather a pupil than a rival of Mr. Coke.' Nevertheless, the article points out, Lord Albemarle must rank as 'one of the earliest founders and promoters of the improved school of agriculture' inaugurated by his friend, which produced in Norfolk 'a change in its social condition that has given that county a reputation more famous than any others for the cultivation of an art which, even in these days of Free Trade, Englishmen continue to regard as the most interesting and most important of all human pursuits.'

Although the days are long since fled when Free Trade still permitted agriculture to remain the 'most important of all human pursuits' for Englishmen, yet posterity still turns gratefully to the thought of those dead champions of its national importance. The men who fought and conquered the prejudices, the ignorance of their contemporaries, command the recognition of a generation which apparently no longer gives birth to the giant spirits of that bygone age. Lord Albemarle was not a pioneer, he was the able coadjutor of a man of colossal enterprise and endeavour. 'The earnestness and ardour of both,' we are told, 'was tempered by foresight, discretion, and perseverance'; so that to the amicable rivalry and strenuous activity of these two great Norfolk land-owners, as well as to the incentive to competition thereby promoted between their respective tenants, was due the fact that not only their native county and native land were enriched, but the world at large benefited by their example.

With the æsthetic and less practical side of life, Lord Albemarle was little in sympathy; and certain typical anecdotes relating to him which have survived may serve to convey an impression of his distinctive personality.

Of all affectation he cherished a profound horror. On one occasion he was seated near a young lady at dinner who languidly complained that she could not eat anything. Instead of the polite commiseration which she expected, Lord Albemarle responded drily, 'What a pity you are such a slave to your appetite!'

Any lack of healthy hunger in his own children was viewed by him in the light of a similar offence. An acknowledged *bon-vivant*, he had certain sacred rules in regard to his own meals which were never relaxed. For instance, when any dish of recognised excellence was about to appear, no avoidable exercise was permitted on the part of the intending partakers thereof, lest fatigue should impair the delicacy of the palate. One day when Lord Albemarle proposed to Lord Sydney that they should go out shooting, the latter was overheard to observe solemnly, 'You forget, Albemarle, that there is a haunch for dinner.' 'Ah,' exclaimed Lord Albemarle emphatically, 'I forgot. We certainly won't go!'

M M



Another rule was equally irrevocable. He would never allow a partridge to be carved. His guests had a whole bird served to each, and 'Eat what you can and leave the rest' was a tacit understanding.

Of music he had almost as great a horror as he had of affectation. His children's piano and the drawing-room piano were relentlessly banished by him out of earshot; but it must be conceded that his natural aversion to melody may have been enhanced by the sole example of that gentle art with which he was forced into frequent contact. This was the choir of Quidenham church, the exertions of which were somewhat unique. It was composed of fiddles and trumpets, and when its efforts became so out of tune as to be excruciating to the most complaisant ear, the leader would stop the performers and say blandly, 'We had batter (*sic*) begin again!'

Yet in affairs ecclesiastical as well as secular Lord Albemarle expected his wishes to be paramount, and one custom in connexion with this may be related. It must first be explained that he was famous for his breed of setter dogs. These were black-and-tan like the present setters of that colour, but they were not pure setters of the modern breed, being smaller and less long in the legs—more like a cross between the black-and-tan Gordon setter and the Norfolk spaniel. They partook of the character of both breeds, being, however, larger than the ordinary spaniel.

Lord Albemarle never went anywhere without some of these dogs. It was reported, and perhaps not without reason, that he loved them more dearly than his children. The family pew in those days at Quidenham was a large square one with high sides, and it also contained a stove. Before this stove the dogs used to drowse placidly while my lord slumbered at peace in his corner. But when the sermon was too long and inaction began to pall upon the setters, one of them would sit up and howl. This awoke their master, and since he and his dogs were recognised to be of one mind, it was a signal never ignored by the rector to end his discourse.

Only on one occasion is it on record that the wonted hint failed of effect. A strange clergyman was preaching and was reading his sermon, which he had spun out to an unreasonable length. The short winter afternoon came to an end, the church darkened, and a setter howled. Still the divine earnestly strove to trace the characters in his dimly seen MS. He had reached the sentence, '*But, says the Objector,*' when he found the next line indecipherable, and he had to bring his homily to an abrupt conclusion. Lord Albemarle turned to his son George, with a twinkle in his eye: 'I think,' he remarked with satisfaction, 'that the "Objector" had the best of it that time, don't you?'



Lady Caroline, his youngest daughter, when old enough to undertake such a responsibility, was deputed to exercise her father's setters in Quidenham Park. One of the dogs constituted itself her assistant in the task, and used to herd the rest of the pack like a sheep-dog guarding sheep. Indeed, the intelligence of this breed was unusual. Another of them named 'Fanny' used to run with her tin plate in her mouth to ask for more dinner as soon as she had finished what had previously been given to her. But as her intellect was abnormal, so was her sensitiveness, and she died of grief the day after the death of one of her puppies. It is significant that, years afterwards, Lord Albemarle's grandson, William Coutts, Lord Bury, when a boy at Eton, related that the thing which made most impression upon him during his first visit to Quidenham was the number of dogs which he beheld about the house. 'There is a dog here,' he writes, 'on every chair, and two on every table!'

In sport, the determination of Lord Albemarle in matters small and great was often exemplified. His grandson was once told by a gamekeeper at Old Buckenham that Lord Albemarle always used to shoot over that estate. 'But,' remarked the grandson, surprised, 'it never belonged to him.' 'No,' replied the gamekeeper, 'that did not matter to his lordship; it was no use trying to stop him—he always shot when and where he liked!'

Possibly it was an instance of the sheer power of will with which he impressed his views upon those about him, or perhaps it may be regarded rather as an illustration of the affection and confidence with which he inspired his tenants and which bred in them a profound belief in the infallibility of his advice—but another village legend respecting him is too curious to be omitted. It runs as follows:

On one occasion the ladies Keppel were playing at cricket on the south side of the wood in the park at Quidenham, when their father walked on to the ground. Among the spectators were many Quidenham and Kenninghall children, and Lord Albemarle noticed that one of the little girls in the crowd had a goitre on her neck. He at once went up to her and asked where her mother lived. 'In Kenninghall, my lord,' she said. 'Take me to her,' said my lord; and the couple set off together.

On arriving at the cottage, Lord Albemarle said to the mother, 'Do you want this little girl's goitre cured?' 'Yes, my lord,' naturally answered the mother. 'Well,' he said, 'whenever the next man or boy dies, take the child to the corpse and lay the hand of the corpse on the goitre.'

A youth at Banham died, and the Kenninghall woman obediently took her little daughter thither. The hand of the dead lad was duly placed on the goitre, and the child and her



mother returned to Kenninghall. A few days later the little girl went to see her grandmother. 'Why,' exclaimed the latter, 'your goitre's gone!' *And so it had!*

In the domestic relations of life Lord Albemarle was Spartan and autocratic in his views. Perhaps a natural inclination to despotism may have been accentuated by the unusual responsibility which devolved upon him. In 1817 Lady Albemarle, who after her return to him had borne him thirteen more children, expired in her forty-first year at the premature birth of her sixteenth child, the immediate cause of her death being the shock occasioned by the demise of Princess Charlotte. Lady Albemarle was on a visit to Holkham at the time, and a strange coincidence is related in connexion with the tragic event. The curious law then existing that the road over which a corpse had once passed was thenceforward a 'right of way' to the public, necessitated that her coffin should be carried by a long and circuitous route to the highway leading to Quidenham. The Holkham tenantry, therefore, escorted it on the first part of its journey, till it was met by the Quidenham tenantry, who accompanied it to the vault. In this was fulfilled a remarkable dream of one of Mr. Coke's daughters, who long before in her sleep had beheld this funeral leaving Holkham by a road which did not lead to the neighbouring cemetery—the extraordinary part being the unusual number of children's faces which she saw looking out of the mourning coaches which followed it. These she afterwards recognised as having been the faces of the innumerable Keppel children!

Lord Albemarle, finding himself thus at the age of forty-five a widower with a large and youthful family, at once made it clear to his numerous offspring that he objected to seeing them during the age of infancy. Only when they had quitted the 'roaring and bawling' stage and had acquired the rudiments of self-control and discipline would he consent to make their acquaintance. Perhaps fortunately, his sons and daughters were of a nature to be little daunted by the awe-inspiring relations subsisting between themselves and their father, so that in certain encounters with the parental authority they came off decidedly victorious.

Two tragedies ere this had contributed to thin their ranks. The eldest son, William, Viscount Bury, had died at the age of eleven, it was said from ill-usage at Harrow. Another son, Charles, had expired as the result of a lamentable accident when out shooting. Of the survivors, Augustus Frederick, Viscount Bury, and his brother, the Hon. George Keppel, were speedily off their father's hands, both entering the Army; Edward Southwell was sent to Cambridge, and Harry and Thomas Robert Keppel were dispatched to the village school at Kenninghall.

Forthwith as Harry and Tom, the future Admiral of the Fleet



and the Canon of Norwich, passed through the park on their way to school every morning, the former, aided by his brother, amused himself by uprooting the young beech trees planted by his father's orders. Lord Albemarle, in despair, packed off his sons to be educated further afield at Needham Market. Arrived there, Harry fired off a toy gun at his master, while Tom, anxious not to be behindhand in valour, was reported to have heaved 'a slate divested of its frame' at the pedagogue's head. After various other escapades, Harry mixed powdered sugar with the hair powder used by his unfortunate instructor, and, irritated beyond control by the swarms of flies which settled on his pate, the maddened tutor finally sent the culprits home again to their father, explaining that he would have no more of them. Lord Albemarle, recognising that a more desperate remedy was necessary, lost no time in sending his two troublesome boys to the Royal Naval School at Gosport.

In February 1824 little Harry Keppel was transferred to the Naval College at Portsmouth, Lord Albemarle committing the young traveller to the care of his cousin William Garnier, prebendary of Winchester. The latter passed on his charge to his brother Thomas Garnier, afterwards Dean of Winchester, who accompanied the small sailor to Portsmouth. During that memorable drive, seated behind four quick-trotting greys, Mr. Thomas Garnier suddenly exclaimed apologetically to his companion, 'I did bring ye some pears, my boy, but I'm afeard I've set on 'em.' This turned out to be the case, but the future Admiral of the Fleet was nothing daunted. The old Dean used to relate with zest in after years how, despite the doubtful condition of the delicacy, 'the boy ate 'em all up!'

Meanwhile Lord Albemarle strove to do his duty to his remaining offspring at Quidenham. One of the first matters to which he turned his attention was that of imbuing them with his own enthusiasm for agriculture. Like Mr. Coke, he recognised the importance of instructing the younger generation in the means of producing good pastureland, and as his children arrived at years of discretion, he took them out for walks, and conscientiously pointed out to them the appearance of those grasses in the Quidenham lanes which were valuable for the improvement of herbage. Moreover, he offered them sixpence per bundle of forty ripe heads of Cocksfoot grass, which seed was subsequently threshed out and harrowed into weak portions of the pasture in the park at Quidenham.

Unfortunately most of these hard-earned sixpences found their way into the claw-like hands of a terrible old Kenninghall woman, whom the children, by what seemed to them a strange mischance, constantly encountered in their grass-hunting expeditions.



Directly she espied the little Keppels approaching, she fell down and foamed at the mouth, till her small victims soon learnt that there was but one cure for her terrifying complaint—she would only consent to come back to life and sanity when the grass-earned sixpences were poured into her extended claw. The fits were produced by the very old expedient of keeping a piece of yellow soap in her pocket in readiness to chew when a profitable occasion presented itself.

The son who apparently profited most by Lord Albemarle's instructions in agriculture was Edward, who eventually became Rector of Quidenham. He farmed his glebe land personally, stock being his speciality. He, too, had a successful rival and coadjutor in his neighbour, Sir Thomas Beever, Bart., of Hargham Hall, who bred innumerable pigs, and—such was the enthusiasm for agriculture in Norfolk at that date—insisted on driving vast herds of these to market himself.

Only on one occasion, perhaps, was it decreed that Edward Keppel should discover any disadvantage in the pursuit which both he and his father had elected to follow and to advocate so successfully. A neighbour who strove to emulate the rector in the breeding of fine cattle, owned a magnificent bull, the possession of which his pastor often found it in his heart to envy. The latter was passing one day through the 'Low Meadows' of the parsonage glebe when he was suddenly attacked by this bull in a state of frenzy. Some elm trees enabled him to evade the violent onslaught of the animal until his predicament was viewed by a hedger and ditcher, who, armed with a bill-hook, rushed to his assistance. As the bull charged, the ditcher gave him a swinging blow from the bill-hook, which, to the surprise of both himself and the rector, gave forth a strange metallic sound. Promptly the bellowing animal turned round, and galloped back to his farm-yard, angrily demolishing two gates on his way. On searching the ground to discover the explanation of the curious sound they had heard, the rector and his valiant defender discovered the bull's nose lying there, with the usual brass ring attached to it! The owner of the noseless animal on its arrival home dispatched it immediately, after offering profuse apologies to the rector.

While Lord Albemarle's elder sons were starting in their respective professions, his eldest daughter, Lady Sophia, was mistress of his house till her marriage, two years after her mother's death, with Sir James Macdonald, Bart., of East Sheen. Subsequent to this, Lady Anne acted *in loco parentis* to her younger brothers and sisters. Of these, Lady Caroline was but three years old when her mother died, while her brother Jack was an infant. In after life, Lady Caroline used to relate that one of the chief amusements of herself and her little brother during



the years which followed was to sit in their father's room whilst he dressed for dinner and watch him twisting his voluminous cambric stocks round and round his throat. The fascination of this consisted in the fact that stock after stock would be impatiently unrolled again from his neck and discarded to form part of a heap upon the floor, till this heap sometimes grew to be a yard in height! During the process, Lord Albemarle conversed with his children; but so absorbed was he in the correct adjustment of his white neckcloths, that, when Caroline and Jack exchanged clothes before they came into the room, he never discovered the transformation. Were it possible to compute the number of stocks thus disposed of in the course of twelve months, the calculation would be of interest in view of the fact that the Quidenham washing was sent once a year to Holland—a custom which was continued till a fairly recent date!

After having been a widower for five years, Lord Albemarle decided that it would be to the advantage of his numerous offspring that he should provide them with a step-mother. On the 11th of February 1822 he therefore married Miss Charlotte Hunloke, daughter of Sir Henry Hunloke, Bart., and niece of his old friend and neighbour Mr. Coke, of Holkham. His children, however, viewed his thoughtfulness for them in a very different light. Lady Anne, alarmed at the advent of a new mistress of her home, promptly became engaged to Mr. Coke, the uncle of her step-mother, and this wedding took place at Lord Albemarle's house in St. James's Square just a fortnight after that of her father. The younger children meanwhile, unable to devise so opportune an escape from the new tyranny which threatened, sought about for some method of ousting the interloper.

Lady Caroline, for one, having sampled the fresh rule and swiftly decided that it was undesirable, came to the conclusion that she had only to represent this fact to her father for the intruder to be ignominiously expelled. She therefore wrote to Lord Albemarle a lengthy letter, putting her point of view before him, and emphasising in unmeasured terms the extremely unprepossessing character of the new-comer. These trenchant arguments she summed up with the request: 'I beg you, dear father, that you will trun (*sic*) her out.' But the result was far other than she had anticipated, and is a curious illustration of the discipline to which children were subjected in those days. For her lack of respect to her step-mother she was made to walk *backwards* round and round the dinner-table during the time when the rest of the family were dining, while from her neck was suspended a slate with the offending sentence written for all to read. The fact that the four footmen should also be cognisant of her disgrace and aware of her bad spelling added torture to the punishment of



the sensitive child, so that to the end of her life it is said she always had a dislike to the presence of menservants; indeed, only towards one of the species does she seem to have entertained little objection—a certain Swiss valet of her father, by name Bode, who, in common with men of his nationality, then acted in a triple capacity as valet, butler, and *courrier de voyage*.

Shortly after his second marriage an event occurred which is said to have made a profound impression upon Lord Albemarle. He had sent his youngest son, Jack, to school in Norwich, and one evening, in 1823, there came to Quidenham news that the boy was seriously ill. Although the hour was late, Lord Albemarle set off to post to Norwich, where he arrived early in the morning. He drove at once to the school, but finding all the blinds drawn, he determined to remain in his carriage till the servants awoke, for fear of disturbing his small son's sleep. Through the hours of the grey dawn he waited thus, consumed by anxiety, till at length, seeing the household astir, he knocked at the door. He then learnt that, while he sat waiting outside, his little son had just passed away, at the age of seven and a half.

Two years later, in 1824, Lord Albemarle decided that Lady Caroline was likewise of an age to be sent to school. Hearing of a suitable establishment for the education of young ladies in Norwich, he therefore took the occasion of the next market day to call at this seminary.

The servant who admitted him failed to catch his name, and he was shown unannounced into the severe presence of the two ladies who ruled and instructed the establishment. He stated the reason of his visit, and having listened in ominous silence to his proposition, the elder of the ladies frigidly addressed him thus:

'We think it only right that you should know, *Sir*, that this institution is entirely confined to the education of the daughters of the nobility and landed gentry of the county of Norfolk. Moreover, we have made a hard and fast rule—a rule which we have never consented to relax—and that is never to accept the daughters of *farmers*.'

Up rose Lord Albemarle, swept the ladies a profound bow, and departed without comment. On the hall table downstairs he deposited his card for their future enlightenment, and promptly took his way to the rival seminary 'for the education of young ladies,' where he was recognised, and came to terms for the instruction of Lady Caroline.

Lord Albemarle's devotion to agriculture certainly inclined him to affect a simplicity of attire which occasionally led to similar misunderstandings. Harriet Martineau used to tell how, one market day in Norwich, she went to see a friend, whom she found talking with two farmers whose conversation regarding the



state of crops and the price of cattle was exceedingly technical. On their departure Miss Martineau inquired the names of these worthy men. 'Lord Albemarle and Mr Coke!' was the reply.

Meanwhile the public career of Lord Albemarle was full of incident. As the years passed, he remained a Radical of the Old School, who viewed the Whigs of his day as weak and half-hearted supporters of the glorious cause of liberty. Napoleon he hailed as the profound exponent of that creed, and the portrait of the First Consul, hung up over his bed, was regarded by him much in the light of a patron saint. Plain of speech and downright in the expression of his convictions, although throughout his life Lord Albemarle was closely connected with the Court, he never became a courtier. In 1806 he was appointed Master of the Buckhounds—in those days an important office which entailed the frequent companionship of the Sovereign. Yet although posterity has been wont to view the reign of George the Third as particularly mild and moral—not so Lord Albemarle. The prevalence of placemen who sought their own advantage rather than the good of their country, and the inefficiency of the monarch to cope with abuses to which he did not scruple to descend personally in order to further his own aims, were offences not readily forgiven in the eyes of Lord Albemarle. 'It would be a fine triumph,' he wrote to Coke in 1814, 'to check a corrupt and profligate Court and a servile Ministry!' Even the Squire of Holkham, who was noted for the frank and emphatic utterance of his opinions, was apparently outdistanced in this respect by the Lord of Quidenham. 'I had best not move the Resolutions,' Lord Albemarle pleaded with his friend on one occasion, 'for I shall not be able to avoid being a little *strong*—and quite upon principle, for the Court cannot understand language which is not a little strong!' The story is well known how, as one result of this fearless independence of speech and action, these two politicians narrowly escaped with their lives at the hands of a mob of anti-corn-law rioters in Norwich; but indifferent to personal gain or popularity, throughout the long years of his public career there was never a movement in the political world in which Lord Albemarle did not boldly espouse the cause which he held to be dictated by probity.

During the struggle for the Regency he upheld the claims of the Prince of Wales; and when, in 1820, the long reign of George the Third ended, and George the Fourth came to the throne, he was one of the peers called upon to be present at the trial of Queen Caroline. The threatened fine of 300*l.* per day to be levied against defaulters ensured assiduous attendance on the part of those summoned; and in letters to his daughter Lady Anne, Lord Albemarle described graphically how he sat daily for over six hours in the stifling atmosphere of the House, sickened by the



nauseous business and thinking longingly of his harvest in Norfolk. His one solace upon his release was occasionally to post down to Holland House to 'dine and sleep in the country.' Yet his independence of spirit was seldom more strikingly illustrated than in his attitude towards the matter under debate. 'If the Lords decide *against* the Queen,' he wrote to Lady Anne, 'I shall go to pay my respects to her, being convinced of her innocence. If she is *acquitted* by the Lords, *I shall not go*, being determined to go to no Court. I have heard enough in forty-two days to be determined not to trouble myself about Kings and Queens.' Not till the 10th of November did Lord Liverpool withdraw his Bill of Pains and Penalties, when, heartily weary of the whole proceedings, the peers thankfully dispersed to their respective homes, while the lower orders went mad with delight at the acquittal of their injured heroine.

Caroline's celebrated attempt to share the coronation of her husband in July 1821 was followed by the dramatic news of her sudden death the next month. Arrangements were promptly made for conveying her body to Brunswick, where it was to be interred; and since it was feared that a riot on behalf of the populace was probable during its progress through London to Harwich, a guard of honour was deputed to accompany the procession, while the route officially selected was chosen with a view to avoid as far as possible all crowded thoroughfares. Such efforts, however, to prevent any active demonstration on the part of the populace were unavailing; the progress of the procession was marked by increasing disorder until at Cumberland Gate a serious riot ensued. A message was then dispatched in haste for a detachment of the 1st Life Guards, and these troops, commanded by a friend of Lord Albemarle, galloped to the rescue. In the inquiry which was afterwards conducted many contradictory versions were given of what occurred, but Lord Albemarle used to relate the story as follows:

The Major in command of the battalion which was summoned was a gigantic man, over 6 feet 4 inches in height. When at the head of his squadron he arrived at the scene of disturbance, he was only just in time. The enraged rioters were violently attacking the troops, who were violently defending themselves. The Major saw at a glance that prompt action was imperative, and that at such a juncture leniency could only result in a subsequent necessity for far more drastic measures. Hurriedly, therefore, he drew the pistol from the holster of the trooper stationed on the outside of the line, and aiming at the infuriated mob, fired straight into its midst. Some of his troops unfortunately followed his example; the people, terrified, quickly retreated, and the Life



Guards were enabled to get the procession through and to close the gate.

In after years, the leading butcher to Harrow School used to tell how, as a butcher-boy, he was present on the occasion, and when he saw the tall Major coolly pointing his pistol he put up his wooden tray to defend himself. The next instant the man at his side fell dead!

In short, in the general confusion, two men named Francis and Honey were killed and many people wounded. The Major insisted that he had never given any order to his troops to fire; but although the authorities were strongly of opinion that by his prompt action he had averted much loss of life, he was never the same man after this unfortunate occurrence. Lord Albemarle stated that the remembrance of it tormented his unhappy friend till it completely destroyed his nerve.

The fact of Lord Albemarle being connected with the closing scenes in the career of the ill-fated Caroline renders all the more interesting his friendship with the unacknowledged wife of George the Fourth. In conjunction with the Duke of Wellington he was appointed by Mrs. Fitzherbert trustee and custodian of the precious documents which proved the authenticity of her marriage with the Prince. These were carefully sealed up and deposited in the strong room of Coutts's Bank until their publication in 1907.

When the next Sovereign, William the Fourth, came to the throne in 1830, Lord Albemarle accepted the post of Master of the Horse, which he had previously declined in 1812, and in this capacity he journeyed in the Royal carriage at the coronation. As a result of his new position he determined to keep race-horses, and his career in this new rôle was singularly fortunate. The 'Druid' in *Scott and Sebright* writes:

His Lordship formed very little judgment about horses. . . . He would, in fact, never have kept horses at all but for the very laudable feeling that, as Master of the Horse, he had no right to see Ascot racing at other people's expense. Still, as is often the case when owners take things easy, and do not make their lives miserable by watching the market, his green and white cap had a good time of it.

In 1838 he won the One Thousand Guineas with his br. f. 'Barcarolle.'

In 1841 he won the Two Thousand Guineas with his ch. c. 'Ralph.'

In 1842 he won the Cambridgeshire with his ch. h. 'Ralph.'

In 1843 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his ch. h. 'Ralph.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1844 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his 'The Emperor.'

In 1845 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his 'The Emperor.'

According to the *Stud Book*, the Emperor, Ralph, and

<sup>1</sup> Ralph died that same year. *Scott and Sebright* erroneously state that Ralph was poisoned before he won the Ascot Cup.



Barcarolle were all bred by Lord Albemarle at Quidenham, while all his horses were trained there, where it was possible to obtain an excellent undulating gallop for a mile and a half. The day before the Newmarket events the animals were always walked gently to the latter place from Quidenham, a distance, as the crow flies, of thirty miles, Lord Albemarle following them the next day in his coach drawn by four greys. But while his devotion to the race-course was at best but half-hearted and due solely to the force of circumstances, that of Lady Albemarle was far otherwise. She threw herself with avidity into the somewhat doubtful pastime, and instituted as her turf commissioner and adviser Mr. Padwick, who afterwards was employed by Lord Hastings in the same capacity.

Lord Albemarle's new post necessitated a more frequent residence in London. He used to perform the journey thither usually accompanied by his wife and daughter, Lady Caroline, the first stage being Larlingford, where the Quidenham horses were sent home, and the next stage Bury St. Edmund's, where the party had luncheon. Upon the return of the family to Norfolk, a band always played in the courtyard of the Hall, when all the village people came up to hear it and to welcome the travellers home. Lord Albemarle always asserted that the huge Cheshire cheeses in the different inns where they stopped *en route* were the best he ever tasted. He would invariable order some to be sent to Quidenham—always with the same result, that the cheeses which tasted so delicious when consumed by the hungry travellers in the course of a journey were robbed of some subtle charm when partaken of amid different surroundings.

Lady Caroline used to tell various stories of her experiences at the Stud House with her father. She described how King William used to fall asleep during dinner, on observing which the whole company would relapse into profound silence. The King, however, did not generally slumber for long, and on awaking would, with startling abruptness, call out 'Doors!' upon which the ladies would rise and leave the room.

While at Windsor with her father, about 1833, Lady Caroline, with the ladies of the Court, used to attend the Queen on horseback when her Majesty went out driving. The stud horses were admirably broken in, and their canters resembled those of rocking horses. This, however, was apt to become monotonous, so that one day Lady Caroline and a young Lady-in-Waiting, when riding behind the Royal carriage in the country, thinking her Majesty would not see, surreptitiously leapt a gate, and giving rein to their steeds, galloped away over a field or two. But, to their dismay, the Queen, inopportunately looking round, spied their



little escapade, and expressed herself as much annoyed at such a breach of etiquette.

It was the same year, however, that the good-natured King, anxious to confer fresh honour upon his Master of the Horse, and forgetting that Lord Albemarle had not a drop of Scottish blood in his veins, inappropriately made him a Knight of the Thistle. 'I do not think that the House enjoyed it,' wrote the Duke of Sussex to Coke; 'but it could not be helped!'

Lady Caroline used to relate that at a Royal ball at the Pavilion at Brighton the ladies present were all on the tip-toe of expectation as to which of them would be selected by his Majesty to open the ball with him. The King solved the difficulty by choosing for his partner his sailor son, Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence, and this is said to have been the solitary occasion when King William condescended to dance. When Lady Caroline attended State functions at the Pavilion, his Majesty used to give her a resounding kiss on both cheeks, while the Fitz-Clarences used to stand behind the throne making faces at her in order to make her laugh.

A memorable incident in her life occurred on the 16th of October 1834, when the King was dining with Lord and Lady Albemarle at the Stud House, Hampton Court. Messengers ran in to say that the Houses of Parliament were on fire. The Royal party, with their host and hostess, went out into the park to watch the distant conflagration.

Three years later the short reign of the Sailor King ended, and the young Princess Victoria came to the throne. Her first public act was to go in state to St. James's Palace to be proclaimed. Mr. George Russell says that she naturally wished to be accompanied in her state coach only by the Duchess of Kent and one of the ladies of the household, but Lord Albemarle, as Master of the Horse, considered that he had a right to travel in the Royal coach as he had done at the previous Coronation. The point was submitted to the Duke of Wellington as a kind of universal referee in matters of precedence and usage. His judgment was delightfully unflattering to the outraged magnate. 'The Queen can make you go inside the coach or outside the coach, or run behind it like a d——d tinker's dog!' The Queen, however, did not exercise this questionable prerogative, for she mentions that the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle accompanied her on the historical occasion.

Her Master of the Horse was present, too, with the young Queen at a very different event, which nevertheless was not without its own peculiar interest. This was the first occasion when she saw *King Lear* acted, the play having previously been entirely



unknown to her. Harriet Martineau, who watched the attitude of the young girl somewhat hypercritically, was annoyed to notice that, whilst all other hearts and eyes were riveted by Macready's 'Lear,' the Royal lady alone laughed and chatted during the performance, with her shoulder turned to the stage, till the tragic fourth act, when her wandering attention at length became arrested. 'In remarkable contrast with her,' remarks Miss Martineau, 'was one of the gentlemen in attendance upon her—the Lord Albemarle of that day. He forgot everything but the play—by degrees leaned forward between the Queen and the stage, and wept till his limp handkerchief would hold no more tears.'

Lord Albemarle was a prominent figure at the glittering ceremony of the marriage of the young Queen to Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg; and on the 21st of November 1840 he was among those summoned hastily to Buckingham Palace in expectation of an event of still greater national importance—the birth of a possible heir to the throne of England. In view of the untimely fate of Princess Charlotte, the Queen herself had been filled with most gloomy forebodings as to her probable fate, and the people awaited the occurrence with unusual suspense. In a room adjoining that in which the Queen lay battling for her own existence and that of the young life which was to be, we are told, 'the doors being open, were the following councillors: His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord High Chancellor, Viscount Melbourne, First Lord of the Treasury, the Earl of Erroll, Lord Steward of the Household, Viscount Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Earl of Albemarle, Master of the Horse.'

For an hour the Ministers waited, then, 'precisely at ten minutes before two o'clock, the nurse entered the room where they were met with an infant princess, wrapped in flannel, in her arms. She was attended by Sir James Clarke, who announced the fact of its being a female.' The future German Empress was 'for a moment laid upon the table, for the observation of the assembled authorities, and then returned to her chamber to receive her first attire.' With feelings of thankfulness the Ministers withdrew, their disappointment in the sex of the infant swallowed up in the relief that their anxiety for their Sovereign was assuaged: and England gave herself up to rejoicing.

It was in the year of the birth of the Princess Royal that Lord Albemarle was horrified by the cruel murder of his cousin, Lord William Russell, son of his ill-fated aunt, the beautiful Lady Elizabeth Keppel, Marchioness of Tavistock. Lord William, as is well known, was murdered by his Swiss valet, Courvoisier, who, contrary to his own confession, was believed before com-



mitting the brutal act to have stripped himself naked, in order that there might be no marks of blood upon his clothes. When confident that his master was asleep, he cut the throat of the slumbering man, and arranged the razor to look as if his victim had committed suicide. Courvoisier's confession was published in the *Annual Register*, and he was hanged on the 6th of July 1840. One result of his action was that people became afraid of keeping Swiss servants, of whom, previous to that date, there had been a great number in England. Old Bode, Lord Albemarle's faithful valet, was keenly humiliated by the disgrace which Courvoisier had brought upon his compatriots; none the less, Bode continued with the family which for so long he had served devotedly, and after his master's death remained in the service of the Dowager Lady Albemarle till her decease.

With advancing years, Lord Albemarle's eyesight became affected, and almost the last recollection of him which has survived is at once melancholy and humorously characteristic. One of his grandsons, an old Mutiny hero, relates: 'When I was at Quidenham, I was sent for by my grandfather. I was only a small boy. I made myself very smart, and put plenty of grease on my hair. I was taken up to his room and the door was opened.

"Is that the boy?—Come here!" said my grandfather.

'I was pushed into the room, and the first thing I did was to fall over a dog—the room seemed full of them. I went up to him; he was a very blind old man in a yellow dressing-gown, sitting in an armchair. He placed his hand upon my head: "D—n the boy!" he shouted. "Take him away, he has got some beastliness on his head!" Out I went, and that is all I know about him!'

On the 30th of October 1849 William Charles, Lord Albemarle, passed peacefully away at the age of seventy-seven; and the setters which had been their master's constant companions and had adored him with devoted affection while living, mourned him truly when dead. His grand-daughter, Lady Louisa Charteris, recalls how, after his death, passing his room she saw several decrepit old dogs waiting pathetically outside the closed door, listening for the loved voice which they were destined never again to hear.

The funeral of the dead Master of the Horse was an imposing one, and was attended by a vast number of people from far and near. The coffin, covered with scarlet cloth and studded with brass nails, according to the time-honoured fashion of the coffins of all the Keppels, was duly carried to the grave by twelve tall men in the family livery of long yellow cloth coats with brass buttons. It was the last interment, save one, in that vault, already full of scarlet coffins. Less than eighteen months after



the death of his father, Augustus Frederick, fifth Earl of Albemarle, was borne in the same manner to the same burial place, his promising career having been early blighted in a singularly distressing manner.

Years before, when riding in the streets of Rome one day, he was thrown from his horse and fell sharply on the stone pavement. The injury which he sustained was not considered serious at the time; but later his conduct became eccentric and he had to be placed under restraint. After his death a post-mortem examination showed that his skull had been cracked by the fall, a zigzag fracture from the base to the apex being discovered. His end, however, was not unhappy, for believing himself to be the possessor of unbounded wealth, he died contented with his visionary millions and filled with schemes for benefiting everybody. After his funeral, in March 1851, the order was issued that the Keppel vault was to be closed for ever.

Once only since that date has the peace of the dead who slumber there been rudely invaded. It appears that the Rector of Quidenham was in the habit of turning his cattle and sheep into the churchyard to keep down the lush grass; and one day an enterprising cow, having broken through the arched roof of the vault, was found struggling among the scarlet coffins. With the aid of ropes and an inclined plane of boards, the trespasser was at length extricated from its peculiar situation, and the vault was promptly made secure from the recurrence of a like mishap. Subsequently the surrounding grass was kept short without the aid of sheep or cattle, and the Keppels in their scarlet coffins repose in peace.

The Dowager, Charlotte Lady Albemarle, survived her husband till 1862. To the end of her days she remained faithful to her *penchant* for racing, betting, cards and dice. She was bedridden at her Twickenham villa for some time, and it is said that her fellow punters used to seat themselves on both sides of her bed and gamble for high stakes. Even in death the ruling passion triumphed, and a report was circulated that she died gambling. But to-day, on what was once the site of her racing stables, stands the village school of Quidenham, and the straw-yard where once her beautiful thoroughbreds were exercised is now the playground where romp a generation of little rustics, all unwitting of that kindly gamester of a bygone age, or of her celebrated adviser, Mr. Padwick, who once ruled there with a power which none defied.

A. M. W. STIRLING.



## THE SPEECH OF THE ROADS

OF all the forms of speech peculiar to the itinerant classes of Europe, the language of the Gypsies is pre-eminently notable. It is probably the only cryptic speech that is undeniably a language. The term 'cryptic' might be objected to as not strictly applicable, but at least it may be said that those who are accustomed to speak Romanes do not generally air their knowledge of it in public, and even at times deny all acquaintance with it. It is, however, certainly a language, and those who know it as scholars, and can therefore make allowance for local differences of accent and vocabulary, may travel from one end of Europe to the other and never fail to find someone to converse with if there are any Gypsies about. Indeed, in such countries as Russia, Hungary, and Servia, where the native language is unknown to most Western travellers, one who possesses a knowledge of Romanes sometimes finds a very useful courier in one of his Gypsy friends.

The speech of the roads, however, is of various kinds. In addition to the genuine Romani language, there are many species of jargon, or 'cant,' in use among the wanderers along European highways. They may consist of a medley of foreign or archaic words blended with the language of the country, or they may be quite artificial in their construction. But, whatever be their exact composition, they are employed by the members of certain castes as a secret means of communication, and their very existence is often successfully concealed from the sedentary classes among whom these wanderers move, and with whom they carry on conversation in the local tongue. From their nature, manufactured jargons cannot have the catholicity of a real language, and consequently these cryptic varieties of speech are much more limited in their range than Romanes. Every country in Europe has, doubtless, several secret languages in current use. Of these some are known to a few philologists, but there may well be others of which no member of the educated classes has any knowledge. In our own islands there is quite enough to engage our attention, without attempting to examine the *argot* of other lands.



This fact is well illustrated by an incident within the experience of Dr. Fearon Ranking, an accomplished student of languages, which occurred some years ago. Already a master of Romani speech, he was then on the outlook for speakers of 'Shelta,' a jargon of which he had only recently heard. His first find was at Crinan, on the Argyllshire coast. The people who there gave him his first lesson, a very brief one, were seafarers as well as wayfarers; for their vessel, a good-sized fishing smack, three-quarter decked, was then lying at the slip at Crinan harbour.

They told me [says Dr. Ranking] that they always went about in this manner, sailing from place to place on the west coast and among the islands, making and mending pots and pans. They had just put in for provisions, and were on the point of sailing for Scarba.

As they were obviously of the 'tinkler' caste—which, although often remotely, is akin to that of the Gypsies—the opportunity was too good to be lost. Dr. Ranking had spoken to them in Gaelic as well as in English, and he found that they were familiar with both these languages. But that by no means exhausted their linguistic store. Indeed, a curious surprise was in reserve for their questioner. The incident can best be described in his own words:—

The party consisted of three men and two women, with two or three children. They were stunted in appearance, and quite young; the women reddish-haired, the men rather darker. On a venture I asked whether they spoke Shelta, as I was anxious to learn something of this language, of which I knew nothing. One of the men said that they did speak it, and, on being questioned, gave the names of several common objects mentioned by me. Unfortunately, I had neither pencil nor paper with me, and was therefore unable to make any notes, and, the words being entirely strange to me, I could not retain them. The only word I can remember is *yergan*—'tin.'

One of the men suddenly said, 'But we have another language, which I do not think anyone knows but ourselves; it is not in any books.' 'What do you call a boat in your language?' I said. To my great astonishment he replied, '*Bero*' (the Romani word for a boat). On my then asking for the words for 'man,' 'woman,' and 'child,' he gave *mūsh* or *gairo*, *monisha*, and *chavo* (the Romani equivalents). Feeling now tolerably sure of my ground, I said, '*Kushto bero se duvo*' ('That is a good boat'). He stared at me as if I had been a ghost, and, on my continuing with a few more words, he called to one of the women in the boat and said, 'Come here; I never saw anything like this. Here is a gentleman knows our language as well as ourselves.' I continued asking the names of various common objects, such as *fire*, *water*, *the names of animals*, *parts of the body*, &c., and soon noticed that for each they had two or three names, one being always good Romanis, the other, I presume, Shelta.

It is interesting enough to note that these wandering 'cairds' or 'tinklers' had four separate languages at their command. The ordinary native of the British Isles is content to speak his mother tongue only, and even that he speaks very badly some-



times. Here, however, was a family belonging to the despised 'tinkler' caste who knew not only the two languages current in Argyllshire, but also two others which they kept for their private use. The incident illustrates the fact that in the study of language, as in geology, one learns more by digging downward than by merely examining the surface.

Interesting although their possession of four languages is, that circumstance is not so wonderful as their evidently genuine belief that the Romani language was peculiar to their family, and was unknown to anyone else. It must be remembered that full-blooded Gypsies, speaking true Romanes, or Romanis, are rare in Scotland nowadays, and these seafaring tinkers may never have encountered any of them. No doubt they had inherited the language from Romani-speaking ancestors, and as they had apparently not associated with anyone similarly equipped they had assumed that the inheritance was not shared by others. A not very dissimilar feeling exists among others of their congeners in Scotland, evidence of which has been presented to me on several occasions. Four summers ago, for example, I had a talk with a Highland tinker in Strath-Tummel, Perthshire. His little low tent stood by the river side, and his daily occupation was that of a strolling bagpiper, earning a few pence by playing at the doors of mansions and cottages. As is not infrequently the case with others of his class in the Highlands, he occasionally obtained good wages as a farm labourer. His physical type was not that of a full-blooded Gypsy, but his complexion was darkish, and he had black hair and hazel eyes. Like Dr. Ranking's Crinan friends, he spoke both English and Gaelic, and also the 'cant' or jargon of his caste. He informed me, on being questioned, that he and his people did not make use of what he called 'Romani Cant.' It may be mentioned that he pronounced the *o* of 'Romani' long, as in 'Roman,' which seems to be the recognised sound among Scottish tinkers. In England the sound is Rommani, inclining to Rummani, or Rumni. That language, then, he asserted, was not used by his people. And yet the fact emerged that what he regarded as their own 'cant' contained such undeniably Romani words as *gâdji*, 'a man,' and *châvi*, 'a child.' There is good reason for believing that a longer conversation would have revealed many others. In the main, however, his language was ordinary 'Cant,' with Romani, English, and Gaelic interspersed. To the first of these classes belonged such words as *beenship*, 'fin,' and *munshi*, or *pluffin*, 'tobacco.' He was strongly of opinion that *pluffin* was the more classic of these two last words. *Munshi* he knew, but the word he used was *pluffin*. The most remarkable item of all the information which he imparted was that the 'real Romani cant' term for the bagpipes is 'jinny-mugs.' This word,



which I have never heard before or since, is glaringly unlike Romanes. The odd thing is that, whereas he used occasional Romani words in his 'cant,' not knowing that they were Romani, his one and only specimen of 'real Romani cant' was this absurd 'jinny-mugs.' It is not uncommon for people of his kind to amuse themselves by engaging in the pastime of 'pulling the leg' of some inquisitive Philistine. But this man did not seem to have much sense of humour, and if he was really trying to pass off a word invented on the spur of the moment he was an excellent actor.

The same mixture of real Gypsy words with cant is found among the 'muggers' or tinklers of the south of Scotland. They call themselves *Nahkens*, or *Nawkens*, and not *Romané* or *Romnichels*, the self-applied names of thoroughbred Gypsies. In the estimation of the latter they are merely 'mumpers,' with little or no Gypsy blood in their veins. Nevertheless, the 'cant' of the *Nahkens* is rich in Romani words—in some cases so rich that it is surprising the speakers do not realise the fact, and do not regard themselves as *Romané*. During one visit to a camp of 'muggers' belonging to the south of Scotland, I observed that more than one-half of the words offered by them as specimens of their cant was pure Romanes. On another occasion the proportion of Romani words was even greater. These instances, however, were fortuitous. The Romani element in the ordinary speech of the 'muggers' of Southern Scotland forms only a small part of the whole, probably one-fourth. The great bulk of their vocabulary may be roughly referred to as Cant.

This term, it may be explained, has no obvious connection with the words and sentiments of Mr. Stiggins or Mr. Chadband. Strictly speaking, it means nothing more than 'language' or 'dialect,' and indeed it still has that meaning in Gaelic. It was used precisely in that sense by Maria Edgeworth a century ago in a reference to 'the cant of Suffolk,' by which she meant the dialect of that county. For many generations, however, the word has had one or two special applications. It denoted, for example, the London slang of the Regency days and of earlier times, when a well-dressed 'buck' was spoken of as 'toggled gnostically.' In *A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of Flash or Cant Language, commonly used by the Knowing Ones*, printed at London in 1827, I find that *toggled* is 'dressed,' *togs* are clothes, *togman* is 'a cloak,' and a *tog and kicks* is synonymous with a 'coat and breeches.' *Gnostics* are defined, with etymological accuracy, as 'knowing ones.' Now, this slang, flash, or cant language of Corinthian Tom and his gnostic friends is unmistakably derived, in great measure, from the same source as that of the wandering tinkers, whatever may be the correct explanation of the fact.



This could be shown by citing a number of words common to both classes. Of these words some are genuine Romanes, but most of them may be described as 'Cant,' a term applied in England to the language of Gypsies, as well as to that of similar itinerants, as early as the sixteenth century. 'Cant' appears to be based upon an extremely interesting and elaborate jargon, of very considerable antiquity, known by the name of 'Shelta,' the chief characteristics of which I shall presently describe. A number of cant terms, however, are not of this class. In addition to the Romani element already spoken of, and to the Shelta basis about to be explained, there are at least two other divisions of the cant language. Of these, one consists of ordinary English words applied in a figurative sense, and in this list may be included onomatopœic words which express the cry of the animals they stand for (as *meh*, a sheep, and *grumphy*, a pig). The second division outside of Romani and Shelta contains words derived from Latin, French, German, and other languages, but not current in ordinary speech.

The *Cant Dictionary* of 1827, referred to above, has several words belonging to the first of these two minor divisions: thus, *bleater* (lamb), *grunter* (pig), *prancer* (horse), *peeper* (eye), *chinker* (fetter), *ticker* (watch), *flogger* (whip), and *sipper* (teaspoon). It is interesting to compare these words, used by the London 'gnostics' of the days of George the Fourth, with the following obtained by Dr. Alexander Carmichael in 1895 from a tinker family then camping in the Island of Arran: *cackler* (egg), *quacker* (duck), *grumphy* (pig), *meh* (sheep), *prankler* (horse), *crunsher* (apple), *glimmer* (peat), *winkler* (eye), and *sweetni* (sugar). Why the nomadic castes of the Highlands and of the British Isles generally should habitually employ a class of words common to them and to the 'flash' men of London is a question that invites fuller examination in the future.

Of words apparently borrowed from Latin, French, and German, those contained in the London Cant lists could be accounted for on the assumption that they were introduced from the Continent at no distant date. It is more difficult to explain their presence in the vocabularies of country tinkers, whose lives are little affected by the ways of cities. In Mr. Andrew McCormick's very instructive book on *The Tinkler-Gypsies of Galloway* several words of this kind occur as in use among these people. A Latin or French origin is apparent in *carnis* (beef), *pennam* (bread), *dant* (tooth), *test* (head), *vile* (town), *ducc* (two), and perhaps in *blaw* (meal), from French *blé*. *Morgen* (morning) and *kinchen* (child) are clearly Teutonic. The Latin words in Cant are usually assigned by modern writers to mendicant priests, while the former intercourse between Galloway smugglers and their French and Dutch congeners is held to account for the



existence of the Gallic and Teutonic elements. At the same time, it must be remembered that nearly all the examples given above are found in the Cant of other parts of the United Kingdom. The old French *test* (head) is of much interest. It is a long time since *test* became *tête*, and it is something of a puzzle to know why the old sound has been preserved by our British nomads. Not less noteworthy is the fact that, as applied to the human head, it is Latin slang to start with, being an appropriation of *testa*, a *mug*, of which the meaning is still preserved in English slang ('mug'). It presumably originated in a playful comparison with the face of an earthenware 'greybeard.'

The most fascinating, certainly the least known, of all the ingredients in that speech of our roads, which is contemptuously spoken of by real Gypsies as 'Mumpers' Talk,' is the jargon sometimes, but not invariably, known as 'Shelta.' We owe our knowledge of it to Charles Godfrey Leland, a keen *tsiganologue*, but more widely known as the author of the *Breitmann Ballads*. The occasion on which he received his first intimation of the existence of this language was in the course of an interview with a tramp whom he encountered in Somersetshire. Being a student of vagrants of every kind, Leland bethought him of addressing this man in Romanes, and he was not surprised to find that the man fully understood what he was saying.

'But we are givin' Romanes up very fast—all of us is,' observed the tramp. 'It is gettin' to be too blown. Everybody knows some Romanes now. But there is a jib (tongue) that ain't blown,' he remarked reflectively. 'Back slang, an' cantin', an' rhymin' is grown vulgar. Now, *Romanes* is genteel. But as for this other jib, it's very hard to talk. It is most all old Irish, and they calls it Shelter.'

'This was all that I could learn at that time,' says Leland. 'It did not impress me much, as I supposed that the man merely meant Old Irish.' But a year later, when he and his friend Professor Palmer, the Oriental scholar, and a student of Romanes as well, were taking a walk along the beach at Aberystwith, they met another tramp, who, like the former one, understood the Gypsy language, and who, like him also, spoke of this strange Shelta speech, to which he gave the additional name of 'Minklers' thari,' or 'Tinkers' talk.' The opportunity was too good to be lost, and so these two philologists obtained from this man a tolerably long list of Shelta words. Three years after this, Leland found himself in his native city of Philadelphia, and there he fell in with an Irish tinker who could speak Gaelic, Welsh, English, Romanes, and this hidden language of 'Shelta.' From him Leland received a large addition to his growing vocabulary. It then became evident that Shelta, as spoken by both these men, contains English, Gaelic, Cant, and, in the first instance,



Romanes. Yet it was equally clear that it was something more than a mere mixture of these languages.

Leland published his Shelta lists in 1882, in his book *The Gypsies* (Boston), and he again referred to the subject in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886, wherein he adds this statement :

I doubt if I ever took a walk in London, especially in the slums, without meeting men and women who spoke Shelta ; and I know at this instant of two—I really cannot say promising—little boys who sell ground-sel at the Marlborough Road Station, who chatter in it fluently.

This paper, being quoted in *The Academy* of the 20th of November 1886, called forth a response from Mr. Henry T. Crofton, author (with Dr. Bath Smart) of *The Dialect of the English Gypsies* (London, 1875), who supplied an additional list of Shelta words obtained by him in 1879 from vagrants of one kind or another. This in turn produced a letter from Mr. T. W. Norwood, which appeared a fortnight later in *The Academy*, with a supplementary list. Thereafter, the subject was taken up by myself and my colleagues of the Gypsy Lore Society, and in April 1890 we printed two new collections of specimens of the same form of speech in the Society's *Journal*. One of these was secured in the Hebridean island of Tiree, where a little tinker girl furnished the words ; and the other came from a tinker in the south-east of Ireland, through the medium of the Rev. Canon French, Clonegal. This tinker, when interrogated by Canon French, stated that the name ' Shelta ' was unknown to him, and that his language was called ' The Tin-men's Cant.' From the specimens given by him, it became evident that the Tin-men's Cant and Shelta were one and the same thing.

The study of Shelta was now thoroughly investigated by Dr. John Sampson, followed by Professor Kuno Meyer. Dr. Sampson's careful analysis, based upon an extensive knowledge of the jargon gained by him in the course of his investigation, yielded the following deductions : Shelta is spoken throughout Ireland by the tinkers, the pipers, the beggars, and the sievemakers ; and apparently in Scotland, with little difference, by people of similar caste. Welsh Shelta, if it exist at all, has still to be discovered. In England, Shelta is spoken in a very corrupt form by knife-grinders, street hawkers, and others of like description. A number of Shelta words have been incorporated into Cant Proper (if cant may ever be so qualified), that is to say, the cant of the old dictionaries, printed in London, and in some cases the date of that adoption is not more recent than the sixteenth century. Such words are : *pure* or *burerk* (lady), *chirp* (to talk), *gammy* (bad), *gloak* (man), *ken* (house), *creeper* (cat), *lush* (drink), *lug* (paw), *mauley* (hand), *mizzle* (to run or sneak off), *monkery*



(country), *mug* (fool), *tonic* (halfpenny), and *tober* or *toby* (road). On the other hand, Shelta has borrowed, and subsequently disguised, some English words in modern times. The great bulk of Shelta consists, however, of Gaelic words, often of great antiquity, which have been so disguised by various modes of treatment that they are unintelligible to ordinary speakers of Gaelic. Dr. Sampson is further inclined to believe that Shelta was first formed, in part at least, from a still older language than Gaelic, a prehistoric Celtic, parent of the various dialects with which we are familiar. Of the Shelta-speaking tinker himself, Dr. Sampson thus generalises :

Although his moral and social code, like his language, is certainly of the back-slang order, yet his society is not un instructive, and, when treated with courtesy and whisky, he will be found an amiable and entertaining companion. Preserved in his life, as in his language, are many archaisms, which one would fain see placed on record before Time, with his harsh breathing, aspirates them out of existence.

It was in the article <sup>1</sup> from which the above quotation is made that Dr. Sampson disclosed the real nature and characteristics of the Shelta jargon. The great importance of his analysis was at once recognised by Professor Kuno Meyer, whose intimate knowledge of Early Gaelic placed him in a position to write conclusively on the subject. The pioneer work so ably accomplished by Dr. Sampson had really solved the problem. But it remained for Professor Meyer to elaborate and refine upon the deductions drawn by his precursor in the field. This he did in an article on 'The Irish Origin and the Age of Shelta,' which appeared in a succeeding number of the Gypsy Lore Society's *Journal* (Vol. II., 1890-1891). In this article he showed that Shelta is a very ancient secret language, that in Irish MSS. it is referred to under various names, and that, although now confined to tinkers and other nomads in the British Isles, its knowledge was once possessed by Irish poets and scholars, who were probably its original framers.

I would scarcely have taken much interest in Shelta [he says] if it were nothing but tinkers' cant, fabricated from Irish in modern times, of a kind not superior to the back-slang of costers and cabmen. It was the fact of there being evidence of the great antiquity of Shelta that made me anxious to know more about it.

Some such evidence had already been furnished by Dr. Sampson, who pointed out that many Shelta words were framed on Gaelic words which had long been obsolete in the form known to the original fabricator of its Shelta equivalent. Some of the words, indeed, had died out of spoken Gaelic altogether many centuries ago. A study of such words has led Professor Meyer to the con-

<sup>1</sup> Contributed to the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (Old Series), Vol. II., 1890-1891.



clusion that the date of their transformation from genuine Gaelic into cryptic Shelta cannot be placed at a later date than the tenth century.

But there is other direct evidence of the age of Shelta [he continues] which will appeal more strongly to those not familiar with the laws of Irish sound-change. We have very early testimony in Irish literature to the manufacture of a jargon by the very methods described [viz. those of the living jargon known as Shelta]. Dr. Whitley Stokes, in the second edition of his *Goidelica* (p. 72), after describing the processes by which some obscure words in an old glossary were formed from Irish words, says: 'The manufacture of such jargon is recognised not only in the preface to the *Amra Choluimchille*, preserved in the *Lebor na huidre*, a manuscript of the beginning of the twelfth century, but also in the *Auraicept na n-éces* (Instruction of the Poets), copies of which are found in the Book of Lecan and in the Book of Ballymote. (This last is a vellum MS. dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century, and, like the other MSS. just mentioned, it is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.) Each of the processes of fabrication has a name. *Formolad* denoted the addition of a syllable; *Deichned* was the addition of a letter only; when the final was dropped, the process was *Dichned*; when a word was spelt backward, the process was termed *Delidind*; *Cennfocrus-túis* was the change of a word's initial; *Cennfocrus-déid* the change of a final.'

To make a long story short, then, Professor Meyer has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the secret language used by many of our modern British vagrants was artificially created about a thousand years ago, from Gaelic, and by a cultivated caste. That it was used by educated men in the fourteenth century we know from a passage in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, which records the death, in 1328, of a certain Morish O'Gibellan, who is described as a master of art, a diocesan judge, exceedingly well learned in the old and the new law, civil and canon, a cunning and skilful philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, a canon and singer in Tuam and other churches, and, most important of all (from our present point of view), 'an excellent, eloquent, and exact speaker of the speech which in Irish is called Ogham.' And this Ogham speech is no other than what is now called Shelta. The word Ogham, be it noted in passing, appears to have simply the meaning of 'cryptic,' and to have been applied to this speech and to a peculiar form of writing, both alike secret or disguised, but not necessarily connected with each other.

That modern vagrants should be the only people acquainted with this mediæval cryptic jargon as an everyday form of speech is explained by the fact that they are the living representatives, however degraded they may be, of the caste or castes with whom that speech was originally associated. This, indeed, is the explanation given by Leland, the real discoverer of Shelta.

If it be asked [he remarks] how it came to pass that the language of the bards sunk to such base uses as to serve as the tongue of tinkers and



tramps, I can only offer a theory which has occurred to me while reading several works on prehistoric or early archaeology, which idea was clearly presented to me by some English review, the name of which I regret to have forgotten. It was to the effect that the bronze-workers of old time formed a very close corporation, having many secrets, and being in all probability allied to the learned class or bards. Hence, they may have used the same language. And it is possible that the tinkers, or modern itinerant metal-workers, are the direct descendants of the artificers in bronze. There is much, on reflection, which renders this probable.

I have no room here to go into the further interesting and suggestive remarks made by Leland on this subject. But I may point out that he omits to notice the fact that many of the people who use this jargon to-day are themselves minstrels and bards, as their fathers were before them. The identity is even closer than he thought. Moreover, they have retained many of the folk-tales which are spread all over Europe, to the diffusion of which people of their description, if not of their blood, have largely contributed.

In the recently revived *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, from which I have extracted the above passage of Leland's, special attention has already been paid to this peculiar jargon. Although originally quite distinct from the language of the Gypsies, it has long been interlinked with that language in curious and intricate ways. To prosecute the study of 'Shelta,' and to analyse its composition, is therefore well within the province of students of Romani speech, or at any rate of the variety of that speech current in the British Islands. The discoverer of Shelta has frequently dwelt upon the strange indifference of most philologists to the forms of speech used by the lower classes in their own country, although they will devote much time to the investigation of an obscure dialect in Central Africa or Polynesia. It cannot be doubted that in all countries there must be many linguistic survivals of extreme value among those people who have been least affected by modern civilisation. Leland may have been too optimistic when he suggested that :

It will be understood, perhaps, in the next generation that there should be in one university at least a chair where there will be taught some knowledge of all the languages, dialects, jargons, and slangs spoken in Great Britain.

But his views are well deserving of serious consideration by historians and philologists alike.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

<sup>2</sup> In an article in the *National Review* of July 1888 the late Francis Hindes Groome advocated the theory that the diffusion of folk-tales throughout Europe was probably, to a great extent, the work of Gypsies.



## *ARCHITECTURAL MASTERPIECES OF LONDON*

A FRENCH traveller—M. Grosley—who visited these shores in 1773, and who has left three volumes of observations on London and its inhabitants, takes occasion, in the chapter devoted to 'Nouveau Londres,' as he calls it, to make, like the famous President Hénault, a philosophical reflection. Says he, referring to the increase of building activity in the city, 'Si cette manie de bâtir à Londres vient à gagner la noblesse des trois Royaumes, Londres, pris dans son Etat actuel, se trouvera doublée dans la siècle prochaine.'

As a matter of fact, the following century was destined to witness such strides in the building development of London, that the city, so far from merely duplicating itself in size, increased to such an extent that the worthy Grosley, could he see it now, would be hard put to it to find sufficiently appropriate adjectives wherewith to indicate his astonishment.

To-day we have grown used to the erection of immense buildings and the wholesale development of large areas, and in our haste to hail fresh erections, we are, I fear, apt to overlook the splendid architectural monuments which have been our possession for centuries, and to forget that a thing may be perfect without necessarily being colossal.

It is curious how relatively little seems to be known about the architectural features of London. I do not mean about their technical merits or shortcomings, for this is a matter that concerns trained intelligence, and even trained intelligence does not always see eye to eye in such things, but in the mere allocation of important buildings to their designers; and I dare swear that, with the exception of St. Paul's, which everyone knows to be the work of Wren, few buildings in London can be accurately traced to the architects who were responsible for them. An examination of paper on the subject would be, one feels certain, productive of strange results, and would indirectly prove anything but a flattering commentary on the value of posthumous fame.

In an age when there is so much to be seen and still more to



be remembered, this should not, perhaps, strike us as extraordinary; but, at a moment when a quite vital interest in the Metropolis and its important monuments is awakened, anything that helps to draw closer attention to the origin and authorship of notable landmarks (so many of which seem to be disappearing) will not, perhaps, be considered as a work of supererogation.

Of course, the lapse of ages has, in some cases, obliterated such records. Thus the original builder of the Tower of London is as unknown as the architect of the Tower of Babel. Poetic licence has, indeed, helped to make confusion in this respect worse confounded, for it seems satisfactorily proved that Cæsar, whose name has been thus connected with it, had nothing whatever to do with its erection; and if there be one name that is more closely associated than another with London's most interesting landmark, it is that of Bishop Gundulf, who, in 1078, was appointed by William the Conqueror overseer and surveyor to the building. But the Tower is one of those landmarks which are essentially rather the product of successive ages than the work of one period, and it may not be generally known that its chief feature, the White Tower, owes much of its present appearance to Wren, who faced its windows with stone after the Italian fashion, and thus gave it that almost modern character which it wears to-day.

Again, in the case of Westminster Abbey, that 'Sepulchre of Kings,' as Jeremy Taylor calls it, no one man can be named as its designer, the most beautiful portion of the fabric, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, probably being the work of the Flemish and German craftsmen who, at that period, began to swarm into this country; and the only portions that can in any way be connected with a British architect are the not particularly successful west towers, which were carried out by Hawksmoor, in 1739, from the designs left by Wren, but which, had that consummate artist lived to complete the work, would, one may be sure, have evolved themselves into something more worthy of his splendid powers.

St. James's Palace, or rather the fragment which dates from Henry the Eighth's day (for, as regards the rest, ignorance of its architect is perhaps as well), is another London architectural feature of whose designer we are ignorant, although there is a tradition that the plans for it were prepared by Thomas Cromwell; while another report has it that he merely superintended designs supplied by Holbein.

Lack of knowledge of the architects of buildings at this period is not confined to those in London, however; and the names of those responsible for such splendid erections as Hatfield and Blickling, to take but these instances, are equally forgotten. It seems, indeed, that these and similar masterpieces were the outcome of many craftsmen without the direction of any head similar to our present conception of an architect. But if our knowledge of the



builders of such eye-compelling features as the three I have mentioned is limited, there are in London hundreds of fine buildings of a later date whose designers are known—but only known to those who have given themselves to the particular study of this phase of London's history.

The churches seem properly to demand the first place in this enumeration; and what a subject they alone form for consideration and study! First and foremost stand those for which the great Wren was responsible. So much attention has latterly been drawn to these; their remarkable adaptability to their respective sites, and the consummate beauty and variety of their steeples, have been so carefully considered and insisted upon, that others than architects by now know something of them and can point, with a borrowed knowledge, to their striking merits and even their more recondite excellences. The spire of St. Bride's, 'a madrigal in stone,' as the late Mr. W. E. Henley called it, with its daring repetition of design which, in the hands of a lesser man, would have proved jejune and monotonous; that of Bow Church, perhaps the finest of all Wren's beautiful steeples; the glorious interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which Canova said was alone worth a journey from Italy to study; St. Clement's Danes, with its originality of contour, the vista to which is now spoilt by the statue of Mr. Gladstone that blocks it out; these, and how many others dotted about London, from the east to the west, are known to those who seek for beauty and find it in their admirable outlines; for surely if one has been likened to a madrigal in stone, then, taken as a whole, they would seem to form a sonnet-sequence in architectural expression.

Indeed Wren has so dominated London with work in this direction, that there are those who, in their haste, set down all the seventeenth and early eighteenth century churches in the Metropolis to his credit. That his inspiration is certainly observable in many of them is obvious enough, but there are numbers with which, of course, he had nothing to do, and it is to these that I want to draw a moment's attention, because in most cases many are ignorant of their designers, or under what conditions they were built.

In 1708 an Act of Parliament was passed for the erection of fifty churches, and a second phase of ecclesiastical building activity began (Wren's may be regarded as the first, and he alone was responsible for over half-a-hundred). At this moment three fine architects were at hand to carry out the wishes of the authorities: Gibbs, Hawksmoor, and James of Greenwich, as he is called.

The first-named was responsible for two of London's best-known churches, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and St. Mary-le-Strand. The former replaced a church which had existed at this spot since the days of Henry the Eighth when (1535) the parish



was first separated from that of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In 1607 a chancel was added to the fabric at the charges of Henry, Prince of Wales, but at the end of a hundred years the building was found to be quite inadequate to the greatly increased parish, and in 1721 Gibbs was commissioned to design the present church. It was the second sacred edifice for which he was responsible, and anxiety to make it a masterpiece, coupled with the knowledge that it was to occupy one of the most prominent sites in London, undoubtedly caused him to take unusual pains with it. Indeed the portico, its chief feature, is probably unsurpassed in the Metropolis for unity of combination and beauty. Sir William Chambers was so delighted with it that he even ventured to compare it with the Parthenon, but this is the sort of unconsidered eulogy that is apt to do more harm than good to an architect's reputation by overstating the case; a fault that the poet Savage also fell into when he wrote the lines :

O Gibbs ! whose art the solemn fane can raise,  
Where God delights to dwell and man to praise.

But, hyperbole apart, there is no doubt that St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is one of London's most beautiful churches; and it is but justice to its architect's memory that his name should be remembered in connexion with it.

St. Mary-le-Strand was the first church Gibbs was employed on, and it was also the first of the fifty new churches which it was intended to erect. It was completed in 1717, but not as it was originally intended so far as the exterior design was concerned, for in place of the present steeple only a small campanile or turret was to have stood at its west end, and at about 80 feet from it a column surmounted by a statue of Queen Anne was to have risen. The Queen's death, however, caused the Commissioners to alter their minds, and Gibbs was instructed to design the present tower.

There can hardly be two opinions as to St. Mary's inferiority to St. Martin's; it is narrow, it wants dignity, and it is made up of too much detail to be wholly effective, but compared with many other sacred edifices it is successful enough. One wonders how often it is confounded with the neighbouring St. Clement's Danes as the work of Wren. Its steeple is, indeed, so good that the greater man might have been not unwilling to claim it as his own.

If Hawksmoor was not, on the whole, so great an architect as Gibbs, at least he was responsible for five churches which, unequal in merit as they are, yet show that he was only less better than the best. Four of these are in the east : St. Anne's, Limehouse ; St. George's-in-the-East ; St. Mary Woolnoth ; and Christ Church, Spitalfields. They were erected between the years 1712 and 1729,



and the last is probably the most original in its design of any church in London, for, as Mr. Blomfield says, 'In the tower Hawksmoor broke away from all precedent.' Architects will appreciate this when it is pointed out that Hawksmoor 'has returned the entablature right across from north to south, with two additional columns inserted in the width of the nave, thus forming a screen, and above this he has placed the royal arms; . . . the tower stands at the west end, and beyond it is a bold portico of four detached columns carrying an entablature with a semi-circular vault above it in the centre.'<sup>1</sup> On the north and south sides of the tower the entablature forms circular sweeps; indeed, the design is full of peculiarities, but what is meritorious in the work is that it here wholly discarded convention, and struck out a line which, if open to criticism, is at once effective and highly original.

Most Londoners know St. Mary Woolnoth, at the west corner of Lombard Street, which was only recently saved from entire demolition, but which has been sadly desecrated by the railway station that nestles in its foundations. There is a massive solidity about this church which is not particularly pleasing, but even the tyro will hardly fail to recognise originality in its heavy features.

But by far the best known of Hawksmoor's churches is St. George's, Bloomsbury, which was begun in 1720 and finished some nine years later. Here, as at St. Martin's, the portico is the chief feature, and it has always been a question which of these two inaugurated this now common characteristic of church architecture; for although St. Martin's was not begun till a year after St. George's, it was finished at least three years earlier. It is on the summit of the latter that what Walpole properly calls 'a master-stroke of absurdity' exists in the statue of George the First which surmounts it, and which gave rise to a well-known contemporary epigram. This steeple has also obtained another, and a better, claim to notice, for it appears in the background of one of Hogarth's best-known works.

A still more famous St. George's, that in George Street, Hanover Square, was the work of James of Greenwich. One supposes that this is the best-known church in London, for it has been the scene of fashionable marriages almost from its earliest day. Here Sir William Hamilton was wedded to Emma Hart; here the Duke of Sussex was joined to Lady Augusta Murray, about the results of which circumstance Lord Eldon tells us with such gusto; here the notorious Lola Montés, who ruined a king and caused a revolution, was married to Mr. Heald (not Heath, as the name is so often wrongly given); here the Iron Duke might

<sup>1</sup> *History of Renaissance Architecture in England.*



have been seen on innumerable occasions 'giving away' the brides at fashionable weddings. One wonders how many who have trodden those well-worn steps, or waited beneath that ample portico, have ever asked themselves who designed the church which, seen from Hanover Square, stands out proudly from the adjacent houses. Even Ralph, who wrote certain critical observations on London's buildings, and generally managed to fall foul of most of them, has a good word for St. George's, and the poetic voice of Wordsworth has also been raised on its behalf!

Smith Square is nowadays as forgotten as Nineveh, in fact it is gradually being overtaken by the fate of that proud city, for its exiguous dwellings are slowly being demolished. In its centre, however, still stands the church over whose architectural features more controversy has probably taken place than over those of any other in London. This is St. John's, which was erected by Thomas Archer during the latter years of Queen Anne's reign. It was the second of the fifty churches, and is said to have cost no less than 40,000*l*. The chief points of the building with which critics have fallen foul are the towers at the four corners. These caused Walpole to dub the edifice 'a *chef d'œuvre* of absurdity,' and Lord Chesterfield to liken it to an elephant with its legs in the air; but there was a cause for these unusual adjuncts over which the architect had no control; for during the erection of the church the ground suddenly began to settle, and rather from necessity than choice the towers were added in order to balance the foundations. It is but due to Archer (who was, however, not a great architect, although he produced one good work—St. Philip's, Birmingham), to state that he intended, when he found these towers were necessary, to raise the body of the fabric and to surmount it with a large central tower and spire; an addition he was not permitted to make.

Another architect whose name should not be forgotten, but who was, in truth, not a much greater artist than Archer, is Flitcroft, and two London churches can be placed to his credit: St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and St. Olave, Tooley Street, as well as that of St. John, at Hampstead. In the first, which was built between 1731 and 1733, the influence of Gibbs and even of Wren is observable, but Flitcroft had not quite sufficient individual genius to make very much of what he filched from better men, although, considering the period in which he lived, his plans have no little relative merit. He made two designs for St. Giles, but the first did not commend itself to the authorities, and it was applied to St. Olave's which was erected some three years later.

Like Flitcroft, Dance the elder, who built, as most people know, the Mansion House, designed several churches, notably St. Luke's, Old Street; St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; St. Matthias's, Bethnal Green, and St. Botolph, Aldgate. Of these by



far the most important is St. Leonard's, in the excellent steeple of which that of St. Mary-le-Bow seems, to some extent, revived. The others are, however, bald and uninspired, and, did not St. Leonard's exist, would prove that Dance's *forte* was not ecclesiastical architecture. The younger Dance with whose name old Newgate, although no longer existing, will be for ever identified, was also responsible for at least one church, that of All Hallows', London Wall, which seems to indicate an hereditary disability in this phase of the designer's art.

If the architects of the London churches are unconnected, in the public mind, with their handiwork, those who have raised what may be here termed secular buildings have not been luckier. Many people know that the beautiful water-gate that stands fronting the Embankment was the work of Inigo Jones, and that that supreme master designed the Banqueting House in Whitehall, a mere fragment of the immense palace he contemplated, but do not realise that an excellent specimen of his domestic architecture exists on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, in Lindsay House, and that another—Shaftesbury House, in Aldersgate Street—was demolished but a few years since; or that the relic of Ashburnham House in Dean's Yard, with its superb staircase, although erected under the superintendence of Webb, was substantially the work of the same master.

Do the legal luminaries who flit about Lincoln's Inn Fields, or the more infrequent visitors from without its purlieus, ever pause to think who designed the dignified and impressive Newcastle House, now known simply as No. 66? It was that Captain Wynne or Winde (a pupil of Buckingham's art collecting agent, Sir Balthazar Gerbier) who was also responsible for the old red-brick Buckingham House, the precursor of the present Buckingham Palace. He built Newcastle House in 1686 for the Earl of Powis, after whom it was at first named, before in process of time, to be exact in 1705, it became the property of the eccentric first Duke of Newcastle. So much rebuilding has taken place in 'the Fields' that it is pleasant to find Lindsay House and Newcastle House still surviving, especially as we can connect the names of their architects with them. This we can also do in the case of Stone Buildings on the east side of the square, which were erected in 1756 from the designs of Sir Robert Taylor whose name is perpetuated in the Taylorian Museum at Oxford. He it was who largely added to the Bank of England which had been originally designed by George Sampson, and opened in 1734, and who was also responsible for the Bishop of Ely's old house in Dover Street, now converted into club premises.

At an earlier day much building development about this western portion of the town was done by Kent for Lord Burling-



ton. Many of the houses in Burlington Gardens are his work, so is No. 44 Berkeley Square, with its beautifully and skilfully arranged staircase which he designed for Lady Isabella Finch, and probably Lord Powis's next door which has many of the same architectural characteristics. On a more ambitious scale is Devonshire House, which was designed by Kent in 1735, for the third Duke, but which has been considerably altered since his day by Decimus Burton and Crace.

Nothing proves the superiority of Kent's internal arrangement of houses over their external decoration better than Devonshire House which, considering the opportunity the architect had, is curiously uninspired. Ralph in a characteristic passage wrote of it that 'it is spacious, and so are the East India Company's warehouses, and both are equally deserving of praise.'

Kent could do, and did, better work, however; for the Horse Guards is his, although he did not live to finish it, and his pupil, Vardy, completed the building. Those who know Holkham, which is Kent's most ambitious piece of domestic architecture, will not need to be told that it possesses certain features in common with the Horse Guards, which are sufficient to stamp these two buildings as the work of one and the same architect.

Vardy, whom I have thus incidentally mentioned, deserves to be otherwise remembered, because he was the principal designer of Spencer House, in many respects one of London's most satisfying great houses. I say 'principal designer' because 'Athenian' Stuart had a hand in it, and planned the St. James's Place front; but Vardy was responsible for the most effective portion, that facing the Green Park, and for the internal arrangements which are said to be more modern in construction than those of any other house of the period. Uxbridge House, in Burlington Gardens, now the West-end Branch of the Bank of England, was also designed by Vardy, with the help of Bonomi, but he was not identical with the architect of Spencer House, and was not improbably a son of the latter.

Another great mansion that owed its origin to a conjunction of talent is Burlington House. As we see it to-day, it has been so altered, by Smirke, that its earlier appearance has been well-nigh obliterated, but when it was erected by the third Earl of Burlington who was assisted in the work by Gibbs, Kent, Colin Campbell, and Leoni (who built Moor Park, in Hertfordshire) it must have been singularly imposing, and an almost universal consensus of contemporary praise attests this. Lord Chesterfield, however, is found in the minority, and so is Hogarth, but other than purely architectural reasons seem to have biased the judgment of these critics. The plate produced by the latter, entitled 'The Taste of the Town,' as well as his so-called 'small masquerade ticket,'



will be remembered in this connexion; while Lord Chesterfield's epigram has also been preserved, and runs thus:

Posses'd of one great hall for state,  
Without a room to sleep or eat;  
How well you build let flattery tell,  
And all the world how ill you dwell.

It was the 'Vainqueur du monde' who also said of General Wade's house in Cork Street, which had been designed by Lord Burlington, that 'as the General could not live in it at his ease, he had better take a house over against it, and look at it.' The implied criticism here is at least flattering to Lord Burlington's treatment of the façades designed by him, and is similar to the remark made about Vanbrugh's huge erections, particularly Blenheim, where someone, after being shown over the palace by the then Duke, asked: 'And where do you live?'

Lord Chesterfield determined not to fall into this fault when he came to build Chesterfield House, and in selecting Isaac Ware as its architect he found a man who was capable of uniting a comfortable interior with a dignified exterior. Indeed Ware's most excellent characteristic was that he was beyond his day in attending to the convenience of those who were to live in the houses he designed, rather than, like many of his contemporaries, in sacrificing the internal arrangements to mere outward effect. It is for this reason that the dwellings he planned in Bloomsbury Square, South Audley Street, Bruton Street, Hanover Square, Berkeley Square, and elsewhere, are not particularly eye-compelling, but are essentially liveable mansions.

The Adam Brothers at a slightly later day, on the other hand, tried to combine these characteristics, and to some extent succeeded, although the very nature of their scheme of decoration, except in certain isolated instances, was hardly virile enough to give particular dignity to the façades they erected.

Among the chief exceptions to this in London are Lansdowne House, probably their masterpiece, not only in elevation but in internal decoration; No. 20 St. James's Square; Boodle's Club in St. James's Street, and the large house in Stratford Place, Oxford Street; all built, it will be remembered, to order. It is worth while drawing attention to the fact that where they were employed on commission the Adams generally worked in stone; but where they were engaged on speculative building they had recourse, largely, to Liardet's patent stucco, in which they were able to develop their favourite designs at far less expense than had these been carved in a less plastic material. This will be observed in much of the Adelphi; in the east side of Fitzroy Square, and in some of the houses in Hanover Square, and, indeed, in most of what may be termed their private work.



Although house-planning occupied most of the energy of the Adams, they occasionally produced decorative work of a different kind, apart, of course, from their numberless designs for doorways, chimney-pieces, etc., which may be seen in so many London houses, and of which fifty folio volumes of sketches are preserved in the Soane Museum; and the most notable example of this is the screen which helps to hide from Whitehall the uninspired Admiralty, which was, by the by, the work of Ripley, who built Houghton Hall for Sir Robert Walpole.

I suppose that most people know that Sir William Chambers built Somerset House, certainly one of London's most effective landmarks, even now that the Embankment has spoilt the effect which the river front produced when the Thames lapped its massive water-gate; but the architect's hand may not be generally recognised in 'The Albany,' originally Melbourne House, which was begun in 1770 for the first Lord Melbourne; or in Carington House, Whitehall, demolished some years since to make way for the present War Office, in which the splendid rooms and magnificent staircase were worthy of one of England's greatest architects, which Chambers could undoubtedly claim to be. When the fate of this fine mansion was sealed, a scheme was formulated for moving it bodily to another site, as is occasionally done with success in America, but for some reason, hardly on the score of expense—for it was estimated that the removal could have been effected for 4000*l.*, less than one-tenth what the place had cost—the idea was abandoned.

When we come to later days, the names of those responsible for buildings whose outlines we know as we do our own hand, seem equally forgotten. How many could say that Barry built the Houses of Parliament and the Reform Club, or that Street produced the Law Courts, or that Smirke designed the Carlton Club, to take but these instances? The beautiful ecclesiastical work of Pearson and Bodley, Bentley and Butterfield and Seddon, is around us on all sides, but who can point to the churches which they raised and connect them with the names of their designers? And if this be the case with the work of men who are of our own day, is it surprising that those who are with 'yesterday's seven thousand years,' should be forgotten?

The ordinary amateur prides himself on knowing something of the characteristics of the old masters of pictorial art. He will point you out a Raphael or a Reynolds; a Cuyp or a Velasquez, with the assurance of a critic; even the more recondite masters will yield their mysteries to his indefatigable inquiry; but in the case of the masterpieces of architecture few appear to take the trouble to learn when they were erected or who were responsible for their design, and the man who would blush to be thought uninformed of the name of a well-known painter will



be found light-heartedly acknowledging his ignorance of the architect of some building whose outlines have been familiar features to him all his life. I cannot but think that it is this want of knowledge in this particular phase of art that largely makes the removal of some architectural masterpiece an easy matter compared with the relegation of some notable picture to another country. When Crosby Hall was demolished it was only a small band who endeavoured to stay the work of sacrilege; when Shaftesbury House was pulled down the general public knew not of it. When the building-fiend is abroad only a devoted band go forth to do him battle, not because the majority care for none of these things, but because they do not recognise the value of what will fall into his omnivorous clutches.

People will never stir a hand to preserve a thing unless they realise that it is not only an object of what is absurdly called sentimental value, but also an intrinsic part of the capital, and a possession as much worth preserving as a picture or a book. But when they do this, they will as stoutly defend what architectural remains we can still boast in London as they have done, on so many occasions, the masterpieces of pictorial art which would otherwise have been wrenched from our grasp. Were there but half as many amateur critics of architecture as there are connoisseurs of pictures, one would have comparatively little to fear in this respect.

If what I have said seems highly coloured, if not exaggerated, may I tell the following story? Some time ago when speaking to an artist about the subject which forms the basis of this article. I ventured to question if ten out of the first twelve presumably educated men one met in the street could connect with any building in London, with the exception of St. Paul's, the name of its architect. My friend, while agreeing with me in what I feared to have been an over-bold assertion, said that he would even go further than that, for, said he, 'I was the other day talking to an intelligent man, and happened to mention the name of Inigo Jones. "Inigo Jones. Who was Inigo Jones?" was the reply.

E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.



*CANADA'S CHOICE*

THE prevailing excitement over party politics in the United Kingdom has obscured the importance of a contest across the Atlantic upon the event of which the greatest issues may depend. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of the Dominion, has negotiated with the Government of the United States a treaty, having for its object the lowering of the tariff wall between the two countries and free exchange of foodstuffs and the natural products. The Congress and Government of the United States have agreed to this treaty, but a general election must take place in Canada before the Dominion Parliament pronounces judgment upon it, and this general election will be held in September. All through the summer of 1911 the vexed question has been eagerly debated, and the leaders of the Opposition have been touring the broad prairies of the central provinces in order to convert to their views as many as possible of the western farmers. Opinion is much divided in the centres of population, and although the Canadian electorate is probably the most intelligent in the world, it is not wonderful that the impending election should severely test its patriotism as well as its capacity for dealing with questions of high policy.

The arguments by which the advocates of Reciprocity seek to commend the change to the people of Canada are such as strongly appeal to a practical and hard-working community. Canada has apparently inexhaustible stores of natural products and raw materials, but has no home market capable of absorbing or of manufacturing them. The great Republic, on the other hand, is beginning to need access to new fields of production, both for foodstuffs and raw material. Eighty millions of people, divided from Canada by no natural obstacle or frontier, are clamouring to open their home market and to extend the advantages of their highly-developed commercial system to the struggling settlers of the northern dominion. Life on a settler's farm must needs always be a severe struggle with nature, and the margin of profit is never too great. Farming is proverbially



a hazardous industry, and it is asserted that the development of Canada, and the rapid increase of the population of peasant proprietors which is her backbone, depend on the expansion of an adequate market for foodstuffs and natural products; thus open trade with the States of the American Union is represented as a short cut from fierce competition to an assured and well-established position, a leap from comparative poverty to certain wealth. Small wonder that the prospect is alluring, and that Reciprocity was strongly backed in the Western States. The memorial presented to Mr. Borden on the 8th of July by the Grain Growers' Association at Somerset, Manitoba, concisely presents the views of their party. It is as follows: 'We exceedingly regret your expressed opposition to the Reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States now before Parliament for ratification. One of the greatest needs of the farmers to-day is a stable market for their products. In the matter of stock-raising and the bye-products of the farm, on account of uncertain markets Western farmers have made little or no profits. Many have ceased to raise stock. Due to the very large immigration the output of wheat and other grains in a very short period of time will be very large, hence the necessity of providing all possible markets for our No. 1 hard wheat, so as to maintain the premium that is now paid for it because of its value for blending purposes and the demand for it by millers for mixing with softer wheats, both in America and the British market. Most of us live close to the boundary line and have noted for several years that farmers south of the line receive more for their grain and other products than we do on the north of it. We demand that this artificial barrier be removed. We claim that we should not be debarred from selling our products in any country that is willing to pay the best price for them. It is an insult to our intelligence to say that such trade would make us less loyal to the Mother Country. We claim that free access to the markets of the United States would increase the price of our grain and open a more stable market for our farm products, &c. We also regret that you have not supported any increase of the British Preference. Great Britain opens her markets to our produce and we desire that Canada should open her markets to the manufactures of Great Britain.' In conclusion the memorial expressed disapproval of the election being held prior to redistribution.

It is much easier to advocate the abolition or reduction of taxation than to explain how the resulting loss of revenue should be made good, nor have the advocates of Reciprocity been able to give a satisfactory solution of this problem. Direct taxation is extremely unpopular in the Dominions, and might be impossible to



levy on the farmers. But with growing importance and growing responsibilities the Dominion must have a rising revenue. If reciprocity is adopted a sharp conflict may be expected between the Free Traders in the East and the Western farmers, particularly if the latter are disappointed in their expectation of a rapid access of wealth. But the question of ways and means is but one of the vital considerations which beset Canadian statesmen in dealing with their Tariff. Mr. Borden, and Mr. McBride the Premier of British Columbia, who lead the Conservative Opposition, contend that the proposed change is foolish, having regard to the unexampled prosperity of the Dominion under the existing system. Let well alone, they say. The protective system which was to some degree forced upon them by the hostility of their Southern neighbours during the last century, has agreed with them so remarkably well that it is sheer folly to pull the plant up by the roots in order to test its progress. Enormous expenditure has been incurred in building up a railway system, the prosperity of which depends upon its east to west traffic. Commercial union with the United States must divert that traffic mainly to lines running north and south; the railway system of Canada will inevitably fall into the position of a mere annex to the railways of the States, and at the same time a mighty pillar of political independence and nationality will have been undermined.

The dislocation of the present system of trade and transit, however, is not the worst of the commercial consequences of Reciprocity which its opponents fear. They point to the evils of overgrowth in the Republic, the abuses of the huge trusts, the inordinate influence of money to secure every sort of political advantage and commercial privilege. They assert that Canada will be swamped by American dollars and smothered by American influence. It is inevitable that closer relations must develop between the two countries, and it is equally inevitable that the one whose population and organised wealth is ten times greater than the other must obtain and exert a paramount authority in the proposed partnership. It is recalled that America's attitude to Canada in the past has been icy indifference or actual hostility. Whence, then, this sudden generosity and benevolence? Without doubt Mr. Taft is correct in proclaiming that Canada is at the parting of the ways and will speedily be compelled to choose between Continentalism and Imperialism. When, and if, the Tory party regain power in Britain, their first care must be to tighten the ties of Empire by a system of Imperial Preference, and it is the conviction of this danger to American ascendancy which has inspired the action of the President's Cabinet. So obviously is he correct in his forecast that his policy has regained



for him the confidence and popularity which he had lost, for the vast majority of Americans realise the importance of the issue. The Canadian Conservatives ask when have American politicians ever granted advantages in a bargain? When, indeed, have they ever made a fair deal? And what is the sense of dealing with them at all in the present instance? If commercial ends are all they seek, and it is in reality only foodstuffs and raw materials which they crave for, then ere long the United States will of necessity and for their own advantage concede that which they now attempt to use for an exchange. But the oratory of American politicians has made it abundantly clear that annexation is the ultimate goal in view, nor has the conduct of the Washington Government in its relations with its partner States in the past, with Britain and with the States of the attempted Confederacy, proved the advantage of close connexion or combined sovereignty. On the other hand, Canada, as an autonomous Dominion of the British Empire, has flourished exceedingly, and is progressing with vast strides unfettered by any restrictions whatever. If it be alleged that the bond of empire exposes Canada to the risk of European war, it must be remembered as a set-off that the Empire also provides a great security for development, and that Continentalism will not be without its peculiar perils and embarrassments.

Such are the principal arguments which have been warmly discussed throughout Canada for the last five months, and at present divide the two political parties; and it must at once be conceded that if the opponents of Reciprocity are right the dangers they foresee are far more important than the advantages claimed by its supporters. The character of Canadian nationality is perhaps threatened even if Canadian independence is really secure. It is, however, by no means certain that the danger of annexation by the United States is a mere bogey. Canadians are not averse to reminding their British fellow-subjects of the priceless value of their territory, and its position in the world as a seat of empire and breeding-ground for a hardy and energetic population. The fact has not escaped the notice of others, so that if Canadians intend to hold what they have got, it behoves them to tread warily. The people of the United States, it is true, are on the whole pacifically inclined and are much more intent as a nation on making money than on fitting themselves to carry on a dangerous and difficult war, but the fact has not prevented them from attacking their neighbours four times in the last century. The bond of the English language did not save the Southern States in 1861, nor would it have saved Canada any time from 1812 to 1911 had not the resources of the British Empire been looming in the background. In a country of



eighty million inhabitants there is always a warlike minority, and in certain respects the United States are better equipped for war than the other English-speaking nations. Unlimited wealth is available to raise troops and wage war; the vital parts of the Republic are not easy to attack, and in a prolonged war the great resources of the States would probably succeed as in 1865. Moreover, the Americans have an excellent military University in West Point, and in several of their civil colleges a thorough military training is given to a considerable proportion of the youth of the country. As the event of the Civil War proved, America can, in an emergency, find a considerable proportion of young men capable of doing the duty of officers; on the other hand, Canada has at present a very poor military organisation, even compared with her neighbours. The British Fleet is nowadays unable to roam far from the North Sea, and the British Army, as at present organised and led, is in no condition to undertake any serious war. If, therefore, the independence of Canada were attacked by force it would be exposed to very grave peril.

It is probably true, however, that no attempt will be made to annex Canada by force, though this is not altogether so certain as some pacifist professors assume; the danger to Canadian nationality, character, and sovereignty, seems to lie in the 'peaceful' penetration of their grasping neighbours, backed rather by money than by force. The Americans believe they can buy anything, and if they secure Reciprocity with Canada their convictions on this point will be powerfully fortified. The lack of natural obstacles along the Canadian frontier makes it all the more necessary to preserve the artificial barrier of the tariff, which at any rate tends to link the Canadian provinces with one another, instead of inducing them to lean upon the American States nearest to them. Even if a certain sacrifice of present prosperity is the price which must be paid for independence, it is well worth paying. Nothing worth having is to be got without sacrifice and exertion in this world, and the Canadians may rest assured that they will not be left in undisturbed possession of the richest and fairest territory on the world's surface unless they show themselves determined, at any cost and at any sacrifice, to retain it for themselves and their descendants.

It is probably true that Commerce has taken the place of War as a creating and maintaining cause of modern States. A modern nation is primarily a trading community; not an association for waging war. War is only an incident in national life, though it seems as unlikely as ever to be altogether eliminated. It occurs at far greater intervals of time than a century ago, and its result, more decisive than



ever before, tends also to be decided by the work and character of the belligerent during the peaceful years which precede the outbreak. But the fact of Commerce being supreme in the interests of a nation renders it perilous in the extreme to loosen the bonds which unite the people of one country in commercial interests. A people which seeks to exploit classes of its own folk in preference to combining for all trade purposes in its commercial dealings with the rest of the world, has entered upon the broad and easy road which has led so many flourishing States to national disintegration. The international situation of Canada, stretching as it does at present across a continent with hardly more than a line of posts, is critical in the extreme. There are all the materials for rearing a mighty nation, perhaps the mightiest nation on earth, but until the childish body is set, until increased maturity has supplied enough vigour to resist hostile influences and hostile pressure, the rulers of Canada should prefer cautious and tried methods to indulgence in fiscal experiments, however tempting they may appear.

The rôle of British politicians during this critical period has been pitiful enough. The Tory party during its long tenure of power was unable to make up its mind to any overt act towards converting the loosely-knit confederacy of Britain and her Colonies into an empire. When at last the leaders of the party committed themselves to supporting the cause of Imperial Preference, the British democracy tired of their ineffectual and sterile rule entrusted its government to the Liberal exponents of Free Trade at home and fiscal separation within the Empire. The agitation for Tariff Reform has so far had no other effect on the fortunes of the British Empire than to rouse the rulers of the United States to decisive action before it is too late to separate the fiscal and political interests of Canada and Britain. A student of politics must be quite blind who cannot discern that separation final and complete between the British and Canadian Governments is consciously or unconsciously the darling project of the Cabinets both of Washington and Berlin. The greatest, richest, and most powerfully organised and armed nations of the world are bent on accomplishing this result, and the principal obstacles at present opposed to their policy are the Royal Navy and the Canadian tariff. Should one of these hindrances be removed the strain may become unduly great on the other.

Even at the present stage of development reached by the Canadian nation and its relations with the Mother Country, the task of separating their destinies would be quite hopeless if they made a moderately good use of their resources by combining for fiscal purposes, and by organising their land forces in such a



manner that these forces could be collected in adequate numbers in one theatre of war, and under capable commanders. So great is the prize which is within reach of a combined British and Canadian Empire that it is extremely unlikely to be obtained without a challenge from one of the jealous, powerful, and vigilant rivals who are resolved to snatch it from our people. But the gaining of that prize should be the first object of all those who profess to believe in British ideals and British statesmanship, for it would for many a long year put the people of the United Kingdom and the great Dominion beyond the risk of external hostility, free to pursue in peace their own destiny by their own chosen methods. If this is to be the aim of British statesmen, then there is no time to be lost on our side in following up the policy which binds Canada to Great Britain, and across the Atlantic in jealously resisting all proposals which threaten to impair the vitality and integrity of the rising fortunes of the Canadian nation.

CECIL BATTINE.



## SMALL OWNERSHIP: NEW LIGHT ON OLD DIFFICULTIES

THERE is no royal road to Peasant Proprietary. The path is beset with many objections and difficulties, which he who would reach the end of the journey must grapple with and face. Some of these are here set forth—not men of straw, put up only to be knocked down, but real criticisms often and gravely put forward, solid obstacles which confront the advocate of a policy of small ownership.

One criticism often seen is concerned with that most important point—the price of the land. The purchase price of small parcels of land, we are told, is so high, so much in excess of the average price, which must be assumed to represent the actual value, that the small owner sets out with a heavy financial burden, and is handicapped in the race from the start. This argument, which is mainly advanced by those who disbelieve altogether in *la petite culture*, and who, despite British and foreign experience, still cling to farming on the grand scale, so far as it is good at all is as valid against small tenancy as against small ownership. In the Isle of Axholme, for instance, Miss Jebb gave the following figures as the average rent of land: For small plots of half to one acre of good land, up to 4*l.*; for small plots up to five acres, 2*l.* to 3*l.*; for larger plots up to 2*l.* an acre; while the large farms in the district are often not more than 15*s.* to 1*l.* an acre. The small tenant, therefore, just as much as the small owner, has to face the high cost of the land he works. That he does so as a rule successfully is overlooked by the authors of the criticism, but it is full of significance to those who look to new methods for the regeneration of British agriculture. In *Rural England* Mr. Rider Haggard invariably describes as most prosperous and hopeful those districts where small farming predominates, a fact entirely at variance with the theory that the inverse ratio in the size and cost of holdings is fatal to small cultivation. The small holder can pay a higher price, because he can make more out of the land. Were it possible to make a large comparison of the net profits of small and large farms, we should probably be amazed at the difference in the income per acre.



But there is no reason why, because the small man can pay a high price, that price should not be made as moderate as possible. Our task is not to see just how much the small tenant or small owner can bear without breaking, but to place him on the land on the best possible terms. To do this we must proceed by means of colonisation. Of all ways of putting a man on the land the worst is that of carving out an isolated holding for him. It is not fair to the man from whose farm the choice bit is taken, nor does it offer the best chance of success to the man to whom it is given. Being a choice bit, either from soil or position, it is naturally expensive, the deprived farmer having to be compensated; and being isolated, perhaps surrounded by quite large holdings, the new cultivator is unable to bring co-operation to his aid, and without co-operation the small holder, though he may exist, cannot, except under very special circumstances, become, as we desire him to become, a national asset.

County Councils are bombarded with applications of this kind, and, because they do not satisfy the applicants, are loaded with obloquy. As a matter of fact, in the majority of cases it is fortunate that they cannot, or will not, move in the matter. The holding would not be created under the best economic conditions, nor is the man who requires to have the land brought to his door, instead of being ready to go to the land, the sort of man who is likely to make a good fight in the undoubtedly stern struggle for life which awaits the small cultivator. If a man will be content with nothing but the very best field of a very eligible farm, and must have that within a few minutes' walk of his residence; if he is not willing to move to another parish, or even to another shire, in search of a career, then he is not the kind of man who is going to raise British agriculture from a Slough of Despond.

As a system of land settlement colonisation alone can succeed. A large estate, and there are plenty coming into the market, can be bought at a wholesale price, and can be resold in small farms at the lowest possible figure. Among the farmers thus installed on the most favourable terms, community of conditions must inevitably beget community of interest, from which the steps to sympathy and co-operation are short and easy. Thus the small farmers so created will set forth with the highest prospects. But the farmer who starts as an owner, will have a lighter weight to carry than the tenant. He will be free from those charges for management and the like which authorities, such as Mr. Trustram Eve and Mr. Strutt, declare kill the idea of letting. Such charges frequently amount to 10 per cent.; in some districts they reach the figure of 4s. per acre, a heavy burden which is made all the heavier because the tenant, in paying the charge, is diminishing his own freedom of action in the cultivation of his



farm. He is, in fact, paying for the curtailment of his own liberty.

There are other expenses connected with land settlement which affect owners and tenants equally severely—those incurred for the erection of cottages and farm buildings, which do undoubtedly constitute a real difficulty. There is this redeeming point about it, however—that it is to a large extent artificial, and is, therefore, capable of diminution. Miss Jebb, in her book *Small Holdings*, draws attention to one of the causes of this difficulty. 'In regard to small holdings and capital expenditure it is well known that one of the difficulties in creating small holdings is the expense of the buildings, which cannot be put up at such a price as will afford a profitable investment to the landlord, viewed from the strictly commercial standpoint. Here again it is because he wishes to put up a substantial enough building not only to last his lifetime without undue repairs, but still to be an asset for his heirs. He also likes to see good buildings on his estate, a shoddy erection being an eyesore on a well-managed property.' Miss Jebb goes on to point out that in many cases where large farms are not paying the landlord for what he has spent on them, he is precluded from cutting them up because his money has been spent on the large farmstead, and he has none to spend on the smaller ones. Here the private landlord cannot create small holdings, because he cannot get a paying rent. The County Councils are probably less swayed than the Squire by æsthetic considerations, but they, too, naturally go in for substantial buildings, for which they charge full interest to their tenants. In both these cases the tenant suffers, but he suffers mainly because he is a tenant and not an owner. For Miss Jebb, who is a convinced opponent of small ownership, goes on to show that small owners are spared much of this expense. 'The Dane on his freehold (and in some places the Englishman when he has one) puts up at little expense buildings efficient for his immediate purpose, and if in the long run they tumble down, he has meanwhile made his profit out of them, and is free to march with the times and make new arrangements for new requirements.' Here, therefore, we find that under small ownership one of the obstacles to the subdivision of land is removed or considerably lowered. The tenant is saddled with buildings which he does not want; the owner can build to his own requirements.

But here again even the owner is met with a difficulty. There is a growing tendency for the Administrative Authority to prescribe the conditions of existence, compliance with which imposes additional expense upon the individual. The underlying principle of this policy is humane, proper, and necessary, but its application runs the risk of becoming pedantic. The bye-laws and regulations



of local authorities with regard to buildings are an instance of the tendency. Conceived in the interests of the public health and safety, they are frequently enforced with a certain Pharisaic precision and rigour which is not demanded by local conditions. Admitted that such regulations cannot be too precise and consistent, in rural areas, where buildings are either entirely isolated or are grouped in very small numbers, greater elasticity might surely be permitted. So long as sanitary laws are not violated the desire and means of an individual might be consulted more than they are at present, with the result that the financial burden could be materially lightened to the small owners.

It is probable that exaggerated ideas of the requirements of a small cultivator have been generated by the lavish expenditure of wealthy private owners on cottages and homesteads. Under a commercial system of agriculture fashions in cottage buildings will have to be modified, and can be modified without loss of comfort to the occupier. Mr. St. Loe Strachey has built two semi-detached cottages, containing a kitchen, which is also the living-room, three bedrooms and offices, at a cost of 300*l*. These cottages, which are built of concrete blocks, 18 inches by 9 × 9, are substantial edifices, plain, but not unpleasing to the eye. If detached, of course, such dwellings could not be erected for 150*l*. apiece, but under a system of colonisation, the cottages of adjacent holdings could be built on the semi-detached principle. In Germany, that land of practical method, economies in housing are effected by grouping the dwellings of the small owners. The homesteads of the central holdings are grouped in a hamlet, while those of the outlying farms are either single or arranged in groups of three or four. This has been found more convenient, as well as cheaper, than the system of having each in its own holding. It will thus be seen that though the cost of installation constitutes a difficulty, it is one which is partly artificial and which, when inevitable, can be materially reduced.

Another objection frequently made to ownership is debt. The owner, it is said, having greater security to offer than a tenant, can borrow money more readily, and will yield to the temptation—'The sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done.' It was debt, it is urged, which destroyed the old yeomen and freeholders. The peasant proprietors of the Continent are staggering along miserably under their burden of mortgage. Let us save our people from a like fate, by refusing them ownership and so depriving them of the power to borrow. The premises which lead to this conclusion are plausible, but they are not axiomatic. They are liable to considerable modification according as we ask for what purpose a loan is raised, and on what terms it is raised. Beyond question indebtedness was a pregnant cause of the disappearance



of the freeholders; beyond doubt the peasant proprietors of the Continent were sunk in a hideous indebtedness some thirty or forty years ago. But that was not due to the fact that the way to borrowing was too easy: it was because there were not sufficient facilities for borrowing on commercial terms. They had the credit, but it was dear credit. The local lawyer, the village Shylock, the gombeen man—these were the sources of rural credit. Under these auspices the ruin of peasant proprietary was inevitable, and it would have been as complete on the Continent as in England, but for the discovery of co-operation. Wherever Schulze-Delitzsch or Raiffeisen set his foot usury vanished, and with its disappearance the peasant owner lived again.

Co-operative credit, however, is mainly personal credit; it is not confined to owners as are mortgages, and consequently it is the facility which ownership gives to raising money on mortgages that is most often quoted against the system. The picture of Continental freeholders crushed under mortgages is painted in lurid colours, and persons accustomed to the British mortgage system regard the picture with sympathy. But the British and Continental systems are not the same. In this country a mortgage is infinitely more burdensome, in that it is for an interminate period and is not repayable by instalments. The farmer, whose margin of profit is small, cannot for some years save enough to pay off any considerable part of the loan, and an ordinary lender will not accept payment by means of a small sinking fund. Hence the farmer has either to cripple himself to clear off the debt, or he has to go on with the menace of foreclosure hanging over him like a sword of Damocles. When it will fall he does not know, but he does know that it will most likely fall when money is tight or any rumours of his being in trouble get about. When the loan is called in he is, in all probability, unable to meet it, or only able to do so at great inconvenience. This arises from the fact that in this country mortgages are regarded as investments for money, and not as a method of turning over money. On the Continent it is different. There there are financial institutions, Land Banks, whose business consists in advancing money on mortgages, given for a definite period, repayable by means of a sinking fund, and which cannot be called in so long as the payments are kept up. The farmer is saved from anxiety as to the loan being called in, his annual payment is moderate, and he is supported by the knowledge that each year his indebtedness is being reduced.

This difference between the British and Continental system, which the formation of a National Land Bank would eliminate, is to be borne in mind when the bogey of debt is held up as a warning against small ownership. And it may be asked, Why



should debt be considered so dreadful when incurred for carrying on the business of agriculture? All other forms of trade and business are carried on by means of credit, then why not agriculture? M. de Méline, in his delightful book, *Le Retour à la Terre*, discusses this question with great acumen. So far from thinking that ownership leads to reckless borrowing, he laments the fact that so much of the funds provided for agricultural credit has remained unemployed, and deplores the mental attitude of the peasants who shrink from an agricultural credit bank as though from the Serpent of the Temptation. To disabuse them of their timid prejudice against borrowing, he says, they must be taught that credit is an instrument of economic progress necessary for rich and poor alike.

Something may be conceded to those who use the argument of debt against small ownership. To call a number of small owners into existence under the present most imperfect system of agricultural credit would probably be to doom many, if not most, of them to extinction. They would find it almost impossible to borrow—and credit they must have—on terms giving them reasonable prospects of security and success, and not making their lives a burden to them. But that is not an argument against small ownership; it is an argument against our system of agricultural credit—it is an argument for the development of village credit societies, and for the creation of a National Land Bank.

Yet another objection is made to small ownership—that the people do not want it. This argument has been advanced so often—there is hardly a speech against peasant proprietary in which it does not appear—that it has acquired a quite fictitious value. Yet what does it amount to, after all? If the people do not want to become owners of the land, they will not buy it, and no one wants to make them buy it. That may be a warning against expecting too much of a Land Purchase Act, but it is not an argument against passing one. Because, as a matter of fact, no one has got complete warrant for saying either that the people do not want to become owners of their land or that they do. The presumption is that they do, because the desire for ownership is paramount in all other countries; it is a natural instinct, and it shows itself in Englishmen when they go to the Colonies. That being so, and human nature being much the same everywhere, it is a natural presumption that the desire for ownership exists in Great Britain as it exists everywhere else, and as it existed in England in former times. That circumstances have enforced the repression of the instinct is certain; that it is being artificially repressed now is admitted by so high an authority as Miss Jebb, but it does not lie with those who repress the desire to say that it does not exist. It is a fact that less than 3 per cent. of the applications for land under the Act of 1908 have been for purchase; but those who trot out this



travel-worn argument entirely fail to pay attention to the equally veteran rejoinder—that the terms of purchase are prohibitive, and, of design, have been left prohibitive by the framers of the Act. The argument that the people prefer tenancy to ownership can have weight only when the free and unfettered choice of both is given to them.

Here we reach the crux of the whole question—the provision of the purchase money. The object is to enable a man to become the owner of a holding without trenching upon such capital as he may possess which is required for its cultivation. It is frequently urged against purchase that it is better for a man to keep his capital for the development of his farm than to sink it in the purchase of land. This is absolutely true, if these are the only alternatives, and it is to meet this objection that the advocates of purchase have adopted the policy of advancing to the purchaser the whole of the capital required for the purchase of the farm, if he be unable to find any part of it himself. It is objected to this proposal that it is commercially unsound, and that it is taking an unjustifiable risk to accept a mortgage on any property up to 100 per cent. of its value. Now, this very thing is being done in Ireland, in Poland, and in some cases in Russia as well, without loss and even with profit in the case of the Polish Provinces. To this it is answered that these cases are not strictly parallel with ours. In Ireland the purchase price is fixed on judicial rents which are admittedly low, and the tenant-right is a valuable asset. In Poland, Mr. H. W. Wolff points out, patriotism is a controlling factor which secures the success of the policy. But patriotism, though it can effect much, cannot overcome economic law. A man may be content to lose money for the sake of his country, but in Poland he does not lose money; land purchase is a profitable business which enables the Land Banks to pay very substantial dividends. If advances to purchasers are to be regulated by ordinary mortgage terms they should never exceed two-thirds of the value, whereas in Denmark 90 per cent. is advanced to purchasers under the Act of 1899; in Austria-Hungary, 95 per cent. is advanced in some cases, and in others 80 per cent., with remission of land taxes and house duties for a period, and a moratorium in repayment of the principal, which makes the benefit to the purchaser much greater. Clearly, therefore, it is recognised that in the case of land settlement undertaken for national purposes the rigid limits of commercial usage cannot be observed. And if the dictates of national necessity justify this on the Continent, in Great Britain they are infinitely stronger. Abroad the problem is one of rearranging the rural population and retaining it on the land; in this country, unhappily, it assumes the form of re-peopling the land. We have, therefore, to deal with persons who have not had the opportunities



of saving money which the small holders of the Continent have, and we are forced to make the way to the land as easy and as attractive as is consistent with the utmost limits of safety. In Ireland, under Mr. Birrell's Act, those limits have been made very wide. It is a sufficient reply to those who say that the Act of 1903 is not to be quoted in support of a proposal to give similar privileges to British applicants, to point out that under the Act of 1909 the whole of the purchase money may be advanced to men who are not tenants, or, as they may be called, landless men, or settlers.

Mr. Jesse Collings has so far deferred to the objection just mentioned as to draw a distinction between sitting tenants and settlers in some of the proposals he has made. To the former he would advance the whole of the purchase money up to a certain limit of price; to the latter he would only advance 90 per cent. This distinction, which appears on the face of it not unreasonable, becomes less essential when we really examine the nature of the transaction which is involved in land purchase. It is, of course, clear that the advance of the whole of the purchase money to a sitting tenant is unattended with any appreciable risk if the terms of the loan be reasonable. A man who has cultivated the same holding for some years, and who is able to show that he has cultivated it with success, need not be expected to fail just because his annual payments are in the form of a terminable annuity and not a perpetual rent. To adjust the annual payment by which a tenant can purchase his holding so that it shall not be in excess of what he formerly paid in rent, it is only necessary to extend or shorten the period over which these payments can be spread. Thus, suppose the annual value of a property is 50*l.* and the purchase price 1000*l.*, the number of years' purchase is twenty. The 1000*l.* could be repaid in thirty-five years at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. sinking fund, making a total of 50*l.* per annum. On the other hand, if the price of the freehold were 1000*l.* and the annual value 40*l.*, the period required for purchase would be sixty years at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. sinking fund. The tenant would therefore be only called upon to pay the same amount which he had been in the habit of paying previously. He might fail to do so, but in that case the Land Bank or the State, whichever had advanced him the money, would have this advantage—that his interest in the land would be an asset against which they could claim for any arrears of his instalments. The risk, therefore, is certainly no greater, and is probably less, than is at the present time being incurred by County Councils. Take as an example the Sealyham Estate in Pembrokeshire, where the tenants were under notice to quit owing to the estate being offered for sale, and where the County Council pur-



chased the estate in order to enable them to remain on their farms. The tenants are still there, but their rents have been raised by the County Council, to cover costs of collection, management and the sinking fund for the extinction of the purchase price, from 5 to 10 per cent. If any one of these tenants were to fail, the land would be thrown upon the hands of the County Council. If it has been 'let down' by the tenant, it will have to be re-let at a lower rent, or the County Council will have to cultivate it itself, in which case it will be almost certain to make a loss on the transaction. Now, if the tenants had bought the land outright, they would be paying at the present time a less sum per annum to buy the land than they are paying in the form of rent. By so much would their financial stability be increased. And if, in the course of years, one of them should fail, the Land Bank or the State would have his interest in the land as a set-off against his indebtedness. And it is not to be ignored that the man who has bought the land acquires thereby a greater attachment to the soil, and an incentive to industry, which would add appreciably to the security of the Land Bank or the State.

The case of settlers is different. Here the applicant for land has not given his 'proofs,' as has the sitting tenant. He is, to a greater extent, to be taken upon trust, and by so much, it may be argued, he should be required to deposit some of the purchase money as a guarantee against loss. But, upon the other hand, he is probably just the man who cannot do it without depriving himself of necessary working capital. A successful sitting tenant might be able to put up some of the purchase price; probably the majority of settlers would not be able to do so. And yet, if our grave problem is to be solved, if rural depopulation is to be stopped, if the land is to be re-peopled, we must bring on to it men who have not got land at present. Can that be done by advancing the whole of the purchase money without incurring an unjustifiable risk? I think it can. And for this reason—that there does not appear to be any greater risk in buying land and re-selling it to settlers than there is in the practice at present adopted by the County Councils of buying the land and re-letting it. As has been just said, if the tenants of the County Council fail, the Council is almost certain to be involved in loss. If the men who have bought from the County Council fail, the loss—if there be loss at all—must be less because of the purchaser's interest in the land. It is quite certain that the annuity paid by a purchaser will be less than the rent at present charged by the County Councils. Taking certain typical cases from the Report of the Board of Agriculture, where estates have been bought and parcelled out, it appears that the income derived by the County Council varies from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on their outlay. The purchase



annuity would be calculated on a basis of 4 per cent., and, by the difference, the position of the purchaser will be better than the position of the tenant. Mr. Trustram Eve has pointed out that the heavy management charges on the County Council tenants is killing to the idea of tenancy. It is therefore presumable that, if men can succeed under the present scale of rents, they would be still more likely to succeed under lighter terminal annuities, and by so much the risk would be diminished.

In order, however, to reduce the risk of loss as far as possible, and to bring these transactions more nearly into ordinary commercial line, various expedients have been proposed which are worthy of a careful examination. In the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act of 1885, any person who was willing to secure the repayment of an advance made by the Land Commission to a purchasing tenant, might deposit with the Land Commission, as a guarantee deposit, any sum not less than one-fifth of the advance. If the guarantor were the landlord, he might provide the guarantee deposit by permitting the Land Commission to retain it out of the purchase money, and interest on the guarantee deposit was allowed at the rate of 3 per cent. Another proposal is that the Land Bank should pay 80 or 85 per cent. of the purchase money to the vendor, and should pay him interest on the balance until the payments of the purchaser had reached that margin. In the majority of cases it would probably be found that the vendors would be willing to accept such an arrangement as that. In practice it was found in Ireland that the guarantee deposit was not required, and the provision was omitted from subsequent Land Purchase Acts. I mention these proposals, not because I think that they are absolutely necessary, but as tending to assuage some searchings of conscience which some may feel at the idea of the whole of the purchase money being advanced.

In a recent discussion at the Surveyors' Institute, Mr. H. W. Wolff, who raised some of the objections which I have tried to answer, protested against the idea that the settler should receive the whole of the purchase price of his holding, and should be advanced his working capital as well. That, he said, would be extremely unbusinesslike, and added that he had never come across a case of such two-fold liberality. Now, in a Land Settlement Bill in Austria, special terms of colonisation are given in certain cases. These terms are as follows :

- (1) The settlers need only put down 5 per cent. of the purchase money.
- (2) They can borrow working capital from the Settlement Fund at easy rates.
- (3) They can get from the Settlement Fund, in part or full, expenses of trans-settlement.



Here, then, is a case where the State advances 95 per cent. of the purchase money, working capital, and certain expenses. So that it is not correct to say that no instance of such two-fold liberality is to be found. But that point need not be pressed, because it is not contemplated that the State or the National Land Bank, whichever is the instrument of land purchase, should lend the whole of the purchase money and working capital as well. The settler would, doubtless, have some capital of his own. Mr. Christopher Turnor, in his book *Land Problems and National Welfare*, says that the savings of agricultural labourers are often much larger than is generally imagined. And it is to be remembered that the tenant who takes land from the County Council must be provided with working capital just as much as if he bought the land. But in cases where the small owner—just as may happen in the case of the small tenant—requires to borrow working capital, he will not, and indeed cannot, obtain it on the security of his land, which he has already fully charged, but will require to obtain it from co-operative Credit Societies on his own personal security, in which his character becomes an asset. The point to be made here is this : that the distinction between the tenant of a public body and the man who purchases land through the medium of the National Land Bank is a distinction of name and not of condition. Viewed from this standpoint, no greater risk is involved in purchase than in tenancy, so far as the Authority is concerned, whereas to the purchaser the burden, and therefore the risk, is less than to the tenant.

An argument frequently brought against small ownership is, that it is futile to establish a peasant proprietary because it will be ephemeral. The small holdings, we are told, will, in process of time, be bought up and amalgamated into great estates, and the process of re-distribution will have to begin all over again. It has happened before and it will happen in the future. Those who argue thus forget the agricultural evolution which has been in progress during the last thirty years. The pressure of the competition of the New World has forced new methods upon European agriculture. The tendency is steadily towards intensive culture, and intensive culture enforces the distribution of the land in many hands. Even in the United States, the era of large farms is approaching its end, and the era of intensive culture is looming in sight. Mr. J. J. Hill, one of the shrewdest economic thinkers on the American Continent, has drawn serious attention to the wastefulness of the present system of agriculture on the great scale, and predicts that the day is near at hand when the necessity of providing its own food-supply will lead to the break-up of the great estates. But if in the United States, if in America, the era of intensive culture looms in sight, in Europe it has arrived. Even



in this country the tendency is towards small farms. And it is to be remembered that the natural tendency towards small cultivation is accelerated by the development of co-operation, which gives to an aggregate of small men the strength of the capitalist, in addition to the productive power of the peasant cultivator. The European agriculturist, including the British, is, then, being driven to intensive culture by the competition of the New World. Intensive culture is only possible on farms of limited area. So soon as they become grouped into large aggregates, the productivity of the land is diminished, and the capacity to strike against foreign competition is reduced.

Moreover, under intensive culture the value of the land becomes enormously enhanced. The countryside becomes more populous; with a larger population there is a larger demand for farms, with the result that the price of land steadily appreciates. Whoever, then, would build up a large estate, as men did in England sixty years ago, would have to buy the land at the price of intensive cultivation, and would have to work it for the profit of cultivation on a large scale. Such a bargain would probably be disastrous, and for this reason alone the amalgamation of small farms is not to be feared. Again, there is nothing in present conditions to tempt a man to create a large landed property. The tendency is rather in the other direction; those who possess estates are, for causes which need not be discussed, hastening to get rid of them to an extent which is causing a good deal of embarrassment and apprehension to their tenants. So far, then, from apprehending that the creation of a peasant proprietor would be labour lost because the small farms would be rapidly merged in larger ones, my fear would be rather in the opposite direction—that, with the increasing value of land, there might be excessive sub-division, as is to be seen notably in France and Belgium. But even that does not present itself as a serious danger. Our laws of inheritance do not, like the laws of some other countries, tend to sub-division. The habits of our race do not make for overcrowding at home. To our people emigration does not wear the formidable guise which it presents to the French peasantry; and therefore, while it is quite possible that here and there a holding may be sub-divided, and that in perhaps more numerous cases two or three holdings may be joined together, I cannot see anything in our present conditions which would lead us to fear that a system of small ownership, once established, would not endure.

Another objection to small ownership, which indeed might equally be urged against small tenancy—that there are areas in which it would be doomed to failure, rests on the mistaken idea that it is proposed to carve up the whole of the country into



small farms. To carry out such a policy would be impossible; to attempt it would be foolish. To every district and class of soil appertains its own distinctive agricultural method—the form of cultivation which is most convenient and profitable. On the moorlands and wide tracts of arid downs, suitable for sheep, small cultivation finds no place. The rich pastures and the wheat-growing districts of England would probably be employed to the best advantage in larger holdings. Such matters will be regulated by economic laws, but only if they have fair play. Experience can only teach its full and real lesson when our agrarian system is so extended and varied as to make it full and real. When the small cultivator has as easy access to the land as the large farmers, then, and then only, will British agriculture be directed by scientific law.

But there is a common, though mistaken idea, that peasant proprietary is only possible under exceptionally favourable conditions of soil, aspect and geographical position. No doubt these conditions assist the small owner, but it is not at all certain that they are so essential to his success as in the case of the large cultivator. In *Land and Labour Lessons from Belgium* Mr. Rowntree points out that of the ten arrondissements which have the highest agricultural land values, no less than nine are situated in Flanders, which has been thus described by M. Emile de Laveleye: 'The soil of Flanders hardly permits of the natural growth of heather and furze. It is the worst soil in all Europe; sterile sand like that of La Campine and of Brandenburg.

Similar illustrations may readily be found elsewhere. Eastern Prussia is largely a region of barren waste and moorland, but under an organised system of Land Settlement it is being brought into productivity, with a considerable increase in rural population and live stock wherever small ownership has been established, and with an infinitesimally small percentage of failures among the small owners. Writing in Despatch 188, Commercial 1906, Sir Francis Bertie thus reports of France:

'Large regions exist in France, in which large properties would never pay, where the land yields its full return, thanks to the individual and minute care given to it by the proprietor, and in which the peasant proprietor earns 10 per cent. on his capital, where the tenant farmer or Metayer could not extract more than 3 per cent.'

We may find the like evidence nearer home, cited by Miss Jebb in her valuable work *Small Holdings*. Near Evesham she found a farm of very heavy clay land, on which two farmers had failed, which had been let out in small lots for asparagus growing, with such success that it was soon found to be the best policy to break up other farms as they fell vacant, so that land which formerly let at 7s. 6d. to 17s. an acre now fetches 30s.



to 3*l*. In Cornwall she found men who had converted land covered with bracken and furze and stones into highly profitable farms. One man had thirty-nine acres of land, which he found very poor and stony—from a photograph given of it, a desert not unlike the African Karoo. When she wrote he had nineteen head of cattle, made a pound of butter a day, grew good crops of oats, cabbage, potatoes and mangolds, made 20*l*. a year clear profit on poultry, went in largely for pigs, and 'seemed to be prosperous on a holding of such poor land and in such an exposed position that not many larger farmers would think it worth cultivating at the rent (1*l*. an acre) he was paying.' She notes that the crops on these small holdings 'afforded a strong contrast to those in the immediate vicinity, where the land was occupied by large farmers with very different results.' It would appear, therefore, that really poor land demands small cultivation for success more than good.

Nor is the importance of geographical position as great as is sometimes represented. The development of light railways and motor traffic has brought all but a very few districts in close touch with the markets. Co-operation can relieve the small man from the difficult, often impossible, task of finding a market for his goods; it reduces the cost of transport and eliminates the middleman's profits. Of course, a man who works in close proximity to a large town has some advantage over the man who works further afield. But the advantage is not quite as great as it appears on the surface, when the higher price of the land is borne in mind, and the effect of facilities of transport and organisation in reducing the inequalities of distance.

Some minor difficulties remain, which can hardly be more than mentioned here, but which claim the attention of those who desire to make small ownership successful. It is essential that the land should be conveyed to the purchaser at the lowest possible cost. This is recognised on the Continent, where Land Banks receive privileges in the matter of taxation, and where transfer duties are either remitted or reduced. The recent increase in stamp duties is unpopular among the small owners and tenants in Ireland, as may readily be imagined, and the British Government might well assist a work of great national importance by making some concessions in the case of the transfer of small parcels of land, where every shilling is felt. There are, however, other expenses incidental to land transfer, with which the Government have no concern—the legal expenses involved in the establishment of title and conveyance to the purchaser free of all liens. These charges will in time be reduced, as land is parcelled out under a system of registration, provided for in the Small Holdings Act of 1908, but at present they are considerable. The



only way, probably, in which they can be lightened to the small purchaser is by proceeding on the lines of colonisation. The cost of examining the title in the case of an estate of 5000 acres is no greater than in the case of any part of it, but the burden spread over many shoulders is infinitely less to each. It would, further, be necessary that, when it has not already been done, the tithe should be commuted before the installation of the small freeholders. The immediate financial result to the small owner might be but small, but he would have his liabilities amalgamated, and a cause of grumbling would be removed. There are some liabilities which are not susceptible of such treatment, such as rates, but such a subject is too large for consideration in this place. With a large increase of peasant proprietary, however, the question of rural rating will become of high importance, and will be presented with a weight of advocacy which it has not hitherto known.

It has not been possible in the limits of this article to do much more than sketch in outline the difficulties of small ownership, and the objections urged against it. That there are difficulties is not to be denied, but as other nations have overcome them, so may we. Even were the difficulties greater than they are, in this, as in all great movements, they must be dared, for this much is certain—our agricultural position is desperate.

GILBERT PARKER.



## COPTS AND MUSLIMS IN EGYPT

WHO are the Copts?

It is strange that such a question should really require an answer. But it is clear from the tenour of recent statements in the English Press that the common facts of Coptic history in the past, and the common elements of the Coptic position to-day in Egypt, are very little known in this country. One newspaper, for instance—perhaps the most widely-read of all—in a leading article tells its readers that ‘the Mohammedan Conquest reduced the Copts to absolute slavery. Under British rule they have regained some of their ancient individuality, and have begun to assert their claim to a share in the administrative work of the country.’ This is totally untrue. Egypt, after three years of strenuous resistance, was taken by treaty and not by force of arms: the Copts agreed to pay the poll-tax, and were guaranteed in return their civil liberty and their religion. They became a ‘protected people,’ and the whole machinery of the State remained in the hands of the Christians, as the Arab conquerors were quite incapable of managing the elaborate system of civil service administration which they found established by the growth of centuries. So strong proved the force of custom and tradition that this employment of the Copts lasted in some departments of Government up to the time of the British occupation, and is not yet ended; but one of the grievances of the Copts is precisely this, that under British government their share in the work of the civil service has been deliberately diminished, and an unfair preference has been shown for the Muslims, who have almost a monopoly of the higher offices.

So far is the truth removed from the story of that newspaper.

Take another case. One of the leading illustrated papers seems to think that the Copts are a little band of people like, shall we say, the Countess of Huntingdon’s community. It published a page of sketches with the superscription ‘The city of the Copts: the Sect’s stronghold in Cairo’; and it figured among them a church which it called ‘The Coptic church in the Coptic city in Cairo.’ So the Copts are a sect, and they live in a city of their own in Cairo, and they possess a church! Truly a wonderful piece of information for a great London newspaper to give its readers.



It would be easy to add other examples, but these will suffice to show that the Copts are a little misunderstood, and that a simple statement about them is justified.

It is commonly said that the Copts are by race descended from the ancient Egyptians. This is sound as far as it goes, but only a part of the truth : for the saying would be almost as true of the majority of the fellahin, or tillers of the soil, who are mostly Copts by race though Muslim by religion. But the name Copt is now properly confined to that section of the community which has retained its primitive Christianity, and not exchanged it for Mohammedanism. For the Coptic Church dates its foundation to the preaching of St. Mark, and it shows a continuous succession of Patriarchs—the Patriarchs of Alexandria—from the first century of the Christian era down to the present day. At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. the Eastern Church was rent in twain by one of those metaphysical subtleties over which the Easterns delighted to torture their understandings; and since that date the Coptic Church, like the Syrian, has remained what is called Monophysite. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that the term denotes any denial either of the humanity or of the divinity of Christ. The Monophysite theory is merely that the divine and human natures were so united that they coalesced, and became one and indivisible. The Copts accept the Nicene Creed to the fullest. They are therefore in point of doctrine virtually in unison, though not in formal union, with the great body of Eastern Christians : while in ritual and practice they have probably preserved more of the form and spirit of early Christianity than any other church in the world.

At the Arab conquest of Egypt, as already stated, the Copts passed under the rule of Islam by a treaty which guaranteed them in the possession of their religion and their churches, and promised them protection. They became what was technically known as *Ahl adh Dhimmah*, or People of Protection. They were known also to their Arab conquerors under another name—*Ahl al Kitab*, or People of the Book—*i.e.* people whose religion is founded on Holy Writ as opposed to pagans.

The story of the relations between Christians and Muslims during the period of 1270 years which has elapsed since the Conquest, is naturally a somewhat chequered one. From the beginning very great moral and social, and very great financial, pressure was put upon all Christians to change their religion, since by turning Muslims they became equals and brothers of the conquerors, instead of being subjects, and they escaped payment of the poll-tax. Moreover, the Christians were at all times liable to suffer from cruel extortion and persecution at the hands of irresponsible Arab rulers, under whose orders every kind of violent



outrage and ignominy was heaped upon the Christians, who were robbed and murdered, while their churches were plundered and destroyed. That some of the Christians went over to Mohammedanism in fear of their lives is far less wonderful than the fact that so large a part by their stubborn endurance were able to withstand the fires of persecution and to carry their faith through the flames scatheless.

But the two peoples could not have existed side by side so long in the same country unless there had been a considerable amount of friendly feeling between them. And there is plenty of evidence of this feeling in the Arabic and Coptic chronicles—evidence so striking that I may be pardoned for illustrating it by examples chosen from successive periods of history.

In the seventh century not only were the Christians not 'reduced to slavery' by the Conquest, but the command of the Prophet Mohammed was so well remembered by the Muslims that they promoted Christians to the very highest offices of State in Egypt. Thus in 670 A.D. the Governorship of Alexandria was held by a Christian, Theodore, who, strangely enough, was a Melkite, and therefore unfriendly to the Copts. Ten years later Theodore's son was Governor, but either an adherent of the Coptic faith or under Coptic influence. At the same time it was Coptic secretaries who administered the affairs of Alexandria; the Commissioner (Metawali) of Alexandria was a Copt; so was Theophanes, the Governor of Mariut, or Mareotis; and we read that Abd al Aziz, the Muslim Governor-General or Viceroy, appointed two Coptic secretaries of State 'over the whole land of Egypt and Mariut and Marakiah and Pentapolis,'—i.e. all Western Egypt and the region of Barca and Cyrene. A little later, about 705 A.D., Athanasius, a Copt, was President of the Diwan at Misr (or Cairo) and responsible for the collection of taxes—head of the Department of Inland Revenue; all the secretaries in the department were Copts; and a Copt called Butrus held the exalted position of Governor of Upper Egypt.

But the favour and protection which the Copts then enjoyed were dependent on the mood and whim of their most capricious overlords. Any idle slander about the Copts, any malicious whisper of their wealth, was enough at any moment to turn even a friendly ruler like Abd al Aziz into a brutal tyrant. His son Al Asbagh, who succeeded him as Governor-General, took the most violent measures against the Coptic religion, forcing Butrus, Governor of Upper Egypt, a son of Theophanes, Governor of Mariut, and 'a countless multitude of priests and laymen' to turn Muslim. So, too, half a century later (c. 760 A.D.) when the rebel usurper Hafs issued a proclamation denouncing every form of religion in Egypt except the Sunnite, and promising exemption from the poll-tax to all Christians who became Muslims, the



number of Coptic perverts in Misr and its region alone amounted to 24,000, according to the careful estimate of a Coptic contemporary writer. But Hafs was defeated, captured, and burnt to death, and Hassan, who became Viceroy, 'loved the churches and the bishops and the monks,' and used often to hold friendly converse with the Coptic Patriarch. Abd al Malik, another Viceroy, and as unstable as the rest, when his little daughter suffered from convulsions, sent for the Patriarch, who anointed her with holy oil and prayed over her till 'the devil went out of her.' To this same Abd al Malik the Caliph referred a dispute between Copts and Melkites concerning the ownership of the famous monastery of St. Mennas, in the desert near Mariut—the monastery which the recent researches and excavations of Kauffmann have given again to the world. Abd al Malik held a most patient inquiry, receiving oral and written evidence, and finally delivered judgment in favour of the Copts. Yet a little later the same Viceroy flung the Patriarch into prison for not paying an impossible ransom, and only released him when Kyriakos, King of Nubia, was thundering at the gates of Misr with a victorious army.

So the story runs on—the Copts being treated alternately with favour and ferocity, yielding here and there, even in masses, to the pressure of persecution, yet on the whole upholding their faith with a grandeur of courage which few peoples have rivalled. And all through there is seen a background of friendly relations with Muslims and Muslim rulers.

Thus the Caliph Khamarawaih delighted to visit the monastery of Kusair, near Cairo, where he stood often in rapt admiration of the splendid gold and coloured mosaics in the Church of the Apostles, and he built there an upper room with windows on all four sides for enjoyment of the view over city and mountains and desert. A century later we find the Caliph Al Aziz ordering the restoration of the church of Abu's-Saifain, which had been nearly ruined by a Muslim mob, and he had a guard to protect the workmen engaged in the building. So in the middle of the eleventh century, when the Caliph Al Mustansir went to the cutting of the dam of the canal, we read that he showed special honour to the Copt Sarur al Jullal, who

offered to the Caliph handsome gifts, consisting of different kinds of food and drink and sweetmeats, and prepared for him many sorts of fresh fish and sugared dainties: and the Caliph accepted them from him and gave him a robe of honour, and granted his requests. . . . Our lord Mustansir was crowned with a jewelled turban, and the canopy was spread over him, and he was sitting on the dais of state when the aforesaid Sarur came out to wait upon him and the Caliph saluted him: and Sarur wore a garment of *Nasafi* and a turban of *Sikilli* bound round the middle with a band of *Dabiki*<sup>1</sup> interwoven with gold.

<sup>1</sup> Precious silks or stuffs. The quotation is from Abu Salih in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. 88.



Instances of the honour and friendly esteem in which the Copts were held and of the high office which they reached, would be easy to multiply from the Arab historians all through the Middle Ages. But I will conclude this historical survey by quoting one or two examples of the friendly relations which prevailed between Copts and Muslims in Upper Egypt long after the Arab conquest.

A Muslim writer called Al Azhari (who lived from 895 to 981 A.D., and whose work may therefore be roughly dated 950 A.D.), in making mention of the Coptic churches of St. Saviour and St. Michael at Akhmim in Upper Egypt, gives the following description of the Palm Sunday festival. He says :

‘There is a custom among the Christians at these two churches that when they are keeping the Feast of Palms, also called the Feast of Hosanna, the priests and deacons go in procession with censers and incense, crosses, gospels, and lighted candles, and stand before the door of the Cadi and then before the door of the principal Muslims, where they burn incense, read a passage in the Gospel, and sing a hymn of praise.’

How strange it sounds now—that, three hundred years after the conquest, the Christians, when they desired to do special honour to the leading Muslims, should use a solemn ritual and display of their own religious symbols; and that the Muslims should recognise and respond to this practice. But that it was no temporary or isolated custom is certain. For Abu Salih, writing about 1200 A.D., says, in reference to the town of Esnah :

At the weddings and other rejoicings of the Muslims, the Christians are present, and they walk before the bridegroom through the market-places and streets, chanting in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic; and this has become a recognised custom with them and has lasted up to our own day. Moreover, on the night of the Festival of the Nativity every year the Muslims as well as the Christians burn candles and lamps, and make bonfires.

But the same good relations prevail to-day in country places. The rebuilding of Coptic churches by the early Caliphs has its analogy in our own day in the building of mosques by wealthy Copts for their Muslim neighbours on some of the large estates in Upper Egypt; and the following passage from the speech of one of the leaders at the Coptic Congress shows clearly the survival of old customs and the old spirit of fellowship :

When at school I never quarrelled with my Muslim companions about religious matters. At my father's house I used to meet more Muslims than Copts, and in the house we had prayer-mats and carpets which the Muslims used as if they were in their own homes: yet when the church bell rang, my father would repair to the sacred edifice to attend divine service. On many occasions I remember seeing Muslim notables listening to the service with him. . . . At the weddings you may see the Muslim preparing the wedding ceremonials for the Copt, and the Copt for the Muslim. It often happens that the dower given by a Muslim bridegroom is supplied by a



Coptic friend. The marriage ceremony of both is the same. Again, in time of death Muslim women are heard wailing for the Copt, and Coptic women for the Muslim. At merry-makings both attend, and it is difficult for the onlooker to know whether the host is a Muslim or a Copt.

History, then, may be taken to prove this much—that there is no inherent antipathy between Copt and Muslim, and nothing to prevent them from living together in peace and goodwill while retaining their separate religious beliefs. That is the broad truth, though the story of the Arab dominion in Egypt reveals too often fierce quarrels and outbursts of fanatic violence. But these explosions of ferocity took place mostly in the capital, or in the region round about Cairo : and it is doubtful whether in all the long annals of Muslim rule the Copts ever suffered so pitiless and protracted a persecution as they suffered at the hands of the Roman Emperor Heraclius and the Melkite Patriarch Cyrus for ten years before the Arab conquest. But there is a further lesson from history, a lesson which has been strangely overlooked, but one which should come home to the Muslims with all the force of irresistible authority. For their Prophet Mohammed himself upon his death-bed laid on his followers the solemn injunction to regard the Copts as kinsmen, and to give them kind and friendly treatment. This remarkable incident is among the best attested of the Muslim traditions, and the evidence for it is derived from Muslim sources. The ninth century *History of the Conquest of Egypt*, by Ibn Abd al Hakam—a work still unpublished from the Paris MS.—gives the substance of an address delivered by Amr Ibn al Asi, the conqueror of Egypt, upon Friday in Easter week of 644. In the course of it Amr said :

Take good care of your neighbours the Copts. For Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, told me that he heard the Apostle of God say, '*God will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country: for they are your kinsmen and under your protection. Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them.*'

Ashhab Ibn Abd al Aziz is quoted as giving the command of Mohammed thus : 'Take charge of the Copts of Egypt, for you will find among them useful auxiliaries against your enemy.' Umm Salimah reported the Prophet's words in the same language : 'God ! God commits the Copts of Egypt to your charge ; for you shall rule over them, and they shall be to you an increase of numbers, and a body of helpers in the path of God.' When asked how the Copts should help the Muslims in religion, Mohammed answered : 'They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world, and so leave you free for religious worship,' i.e. they will conduct the actual administration of the Government, superintending the taxation and collection of revenue in particular. Mohammed also



said : ' Take charge of the men with the curling hair, the Copts of Egypt, for they are your uncles and kinsmen ' ; and Abdullah, the son of Amr, used to quote Mohammed as having said : ' The Copts are the noblest of foreigners, the gentlest of them in behaviour, the most excellent in character, the nearest in kinship to the Arabs and to the tribe of the Kuraish in particular. ' Tradition of this kind, in which the Copts are called ' a protected people ' occur in Tabari, Al Kindi, As Suyuti, Abu 'l Mahasin, and other Arab historians, and may be regarded as thoroughly well established.

Clearly, therefore, Mohammed himself not only never doubted that Copts and Arabs could live side by side in friendly relationship, but he specially commanded his followers to give the Copts most favourable treatment. And those Muslims who display harshness or intolerance against the Christians in Egypt disobey the direct command of their Prophet.

So much, then, for the historical bearings of the question. The precept of Mohammed has been too often forgotten in practice, but its wisdom remains unquestionable. It is both reasonable and right in itself and necessary for the peace of Egypt that Copts and Muslims should live together in amity ; and all recent experience, anterior at least to the rise of Nationalism, confirms the verdict of history that between Muslims and Copts there is no inevitable antagonism. Say what one will, the bond of religion is not everything, even in the East, and on the other hand religious difference is not the strongest separating force. Between Turks and Arabs, for example, there is in some parts of the Turkish Empire a deep natural antipathy which no common belief in Islam can ever remove, nor do Sunnites and Shiites love each other. In Egypt the great fault of the Nationalists is that they are striving to create and foster non-natural antipathies out of those very religious differences which are proved to be quite compatible with good feeling : and the fault of the British Government is that it has rather encouraged this tendency than checked it.

A recent illustration of British partiality was the warning given to the Coptic journal *Al Watan*. The paper had commented somewhat sharply on the Government proposal to publish certain Arab works which *Al Watan* considered of doubtful utility : and it added remarks (which were certainly unjustified) on the uselessness of Arab literature generally. For this it received a severe warning and a threat of suspension, on the ground that language of the kind was calculated to wound the natural susceptibilities of the Muslims ! Really a sense of humour should be required in people who occupy high places. The *Watan* published a piece of rather inept, and quite unsound, literary criticism, which a schoolboy might have demolished : the Govern-



ment turn upon it all the thunder of their heaviest artillery. And yet they allow Nationalist newspapers like *Al Lewa* and *Al Ahali* to publish articles of extreme violence and virulence not only against the Copts, but against the English, for the most part with impunity : for although the new Press Law furnishes an effective weapon, its edge seems reserved for the Copts.

No one can pretend that this literary question was one for Government interference—a really *dignus indice nodus*. The work of Nuwairi, which it was proposed to publish, is one of some historical value, and quite worth reprinting : but it is not a sacred or sacrosanct writing, even from an Islamic point of view : so that different estimates of its importance are quite allowable, and give no occasion for a menacing censure. An *imprimatur* defended by the authorities with all this pompous and almost papal solemnity naturally encourages false and exaggerated ideas, and it is hardly surprising that we find a Muslim paper writing as follows :

A review of history shows us that the progress of Europe in the path of civilisation is due to Arab literature, and the Westerns themselves recognise this debt to the language of our ancestors. Is it not therefore shameful for the Arabs to be unfamiliar with the contents of their works of science and useful knowledge, while Europeans are so much in love with Arabic that they spare no pains to get possession of any ancient and time-worn book or forgotten manuscript ?

Many of the more liberal-minded Muslims joined in condemning this injudicious attack of the Government upon *Al Watan*. The truth is that the Government refuse to admit the claim of the Copts to equality of treatment—which is all they claim. They are an integral portion of the population, though a minority—Egyptians among the Egyptians—and entitled to be so regarded. Before the Law and before the Government there should be in strict justice neither Copts nor Muslims, but one community of Egyptians. It is something gained that at last the Government are awake to the fact of their policy being impugned on the ground of its injustice. But their recent action has shown very little desire to remedy the grievance. Sir Eldon Gorst at the beginning of the year made a tour in Upper Egypt, which was remarkable in two ways. It was accompanied with a novel amount of ceremonial, Sheiks and Mudirs being formally summoned to meet him and to render due obeisance to the representative of the British Government : it was indeed a kind of State progress. On the other hand it professed to be also a mission of inquiry into the alleged Coptic grievances. But on his return to Cairo it was proclaimed and telegraphed to England that he found no substantial sense of grievance among the Copts in Upper Egypt, and that any such feeling was practically confined to Cairo. There is reason



for saying that no serious inquiry of the kind was held at all, and this astonishing pronouncement was met by a strong protest on the part of the Copts in Upper Egypt. They at once telegraphed to the London Press a statement of their case, which attracted much attention, and they also resolved to hold a congress at Assiut for a discussion of their grievances.

Such a proposal did not suit the Government at all : it was much too effective a reply to their denial of the existence of discontent. Their behaviour was somewhat amusing. At first they professed fear that a congress at Assiut would lead to a breach of the peace. Accordingly they strongly counselled the Copts to hold their meeting in Cairo or Alexandria. This was crafty but somewhat cynical policy : for while it might perhaps have saved the face of the Government, the danger of disorder, which in Upper Egypt was imaginary, would have been very real in either of the capital cities, where the fanatical elements are strongest. The Copts declined the advice tendered by the Government, who then attempted to enlist the aid of the Coptic Consular Agents of Foreign Powers in Upper Egypt. These Consular Agents, however, refused to act against their compatriots, and declared that they would resign their offices rather than become instruments of the Government's policy. Undeterred and untaught by this rebuff, the Ministry resorted to a fresh device, and by mingled pressure and promises induced the aged and feeble Coptic Patriarch in Cairo to issue an encyclical to all his bishops and pastors, bidding them counsel the people to hold their assembly in Cairo or Alexandria. These tactics also failed completely, and the Government were left in an undignified position. Their pretence that the public peace would be endangered at Assiut deceived nobody, and no excuse remained for prohibiting the meeting. It was held accordingly, and so far from the peace being endangered, the congress proved to be in its orderly arrangement, its business-like proceedings, and its whole tone and temper, a model for such assemblies.

The following is the official programme of the congress :

The object of the Coptic Congress is to remove the numerous causes of dispute between the communities constituting the Egyptian nation, by establishing the principle of equality of treatment and justice as regards these communities, in all their rights and duties as citizens, so that the bonds of brotherly love may be strengthened between them and they may come to regard themselves as Egyptians before anything else. The Congress will accordingly discuss any proposals which may assist in bringing about this result, and the Committee suggests the following resolutions, which will be laid before the Congress for discussion in due course :

(1) That the Government should allow Christian officials and students to have Sunday, instead of Friday, as their day of rest, in accordance with the precepts of their religion.

(2) That ability alone should be considered as a passport to Government



appointments, without any regard to such matters as the numerical strength of the candidate's community, his religion, etc.

(3) That every community should be so represented in all the representative institutions of Egypt that the proper defence of its rights may be guaranteed.

(4) That the Copts should have their fair share in the educational facilities provided by the Provincial Councils out of the 5 per cent. of the land tax.

(5) That Government grants should be made to all deserving institutions without any invidious distinctions.

Beyond the first article in this programme there is nothing to which objection could fairly be taken. No administrative machinery could work with two Sundays or Holy Days in the week, and the Copts must in this submit to the regulation preferred by the majority who are Muslims: though the Thursday half-holiday might well be transferred to Sunday. But the whole atmosphere of the congress was friendly to the Muslims, and the discussion of the Coptic disabilities was extremely temperate. Nor was there the slightest sign of local hostility or disturbance. So far, however, from appreciating the moderation of the Coptic demands or reciprocating the desire for friendly relations, the organs of the Nationalist Press have made the congress an excuse for a display of violent intolerance and abuse of the Copts. One of the worst offenders is the Alexandrian *Al Ahali*, which is known to be the organ of the Minister of the Interior. This paper had long before the congress distinguished itself by the bitter intemperance of its language against the Copts; but then it belonged to or was sheltered by a Nationalist Minister, and so was privileged to lead a campaign of violence, which can have no object but to destroy the peace of the community. Against all this the thunders of the Press Law are silent: *Al Ahali* may preach strife and violence and disruption of the State, while *Al Watan* is threatened with extinction for a mild essay in literary criticism.

One is driven back time after time to the same point and the same conclusion—that there is no equality of treatment and no desire to give equality of treatment on the part of the Government, which is administered in sympathy with overt Nationalism. This is not the place to catalogue the grievances of the Copts, but one of them is the educational grievance, which was set out in a former article in this Review.<sup>2</sup> I may add that Coptic teachers are not sent to Europe to complete their training as Muslim teachers are. During the last twenty years only four Copts, two in 1907 and two in 1908, have been sent to England among all the students of the Egyptian Educational Mission in England. No Coptic teacher has been promoted Head Master or Vice-Principal or Sub-

<sup>2</sup> Oct. 1910.



Inspector to any of the Government schools; and no Copt has been given the post of Director or Sub-Director to any of the various offices in the Ministry of Education, although some of the Coptic clerks in the Ministry hold teaching diplomas, whereas many of the Muslims who are promoted over their heads to more lucrative and responsible posts have no certificates at all. The disparity of treatment is really very great: and the most inveterate enemy of the Copts cannot say that in point of education or of intellectual capacity they are inferior to the Muslims. So too in the other branches of the Government service. It is sheer injustice to close the higher posts in the service to Copts, instead of providing an open career to talent or merit, regardless of religion.

In Sir Eldon Gorst's last report an attempt is made to refute the allegation of unfair treatment by giving statistics of the number of Copts in Government service. It is there calculated that the number of Copts employed is greater in proportion than the number of Muslims. But these statistics—whoever compiled them—are not free from bias. Thus the tables include all Copts who hold non-pensionable offices and exclude all Muslims who hold the like. Moreover, the Copts from ancient days have inherited a capacity for office work which the Muslims do not possess in the same measure: and the Copts often accept laborious and ill-paid posts which Muslims disdain. But even if the statistics were true, they are beside the mark. For the grievance remains that the avenue of promotion to the highest offices is closed to the Copts, and that for the Copts ability and merit in these days are no passport to reward.

Sir Eldon Gorst last January proclaimed his opinion that it would be rendering a very ill service to the Copts to treat them as a separate community. That is very true: but its truth is a verdict in condemnation of the Government. For it is the Government, and the Government alone, who make the distinction. The whole burden of the Coptic case is that the Government does treat them as a separate community and does discriminate against them. The Coptic congress has been followed by an Islamic congress in Cairo: but its purpose was only to protest against the Coptic claim to justice, and to assert the privileges possessed by the Muslim population. As the *Egyptian Gazette* well says<sup>3</sup>:

The Moslems cannot, as the Copts did, pass a resolution demanding their admission to the higher Government posts, for the simple reason that they already occupy practically all of them. They cannot ask for religious education in the Government schools, because it is already given to them—and to no one else. They cannot demand representation on the Provincial Councils, since every single Provincial Councillor is already a Moslem.

<sup>3</sup> March 10, 1911.



Similarly the Moslem Sabbath is already the only official weekly holiday, Moslem charitable societies are already the recipients—and the only recipients—of Government grants in aid. If we might make a suggestion it would be that instead of searching for 'grievances' that have no real existence in fact, the Congress should confine itself to proposing moderate, practical reforms in the conduct of the affairs of the Moslem community, and should put them forward in such a manner that the Government may be induced to give them the same earnest attention that we hope and believe they intend to accord to the legitimate demands of the Copts. That, no doubt, is a decision at which the organisers of the Congress have already arrived, and if it is carried out there is no reason why the Moslem congressists should not suggest some useful proposals of reform, even though their need is clearly less pressing than that of their Coptic fellow-countrymen.

According to *Al Mahroussah* the idea of holding a Muslim congress was directly inspired 'by the highest official circles in Egypt' for the purpose of supporting Sir Eldon Gorst's recent pronouncements, and of counteracting any impression the Coptic movement may have produced on the British Government. In other words, the aim of the congress was wholly reactionary: and it ended in hopeless disorder.

But if the Islamic congress would act towards the Copts in the spirit enjoined by the founder of Islam, really considering their grievances with a desire for equity and conciliation, a vast amount of good might result. And in spite of much that is discouraging, there are signs that the more liberal-minded among the Muslims are willing to give sympathetic consideration to the complaints of the Copts. This is clear from the comments of some Muslim newspapers, though most of the Nationalist Press is hostile in tone, and one newspaper, published at Tantah, and bearing the somewhat unsuitable name of *Al Hurriah*, or *Liberty*, literally breathes slaughter, suggesting that the Copts should be treated as Abdul Hamid treated the Armenians. One wonders whether the Government regards language of this kind as wounding to the legitimate susceptibilities of the Christians?

But fortunately it is also clear that liberal opinion in England has been aroused, and that the mistaken policy of the Government will have to be changed. There is no reason whatever why Mohammedan and Christian should not live together in Egypt as fellow-countrymen working in harmony for the common good. But the ruling Power must hold the balance fairly between the two religions. All Egyptians must be regarded as possessing equal rights before the law and each section of the community must be made to feel that it is bound to respect the rights of the other, and that such respect will be enforced by the whole power of the Government. It is a commonplace that the British hold in Egypt a position of great trust. We are there first and foremost for the interests of the British Empire: but, being there,



we are trustees for the good of the people of Egypt. And as trustees it is our bounden duty to give equality of treatment to Christians and Muslims, and to discountenance oppression. Not until the present system of privilege and favouritism is abandoned and the country is administered with a fearless resolve to maintain the great principles of equal law, equal right, equal protection for all classes and creeds, can there be any real hope for the renewal of confidence and amity between Christians and Mohammedans in Egypt, or for the growth of a true sense of community of interest. But under fair conditions peace and good-will may again prevail, sectarianism may give place to patriotism : and Muslims and Christians may rise to the conception of a patriotic union, in which alone lies the hope of national progress.

A. J. BUTLER.

*Postscript.*—This article was written before the death of Sir Eldon Gorst. However deeply one may differ from the public policy which he pursued, one may be allowed to express a word of sympathy and of genuine admiration for the gallant manner in which he fought against disease and held his post to the end. But the appointment of Lord Kitchener as his successor is at once an admission by the British Cabinet that their policy requires modification and an omen of hope for the right government of Egypt.

A. J. B.

#### 'NATIONAL INSURANCE AND THE COMMONWEAL.'

By a printer's error a line was omitted from page 344 of the August number (Dr. Hillier's article).

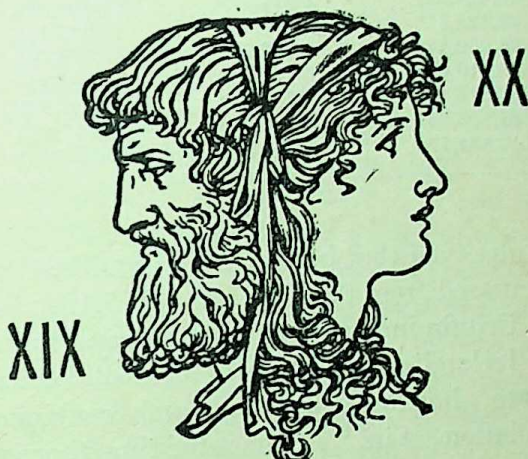
The paragraph should read as follows :

But even in Germany the lesson taught by Koch was only partly learnt. I had the privilege of collaborating with him in the compilation of a small book, in the later years of his life, and on the last occasion of seeing him he impressed upon me with great earnestness his firm conviction that the most urgent measures for the prevention of tuberculosis had not yet been adopted to any extent in Germany or any other country.—EDITOR, NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*



THE  
NINETEENTH  
CENTURY  
AND AFTER



No. CCCCXVI—OCTOBER 1911

*THE FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF  
HOME RULE.*

THE question whether the economic position of Ireland affords reasonable ground for the belief that if Home Rule were granted by the Imperial Parliament Ireland would be able to finance herself, is one of great importance to the taxpayers of Great Britain as well as to the taxpayers of Ireland.

The Irish question, like almost every other great political question, will be found to rest upon an economic base, and in order to form a sound judgment as to the practicability or otherwise of Home Rule it is necessary to obtain an accurate view of the present economic position of Ireland.

In a detailed survey of this nature the first question that demands attention is that as to population. Authentic figures relating to the population of Ireland were first available in 1821 and the census of that year indicated that out of a total population



for the United Kingdom of 20,893,584, Ireland 6,801,827, or 32.5 per cent. The following table shows the relative position occupied by Ireland in subsequent years :

Census of April	Great Britain	Ireland	United Kingdom	Ireland per cent of U.K.
1821 . .	14,091,757	6,801,827	20,893,584	
1831 . .	16,361,183	7,767,401	24,128,584	32.5
1841 . .	18,534,332	8,175,124	26,709,456	32
1851 . .	20,816,351	6,574,278	27,390,629	31
1861 . .	23,128,518	5,798,967	28,927,485	24
1871 . .	26,072,284	5,412,377	31,484,661	20
1881 . .	29,710,012	5,174,836	34,884,848	17
1891 . .	33,028,172	4,704,750	37,732,922	16
1901 . .	37,103,328	4,443,370	41,546,698	12.5
1911 . .	40,834,790	4,381,951	45,216,741	10.68

It will be observed that between 1821 and 1841 the population of Ireland increased from 6,801,827 to 8,175,124 ; but the population of Great Britain increased even more rapidly, with the result that in 1841 Ireland's proportion of the total was 31 per cent. From that date, however, a rapid and continuous decline in Ireland's population set in. At the same time there was an equally marked increase of population in Great Britain. The same phenomena were observable in each census right down to that taken in April last, which showed that the total population of the United Kingdom was 45,216,741, of which Ireland's share was 4,381,951, or 9.68 per cent. only. Thus, within a period of ninety years Ireland's proportion of the total population of the United Kingdom has fallen from one-third to less than one-tenth. There is not space available to go into a detailed statement of the various causes which have influenced the decline of population in Ireland. Emigration only began to assume serious dimensions after the famine of 1847, and it was very largely due to that cause. The rural exodus in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe also points to the conclusion that one of the principal causes of the decline of population in Ireland has been the fact that she has not been able to keep her people employed in manufacturing industries, and while in Great Britain and other industrial countries the rural population have migrated largely into the towns, in Ireland they have migrated to foreign countries. In 1852 about 190,000 people emigrated from Ireland, in 1853 173,000, and in 1854 140,000 people left the country. Between 1855 and 1862 the emigration varied from a minimum of 64,000 to a maximum of 94,000, and in the three following years it rose again to above 100,000. During the past decade there has been a distinct falling-



off in the volume of emigration from Ireland, the figures being as follows :

Year	No. of Emigrants	Year	No. of Emigrants
1900 . . .	45,288	1905 . . .	30,676
1901 . . .	39,616	1906 . . .	35,344
1902 . . .	40,190	1907 . . .	39,082
1903 . . .	39,789	1908 . . .	23,295
1904 . . .	36,902	1909 . . .	28,676

In all, during the past fifty-five years about 4,000,000 of people emigrated from Ireland, nearly one-half of them being women, and 80 per cent. being between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five.

The principal industry of Ireland is, of course, agriculture; but linen, shipbuilding, woollen manufactures, distilling and brewing, and fisheries are all becoming of great importance. There was a decay of industries in many parts of Ireland after the rapid decrease of population which followed the famine of 1847. This decay was doubtless increased to some extent by the introduction of the railways, which facilitated the importation of British manufactures. Within the past fifteen years, however, there has been a marked revival in both the agricultural and manufacturing industries; but it is difficult to measure the expansion that has taken place, owing to the absence of reliable data. It is extremely unfortunate that statistics as to the value of the external trade of Ireland are not available for the past century. By an Act passed in 1823 the Customs Houses ceased to take notice of the cross-Channel trade, which was thereafter treated as coasting trade. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland has in recent years taken the matter up, and the figures are now available from 1904 onwards. These statistics have revealed the fact that the external trade of Ireland is of very much greater value than was believed by such an eminent economist as the late Sir Robert Giffen; they also show the great expansion that has taken place in the value of the external trade of Ireland during the six years 1904-1909. In 1904 the exports were valued at 50,245,000*l.* and the imports at 54,209,000*l.* For 1909 the exports were valued at 61,728,000*l.* and the imports at 63,947,000*l.* Within the comparatively short period of five years, therefore, the external trade of Ireland has increased to the extent of 21,200,000*l.*, or 20 per cent.

The principal exports during 1909 were as follows: Cattle, 10,689,000*l.*; linen goods, 13,399,000*l.*; butter and margarine, 3,794,000*l.*; eggs, poultry, feathers, 3,753,000*l.*; bacon, ham, pork, 3,562,000*l.*; steamships, 2,175,000*l.*; Irish whisky, 1,667,000*l.*; Irish porter, 1,653,000*l.*; cotton goods, 1,654,000*l.*;



for the United Kingdom of 20,893,584, Ireland contained 6,801,827, or 32.5 per cent. The following table shows the relative position occupied by Ireland in subsequent years :

Census of April	Great Britain	Ireland	United Kingdom	Ireland per cent of U.K.
1821 . .	14,091,757	6,801,827	20,893,584	
1831 . .	16,361,183	7,767,401	24,128,584	32.5
1841 . .	18,534,332	8,175,124	26,709,456	32
1851 . .	20,816,351	6,574,278	27,390,629	31
1861 . .	23,128,518	5,798,967	28,927,485	24
1871 . .	26,072,284	5,412,377	31,484,661	20
1881 . .	29,710,012	5,174,836	34,884,848	17
1891 . .	33,028,172	4,704,750	37,732,922	15
1901 . .	37,103,328	4,443,370	41,546,698	12.5
1911 . .	40,834,790	4,381,951	45,216,741	10.63

It will be observed that between 1821 and 1841 the population of Ireland increased from 6,801,827 to 8,175,124 ; but the population of Great Britain increased even more rapidly, with the result that in 1841 Ireland's proportion of the total was 31 per cent. From that date, however, a rapid and continuous decline of Ireland's population set in. At the same time there was an equally marked increase of population in Great Britain. The same phenomena were observable in each census right down to that taken in April last, which showed that the total population of the United Kingdom was 45,216,741, of which Ireland's share was 4,381,951, or 9.68 per cent. only. Thus, within a period of ninety years Ireland's proportion of the total population of the United Kingdom has fallen from one-third to less than one-tenth. There is not space available to go into a detailed statement of the various causes which have influenced the decline of population in Ireland. Emigration only began to assume serious dimensions after the famine of 1847, and it was very largely due to that cause. The rural exodus in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe also points to the conclusion that one of the principal causes of the decline of population in Ireland has been the fact that she has not been able to keep her people employed in manufacturing industries, and while in Great Britain and other industrial countries the rural population have migrated largely into the towns, in Ireland they have migrated to foreign countries. In 1852 about 190,000 people emigrated from Ireland, in 1853 173,000, and in 1854 140,000 people left the country. Between 1855 and 1862 the emigration varied from a minimum of 64,000 to a maximum of 94,000, and in the three following years it rose again to above 100,000. During the past decade there has been a distinct falling-



off in the volume of emigration from Ireland, the figures being as follows :

Year	No. of Emigrants	Year	No. of Emigrants
1900 . . .	45,288	1905 . . .	30,676
1901 . . .	39,616	1906 . . .	35,344
1902 . . .	40,190	1907 . . .	39,082
1903 . . .	39,789	1908 . . .	23,295
1904 . . .	36,902	1909 . . .	28,676

In all, during the past fifty-five years about 4,000,000 of people emigrated from Ireland, nearly one-half of them being women, and 80 per cent. being between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five.

The principal industry of Ireland is, of course, agriculture; but linen, shipbuilding, woollen manufactures, distilling and brewing, and fisheries are all becoming of great importance. There was a decay of industries in many parts of Ireland after the rapid decrease of population which followed the famine of 1847. This decay was doubtless increased to some extent by the introduction of the railways, which facilitated the importation of British manufactures. Within the past fifteen years, however, there has been a marked revival in both the agricultural and manufacturing industries; but it is difficult to measure the expansion that has taken place, owing to the absence of reliable data. It is extremely unfortunate that statistics as to the value of the external trade of Ireland are not available for the past century. By an Act passed in 1823 the Customs Houses ceased to take notice of the cross-Channel trade, which was thereafter treated as coasting trade. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland has in recent years taken the matter up, and the figures are now available from 1904 onwards. These statistics have revealed the fact that the external trade of Ireland is of very much greater value than was believed by such an eminent economist as the late Sir Robert Giffen; they also show the great expansion that has taken place in the value of the external trade of Ireland during the six years 1904-1909. In 1904 the exports were valued at 50,245,000*l.* and the imports at 54,209,000*l.* For 1909 the exports were valued at 61,728,000*l.* and the imports at 63,947,000*l.* Within the comparatively short period of five years, therefore, the external trade of Ireland has increased to the extent of 21,200,000*l.*, or 20 per cent.

The principal exports during 1909 were as follows: Cattle, 10,689,000*l.*; linen goods, 13,399,000*l.*; butter and margarine, 3,794,000*l.*; eggs, poultry, feathers, 3,753,000*l.*; bacon, ham, pork, 3,562,000*l.*; steamships, 2,175,000*l.*; Irish whisky, 1,667,000*l.*; Irish porter, 1,653,000*l.*; cotton goods, 1,654,000*l.*;  
q q 2



horses, 1,369,000*l.*; swine, 1,451,000*l.*; tobacco and snuff, 1,432,000*l.*; raw wool, woollen goods, drapery, 1,672,000*l.* The foregoing figures indicate the important character of the manufacturing industries of Ireland. As stated already, the total value of the exports for 1909 was 61,728,000*l.*, to which total manufactured goods contributed 22,092,000*l.*, or nearly 36 per cent.; raw materials, 4,586,000*l.*, or 7 per cent.; and farm produce, food, and drink, 35,050,000*l.*, or 57 per cent.

The principal imports during 1909 were as follows: Wheat and flour, 6,574,000*l.*; drapery, woollens, apparel, 5,128,000*l.*; iron and steel—raw, 899,000*l.*; half-worked, 1,010,000*l.*; finished goods, 1,642,000*l.*; machinery, 1,192,000*l.*; cotton goods and yarns, 4,860,000*l.*; maize, Indian meal, 3,883,000*l.*; coal, coke fuel, 2,600,000*l.*; linen goods, yarn, flax, 3,750,000*l.*; bacon, ham, etc., 2,227,000*l.*; sugar and products, 2,368,000*l.*; boots and shoes, 1,791,000*l.*; timber, 1,743,000*l.*; and tea, 1,180,000*l.* Attention may be directed to the curious fact that in an agricultural country such as Ireland the imports of farm produce, food, and drink should form such a large percentage—namely, 38 per cent. of the total imports. The manufactured goods imported in 1909 were valued at 29,967,000*l.*, or 47 per cent.; raw materials, 9,421,000*l.*, or 15 per cent.; and farm produce, etc., 24,558,000*l.*, or 38 per cent. The large importations of breadstuffs, maize, and bacon and ham are noteworthy, and they may be fairly said to show that Ireland has hitherto failed to make the fullest use of her great natural advantages.

A confirmation of the view that the fullest advantage has not been taken of the capacity of Ireland to produce foodstuffs, etc., for which Great Britain affords a ready market, may be obtained from an examination of the figures relating to the imports of butter, eggs, and bacon into Great Britain. The total value of the imports of these foodstuffs into Great Britain from Ireland during 1908 was 9,376,000*l.*, as compared with 18,506,000*l.*, the value of the same commodities imported from Denmark. The total value of Irish butter imported into Great Britain in 1908 was 4,026,000*l.*, as compared with 10,996,000*l.*, the value of Danish butter imported in the same year. The main reason for this great disparity is that the supply of Danish butter is regular throughout the year, while that of the Irish article is intermittent. Creamery butter, which forms the bulk of the Irish supply, begins to arrive in the wholesale market about the beginning of May, and ceases about the end of November. This state of affairs is not altogether creditable to the business capacity of the Irish people, and it is most desirable that Irish farmers should give more attention to winter dairying.

Another noteworthy point which is established by these



returns is the magnitude of the external trade of Ireland. The imports for home consumption work out at about 14*l.* per head, while the exports of domestic produce average about 13*l.* 10*s.* per head. The net imports per head of population of the United Kingdom for 1909 amounted to 11*l.* 17*s.* per head, and the exports of United Kingdom produce to 8*l.* 8*s.* per head; so that the total external trade of Ireland averages about 27*l.* 10*s.* per head as compared with 20*l.* 5*s.* per head for the United Kingdom. With the exception of Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, which all enjoy a large transit or hinterland trade, Ireland probably possesses the largest average external trade per head of any country in the world.

The Irish trade returns also establish the fact that the external trade of Ireland has, in recent years at least, increased twice as rapidly as that of the United Kingdom. For the reason stated above it is not possible to trace the growth of Ireland's external trade during the whole of the past ninety years. For the ten years 1814-23 the average real value of the exports was estimated at 12,891,000*l.* per annum, and of the imports at 8,676,000*l.* per annum, showing an average excess of exports of 4,215,000*l.* per annum. The figures for 1835, which were prepared for the Irish Railway Commissioners, indicated that the exports for that year were valued at 17,394,000*l.* and the imports at 15,337,000*l.*, giving an excess of exports of about 2,000,000*l.* The trade returns from 1904 to 1909 show an excess of imports varying from one to four millions sterling per annum; so that Ireland has become, like Great Britain, a creditor country, but on a very trifling scale as compared with Great Britain, which last year had an excess of imports of 122,000,000*l.*

The Irish banking statistics indicate a remarkable increase of well-being during the past twenty years. In 1890 the deposits of the Joint Stock Banks amounted to 33,061,000*l.*, and at the end of June 1910 they reached 52,505,000*l.*, an increase of 19,444,000*l.*, or 58 per cent. The deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks and the Trustee Savings Banks have during the same period advanced from 5,620,000*l.* to 14,161,000*l.*, an increase of 8,541,000*l.*, or 152 per cent. The amount of Government Funds, India Stocks, Guaranteed Land Stocks, etc., held in Ireland at the 30th of June 1890 was 27,517,000*l.*, and at the end of June 1910 the amount so held was 38,732,000*l.*, an increase of 11,215,000*l.*, or 40 per cent. It is true that, as compared with the banking resources of Great Britain, those of Ireland are very small (the deposits of the banks of Great Britain exceed 1,100,000,000*l.*); but when the fact is borne in mind that during the past twenty years the population of Ireland has decreased to the extent of 323,000, the increase of her banking deposits shown



above must be regarded as striking evidence of the vast improvement that has taken place in her economic position in the two decades.

Notwithstanding the complaints that have from time to time been made against the Irish railways, there can be no doubt that they have benefited Irish trade as a whole. But there has been a difference between their effect on agriculture and their effect on manufacturing industries. Broadly speaking, they have facilitated the introduction of Irish produce to British markets; but on the other hand they have facilitated the importation of British manufactured goods, and the decline of local industries in Ireland which followed the introduction of the railways may be in some measure ascribed to this cause. There are twenty-nine railways in Ireland, with a total mileage of 3412. Between 1891 and 1900 the passenger journeys increased in number from 22,202,000 to 29,217,000, and the receipts from passenger traffic from 1,696,000*l.* to 2,179,000*l.* The receipts from goods traffic during the same period increased from 1,463,000*l.* to 1,868,000*l.* In the same period the gross receipts from all sources increased by 30.4 per cent., as compared with a percentage increase of 43.6 in England and Wales, and 44.7 in Scotland. Having regard to the fact that the population of England and Wales increased by 18.8 per cent. and that of Scotland by 17 per cent. in the period under review, while the population of Ireland decreased by 6.25 per cent., these figures cannot be regarded as unsatisfactory. The aggregate capital expenditure of the Irish Railway Companies amounts to 46,000,000*l.*, and the average return thereon to 3.84 per cent. It cannot, therefore, be said that the Irish railways earn excessive profits.

In 1906 a Vice-regal Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of railways in Ireland, as to how far they afforded adequate transport facilities and by what means their economical and harmonious working could be best secured. The Commissioners appointed for the purpose were the late Sir Charles Scotter, the Right Hon. W. J. Pirrie, Sir Herbert Jekyll, Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Poë, Thomas Sexton, W. M. Acworth, and J. A. F. Aspinall. The final report of the Commission, which was issued in July 1910, practically amounted to a vindication of the Companies' administration of the railways. As is usually the case with Commissions of this nature, there were practically two reports. The Majority Report (Messrs. Scotter, Pirrie, Poë, and Sexton) recommended (1) the institution of an Irish Railway Authority to acquire all the Irish railways and work them as a single system; (2) that the terms of purchase should be those prescribed by the Regulation of Railways Act, 1844 (which provides that the State can acquire the railways for a sum equal



to twenty-five years' purchase on the average divisible profits for three years before such purchase); and (3) that the financial medium be a railway stock and that such stock be charged upon (a) the Consolidated Fund; (b) the net receipts of the unified railway system; (c) an annual grant from the Imperial Exchequer; and (d) a general rate to be struck by the Irish Railway Authority if and when required. The Minority Report (Messrs. Jekyll, Acworth, and Aspinall) stated that there was little fault to be found with the individual management of the larger railways. In their opinion the main defect in the railway system in Ireland lies in its subdivision among a number of independent Companies; and they recommended that the number should be rapidly reduced, with a view to concentration of management in the hands of a single Company in not more than four years.

In view of the change that has recently taken place in the attitude of Parliament towards the railways of the United Kingdom, it appears improbable that any early steps will be taken by the Imperial Parliament in the direction of the nationalisation of the Irish railways alone; and if Home Rule be granted, it is practically certain that the Irish Parliament would not be in a financial position to acquire the Irish railways for many years to come, unless resort be made to methods of compulsion which would have a ruinous effect upon Irish credit.

It is necessary now to deal with the question of the national wealth and income of Ireland in relation to that of the United Kingdom. In 1885 the late Sir Robert Giffen<sup>1</sup> estimated the national wealth of the United Kingdom at 9,600,000,000*l.*, to which total Ireland contributed 400,000,000*l.*, or 4.1 per cent. At the same time he estimated the national income of the United Kingdom at 1,200,000,000*l.*, of which Ireland accounted for 70,000,000*l.*, or 5.8 per cent. During the quarter of a century that has elapsed since these estimates were framed an enormous improvement has taken place in the economic position of both Great Britain and Ireland. In 1885 the assessments to income tax for the United Kingdom amounted to 629,000,000*l.* In the fiscal year 1908-9 they amounted to 1,010,000,000*l.* In Ireland the assessments to income tax amounted in 1885 to 37,000,000*l.*, or, say, 5.9 per cent. of the total for the United Kingdom. For the year to the 5th of April 1909 the assessments to income tax in Ireland reached 39,737,000*l.*, or 4 per cent. of the aggregate for the United Kingdom. On this basis, therefore, it would appear that the growth of income and national wealth in Ireland had not kept pace with the expansion that has taken place in the United Kingdom. But in order to appreciate the real significance of these figures due consideration must be given to the fact

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Nineteenth Century*, March 1886.



that the population of the United Kingdom has during the twenty-five years increased to the extent of 27 per cent., while that of Ireland has declined to the extent of practically 11 per cent.

At the present time the national wealth of the United Kingdom may be estimated at not less than 16,000,000,000*l.*, and the national income at approximately 2,000,000,000*l.* For the year to the 31st of March 1910 the net capital of estates liable to estate duty was 283,662,000*l.*, which total was made up as follows: England, 243,757,000*l.*; Scotland, 27,912,000*l.*; and Ireland, 11,993,000*l.* It will be observed that Ireland's proportion of the total was 4.2 per cent. The national wealth of Ireland at the present time may be roughly estimated at 700,000,000*l.*, made up as follows, namely:

	£
Land and houses . . . . .	300,000,000
Tenants' capital, cattle, live stock, etc. . . . .	120,000,000
Furniture and movable house property . . . . .	35,000,000
Railways . . . . .	45,000,000
Other capital . . . . .	200,000,000
Total . . . . .	700,000,000

With regard to the estimated value of land and houses it may be pointed out that in 1885 the late Sir Robert Giffen estimated the gross rental of Ireland at 10,000,000*l.*; the latest returns show that the total has increased to 15,000,000*l.* It may be urged that the amount of 200,000,000*l.* for other capital is rather large; but it must be borne in mind that this includes capital employed in banking and commercial enterprises, and in this connexion it is worthy of note that the present market value of the securities of one Irish Industrial Company alone is over 23,000,000*l.* Irish investors have placed a very considerable amount of capital in British and foreign securities. On the other hand it must be remembered that British capitalists have invested a substantial amount of money in Irish Land Stock and Irish railways and commercial enterprises. It must also be borne in mind that the cross-Channel carrying trade is very largely in the hands of the British Railway Companies, and that a comparatively small amount of Ireland's external trade is carried by vessels owned in Ireland.

The national income of Ireland may be conservatively estimated at 85,000,000*l.* per annum, or, say, 19*l.* per head. The chief industry of Ireland is agriculture, which employs nearly 60 per cent. of the population—that is to say, over 2,600,000 of the inhabitants of Ireland depend for their livelihood upon agriculture. Now, the total value of all the exports of farm produce etc., for the year 1909 was over 35,000,000*l.*, and, assuming that



the Irish people themselves consume one-third of the foodstuffs, farm produce, etc., grown there, the total value of the agricultural produce in Ireland may be estimated to amount to not less than 50,000,000*l.* per annum. The manufactures exported from Ireland in 1909 were valued at 22,000,000*l.* Certain of these exports represent partly manufactured imports which have undergone some process of manufacture in Ireland, and have then been exported; but it would probably be a reasonable estimate to assume that the total value of the manufactures of Ireland is well over 30,000,000*l.* Adding the income derived from the raw materials exported and the interest on her capital, it may therefore be assumed that the total income of the people of Ireland is between 85,000,000*l.* and 90,000,000*l.* per annum, or, as stated above, about 19*l.* per head. When it is borne in mind that the average income per head for Great Britain is estimated at 45*l.* per head, and that the external trade of Ireland is valued at 27*l.* 10*s.* per head as compared with only 20*l.* per head for Great Britain, it will probably be admitted that 19*l.* per head is a comparatively small amount at which to estimate the national income of Ireland. Moreover, it may be pointed out that this sum represents nearly one-half of the gross assessments to income tax, giving roughly the same ratio between income-tax assessments and the entire national income as is assumed in the case of Great Britain. In 1836 the Irish Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners reported that in Ireland at that time agricultural wages varied from 6*d.* to 1*s.* per day; but the earnings of the labourers worked out at an average for the whole class to between 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* per week for the year. The most recent inquiry into the wages of Irish agricultural labourers was made in 1905, when it was estimated that the average weekly earnings amounted to 10*s.* 9*d.* There is very good reason, however, for the belief that since 1905 there has been a further marked increase in the average weekly wages of agricultural labourers in Ireland.

The Congested Districts Board has done a great deal to assist the development of Irish agriculture and industries. In 1841 the mud cabins numbered 491,000, or nearly 37 per cent. of the inhabited houses. In 1901 there were only 9800 inhabited mud cabins, and the last census will in all probability show that there are now no mud cabins inhabited. About 50,000 of the new labourers' cottages have been erected at an average cost of 170*l.* Each cottage has about an acre of land and the rentals vary from 1*s.* to 2*s.* per week.

It is instructive to note that this marvellous improvement in the economic position of Ireland appears to have dated from the introduction of the principle of land purchase by the aid of the credit of the State. Ever since the Union the Irish land question



has engaged the attention of Parliament, and a great number of Acts have been passed for the purpose of fixing fair rents.

In 1870 there was a fundamental change in British policy with regard to Irish land legislation. Up to that time it was the accepted practice to refuse to recognise the tenants' interest in the land altogether and to treat the whole interest as belonging to the landlord, although it was recognised that the improvements on the land had been largely made by the tenants. From 1870 onwards, however, the tenants' interest in the land in respect of improvements was recognised.

The first real attempt to deal with the Irish land question in an effective manner was made in 1885, when Lord Ashbourne introduced the first Land Purchase Act. By this Act the credit of the State was pledged to the extent of 5,000,000*l.* in order to enable tenants to purchase their holdings. The tenants were required to pay an annuity of 4 per cent. on the purchase money. Of this amount 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. was allocated to the payment of interest, and the balance of 17*s.* 6*d.* was appropriated to the sinking fund out of which the purchase money was paid off. In order to protect the State it was provided that sales should be sanctioned by inspectors who valued the holdings on behalf of the Land Commissioners. Under this arrangement, at the expiration of forty-nine years the tenant became the owner of the holding. An additional sum of 5,000,000*l.* was created in 1888 under similar conditions, and eventually under the Ashbourne Acts 25,400 tenants purchased their holdings for 10,000,000*l.*

In 1891 the funds advanced to the Irish Land Commission were again exhausted, and Irish Land 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Stock was created and landowners were allotted a nominal amount of this stock equivalent to the amount of the purchase money. Under this Act the annuities paid by the tenants remained at 4 per cent., but the amount applied to sinking-fund purposes was increased from 17*s.* 6*d.* per cent to 1*l.* per cent. But the financial conditions imposed under this Act were found to be too onerous to facilitate land purchase, and the amount allocated to the redemption of the purchase money was increased from 1*l.* to 1*l.* 5*s.* per cent. At the same time provision was made for a substantial reduction in the annuity in cases where the tenants agreed to extend the payments over seventy-five years, and in the case of tenants who did not wish for this reduction the period of redemption was reduced to forty-two years. As a result of the foregoing legislation 72,000 tenants purchased their holdings for 23,600,000*l.* The Acts provided that where the annuities were not promptly paid the Land Commissioners should be empowered to sell the holding; but as a matter of fact the tenants as a whole observed their obligations to the State in the most scrupulous manner.



The decline in the price of Consols and other first-class securities which followed the South African War then imposed a serious check upon the extension of land purchase. The market price of Irish  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Land Stock declined by more than twenty pounds, to eighty-six. It was found that landowners would not sell upon the basis of this low level, and in 1902 a breakdown of Irish land purchase upon financial grounds appeared to be imminent. In that year, however, the landlords and tenants held a joint Conference. The report of this Conference was to a large extent embodied in Mr. Wyndham's Act of 1903, which provided that the landowner should be paid in cash instead of Irish Land Stock. On the other hand it was provided that the annuity payable by the tenant should be reduced from 4 per cent. to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. Of this amount 10s. per cent. was allocated to the sinking-fund, and the balance of 2l. 15s. was applied to the payment of interest—the period of purchase being extended over sixty-eight years. A sum of 12,000,000l. was provided in order to make up the difference between the price at which the landowners were willing to sell and the tenants to purchase. Provisions were introduced to overcome difficulties which had been revealed by the working of previous Acts. The Act also made provision for very substantial reductions of rent. If the rent had been fixed prior to 1896 it was stipulated that the annuity to be paid by the tenant must effect a reduction of not less than 20 per cent. and not more than 40 per cent.; if the rent had been fixed after 1896 the annuity must give a reduction of not less than 10 per cent. and not more than 30 per cent.

Under previous Acts sales were carried out by holdings. A landlord could agree to sell one or more of his tenants their farms, and if after examination the Land Commission were satisfied that the property was worth the advance asked for by the tenant to buy out the landlord, such advance was made irrespective of any other sales on the estate. Under the Act of 1903 the principle of sales by estates was introduced, and in order to obtain the benefit of the Act a landlord was compelled to sell his entire estate or such portion of it as the Land Commission might determine. Provision was made for the enlargement of small holdings, and also for the extension of the powers of trustees in relation to the investment of the purchase money.

From the Irish point of view Mr. Wyndham's Act was a complete success, and under it 117,000 tenants purchased their holdings for an aggregate sum of 41,293,000l. But the financial provisions of the Act were not framed upon business-like lines. The permanent success of the Act depended upon the ability of the Government to raise money at par by the issue of stock bearing  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. interest, and when it was found impossible to raise



money upon these terms the burden upon the Treasury became so great that it was necessary to introduce a more practical and self-supporting measure. Accordingly in 1909 Mr. Birrell brought in his Act, which provided that future purchase agreements should be completed by the issue of 3 per cent. stock at par instead of cash raised at a heavy discount. This had the effect of raising the tenants' annuity from  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. At the same time the Treasury undertook the obligation of financing the land-purchase agreements then pending, which amounted to 50,000,000*l.*

At the present time land purchase in Ireland is practically at a standstill, but a great work has been accomplished, and it will take four or five years to complete the purchase agreements which are pending. In all, under the various Acts, about 203,000 tenants have purchased their holdings for an aggregate sum of 69,675,000*l.*, and the estimated purchase money for the 170,000 holdings agreed to be sold under the Act of 1903 but not yet completed is about 47,600,000*l.* According to the Census of 1901 the area of agricultural lands in Ireland is 18,740,000 acres. The area sold at the beginning of this year amounted to 5,835,000 acres and the area of the holdings in respect of which agreements to purchase were pending was 4,804,000 acres, so that more than one-half of the agricultural lands in Ireland may be said to have been already dealt with under the land-purchase schemes. Great Britain has provided 12,000,000*l.* for the purpose of financing land purchase in Ireland, and the total charge which now falls upon the Exchequer in respect of this service is at the rate of 414,000*l.* per annum.

Generally speaking, the Irish Land Commission has performed its difficult task in a highly satisfactory manner. It is pleasant to note that the tenants have paid their annuities with the utmost punctuality, and the finance of land purchase has been handled in such a way as to inspire full confidence in the ability of Irishmen to deal with difficult administrative and financial problems.

Land purchase has undoubtedly been the main cause of the economic regeneration of Ireland; but among the minor influences which have contributed to this result must be placed the measure of Local Government that was conferred upon Ireland by the Act of 1898. Under this Act considerable changes were effected in local finance. The fiscal duties of the Grand Juries were abolished and the County Councils were established in their place. The County Councils were given three sources of revenue—namely: (1) the agricultural grant; (2) the License Duties and other Imperial grants; and (3) the Poor Rate. Local Government in Ireland has been an unqualified success. The finances of the County Councils have been administered in a most conservative



fashion, and at the present time the county expenditure of Ireland is very little more than it was in 1898, when Local Government was first instituted. No doubt the lavish grants from the Imperial Exchequer have helped to lighten the burden of local rates in Ireland.

The financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland have been a subject of controversy for over 100 years. The Act of Union was passed in July 1800; but the Exchequers were not then amalgamated and each country continued to raise its revenue independently. By the seventh article of the Act of Union each Kingdom was left with the separate discharge of its public debt, and for twenty years thereafter the national expenditures were to be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts by Great Britain and two parts by Ireland; these proportions were arrived at by a comparison of the imports and exports and of the excised articles of consumption of the two countries. But when the Union took place the fourteen years of uninterrupted and expensive war were not foreseen. In 1800 the Irish debt was 36,000,000*l.*; in 1816 it amounted to 134,000,000*l.* Ireland did her best, but she was unable to bear the double burden of heavy taxation and at the same time take her share of the enormous debt incurred by Great Britain in the conflict with France. Ireland was taxed to the uttermost limit of her resources, but the entire sum raised was insufficient to meet the interest and sinking-fund charges on her debt alone. In 1816 the net separate revenue of Ireland was 4,561,000*l.* and the charge in respect of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland was 6,466,000*l.*, leaving a deficit of 1,905,000*l.*, without making any provision for the Civil List or for the portion of Imperial expenditure to be defrayed by Ireland. Accordingly in 1816, upon the recommendation of a Committee of the House of Commons on the financial relations of the two countries, the union between Great Britain and Ireland was finally completed by the consolidation of the two Exchequers. Great Britain took over the Irish debt of 134,000,000*l.*, and it was agreed that henceforward all expenses incurred, together with the interest and charges of all debts hitherto contracted, were to be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes to be imposed on similar articles in each country, subject to such exemptions and abatements in Ireland and Scotland as circumstances might appear to demand. In 1852 Mr. Gladstone finally assimilated the system of taxation in Ireland with that of England by introducing into Ireland the income tax which up to that time had not been imposed there. In exchange for this Mr. Gladstone relieved Ireland from responsibility for the Government Annuities which had been created to pay the cost of the Irish Famine. This was the final step in the equalisation of taxation in the two Islands. Throughout the ensuing years the



financial relations of both countries formed the bone of contention, and in 1894 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine them. The Commissioners were practically agreed upon the following points : (1) That Great Britain and Ireland must for the purposes of financial inquiry be considered as separate entities ; (2) that the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear ; (3) that the increase of taxation levied upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances ; (4) that identity of rates of taxation did not necessarily involve equality of burden ; and (5) that while the actual tax revenue of Ireland was about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland was not estimated by any of the Commissioners as exceeding one-twentieth.

But a vast change has taken place in the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland during the past thirty years. For the year ended the 31st of March 1890 the estimated true revenue of Great Britain was 84,980,792*l.*, while that of Ireland was 7,734,678*l.*, or 8.18 per cent. of the total revenue of the United Kingdom. The expenditure of Great Britain for the year to the 31st of March 1890 was 24,284,124*l.*, and that of Ireland amounted to 5,057,708*l.*, or 17 per cent. of the total expenditure of the United Kingdom. In other words, Ireland's contribution to expenditure for Imperial purposes amounted, for the year to the 31st of March 1890, to 2,676,970*l.* According to the White Papers (Cds. 233 and 234 of the 1910 Session) the estimated true revenue of Great Britain for the year to the 31st of March 1910 was 120,112,500*l.* and the local expenditure was 56,586,500*l.*, leaving a net contribution to Imperial services of 63,526,000*l.* The estimated true revenue of Ireland for the same year was 8,355,000*l.*, or 6.5 per cent. of the total revenue of the United Kingdom ; while the expenditure was 10,712,000*l.*, or nearly 16 per cent. of the total expenditure of the United Kingdom. Owing to the delay in the passing of the Finance Bill the amount of revenue received from income tax and certain other sources was reduced to an abnormal extent. In the case of Great Britain the amount of deferred revenue was about 27,000,000*l.*, and in the case of Ireland the amount was about 800,000*l.* Making the necessary adjustments, it may, therefore, be estimated that the actual amount of the Irish revenue was 9,155,000*l.*, reducing the deficit to 1,557,000*l.* ; and that Great Britain's total revenue was about 147,000,000*l.* and her contribution to Imperial expenditure amounted to nearly 90,000,000*l.* (Since the foregoing was written a return [White Paper No. 220 of the 1911 Session] has been issued, which shows that for the year to the 31st of March 1911 the total revenue contributed by Ireland was 11,665,000*l.* and the local expenditure



11,344,500*l.*, leaving a balance of 320,500*l.* available for Imperial expenditure. But these figures are illusive, because the revenue included arrears of income tax and other taxes which should have been collected and included in the revenue for the preceding year. The net result for the two financial years ending the 31st of March 1910 and 1911 was a deficit of 2,036,500*l.*, or an average deficit of about 1,000,000*l.* per annum without making provision for any contribution to Imperial services.) Between 1890 and 1910 the revenue of Great Britain increased by the sum of 62,131,000*l.*, or 73 per cent.; while that of Ireland only increased to the extent of 1,420,300*l.*, or 18 per cent. This want of expansion in the tax revenue of Ireland is a matter of the utmost significance, and it emphasises one of the fundamental difficulties of Home Rule finance. On the other hand, the expenditure of Great Britain increased by the sum of 32,302,000*l.*, or 133 per cent., while that of Ireland increased by the sum of 5,654,300*l.*, or 111 per cent. The bulk of this increase was due to old-age pensions, the agricultural grants, and payments to local-taxation accounts. The net result of it all is, however, that instead of contributing 2,677,000*l.* to Imperial services as in 1890, Ireland is not at the present time contributing one penny-piece to such expenditure, but, on the contrary, she is actually a drain on the Imperial services to the extent of well over 1,000,000*l.* per annum. But this is not all. When the National Insurance Bill comes into full operation an additional charge will be thrown upon the Exchequer of the United Kingdom for purely Irish purposes to the extent of between 500,000*l.* and 1,000,000*l.* per annum; and, adding the expenditure in connexion with Ireland's representation in the House of Commons, Ireland's deficit may then be estimated to approach 2,000,000*l.* per annum.

It will be interesting here to recite the financial provisions of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1893. The Bill provided that the public revenue of Ireland should be divided into special revenue and general revenue, and that the general revenue should consist of (a) the gross revenue collected in Ireland from the then existing taxes; (b) the portion due to Ireland of the hereditary revenues of the Crown which are managed by the Commissioners of Woods; and (c) an annual sum for the customs and excise duties (if any) collected in Great Britain on articles consumed in Ireland, provided that an annual sum for the customs and excise duties (if any) collected in Ireland on articles consumed in Great Britain should be deducted from the revenue collected in Ireland and treated as revenue collected in Great Britain. The above-mentioned annual sums were to be determined by the order of a Committee appointed jointly by the Treasury and the Irish Government. It was provided that one-third part of the general



revenue of Ireland, and also that portion of the Imperial miscellaneous revenue to which Ireland might claim to be entitled, should be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure. The residue of the general revenue of Ireland was to form part of the special revenue. The civil charges of Government in Ireland were to be borne, after the appointed day, by Ireland and regulated by Irish Act. From six years after the appointed day the taxes then existing in Ireland were to continue to be imposed and regulated by Act of the Imperial Parliament. After six years the imposition of the existing taxes, other than duties of customs and excise, and the regulation of all matters relating to the existing taxes in Ireland other than the duties of customs and the collection and management thereof, were to be transferred to the Irish Legislature, and the arrangements made by the Bill for the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure were to be revised. The Irish Legislature was to be empowered to impose any taxes other than those then existing and the proceeds thereof were to form part of the special revenue. All existing officers in the permanent Civil Service of the Crown who were serving in Ireland, it was provided, should continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries and pensions and be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore. For five years after the passing of the Act these salaries and pensions were to be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom and to be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer. The Bill further provided that the forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police were to be gradually reduced and ultimately cease, and that while the two forces continued they were to receive the same salaries and pensions as heretofore, and that those pensions and salaries should be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom. Two-thirds of the amount payable out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in respect of these two forces was to be repaid by the Irish Exchequer.

It will be observed that the financial clauses of Mr. Gladstone's Bill were of an extremely involved and hazardous nature and would inevitably have kept the two Exchequers in a perpetual state of conflict. As a matter of fact, time has proved that they would have been unworkable and, if enforced, they would have brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy in less than a decade. The recognition of this weakness in the Bill was one of the causes which contributed to its rejection. The history of Federal finance throughout the world points to the absolute necessity of a simple and clearly defined arrangement. The difficulties in connexion with the matricular contributions of the



Federal States have exercised a most pernicious influence upon the Imperial finances of Germany, and financial disputes between Austria and Hungary are a permanent embarrassment to the administration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Imperial British Dominions have also experienced the difficulties which surround the question of Federal finance. It may, therefore, be laid down as an indispensable condition to the granting of any measure of Irish Home Rule that the Exchequers of the two countries should be kept absolutely separate, and that each Kingdom should collect its revenues separately and meet its expenditure out of its own revenues.

From the point of view of the taxpayer of Great Britain it would be quite practicable to separate the two Exchequers and to fix Ireland's contribution to Imperial services at an amount proportionate to her wealth, resources and population. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that, unless some such arrangement as this be adopted in connexion with any scheme of Home Rule that may be carried out, the taxpayers of Great Britain will suffer a bitter illusion if they are sanguine enough to imagine that they have heard the last of the Irish question.

The principal items of expenditure of the United Kingdom for the year to the 31st of March 1910 in respect of Imperial services amounted to 85,016,000*l.*, made up as follows: National Debt charges, 21,758,000*l.*; Army, 27,451,000*l.*; and Navy, 35,807,000*l.* Now, taking the very moderate ratio of 5 per cent. as representing the proportion of this Imperial expenditure which Ireland should bear, it will be perceived that, instead of a deficit of over 1,000,000*l.* per annum, Ireland should contribute a surplus of not less than 4,250,000*l.* On the basis of Imperial expenditure for the current year Ireland should contribute a surplus of 4,750,000*l.* per annum; so that Ireland is at the present time a burden upon the taxpayers of Great Britain to the extent of more than 6,000,000*l.* per annum. This burden will be further augmented—probably to 7,000,000*l.* per annum—when the National Insurance scheme is in full operation. Ireland cannot, therefore, be said to hold a very satisfactory position in relation to the other States of the British Empire. Great Britain's expenditure on Imperial services works out at about 2*l.* 5*s.* per head; and even the Isle of Man, with little more than 50,000 inhabitants, contributes 10,000*l.* per annum, or 4*s.* per head, to Imperial expenditure. At the present time Canada spends on national defence about 6*s.* per head, Australia 12*s.* 9*d.* per head, New Zealand 9*s.* 6*d.* per head, and South Africa 6*s.* 3*d.* per head, and in all probability these charges will be materially augmented within the next five years.

The reply to the charge that Ireland is a drain on the Imperial



services instead of a contributor thereto will probably be the old statement that Ireland is already overtaxed in relation to her national wealth and resources. In order to arrive at an estimate as to the relative taxable capacities of Great Britain and Ireland it is necessary to consider the population, external trade, and national wealth and income of both countries, and these details are furnished in the following table :

	United Kingdom	Ireland	Ireland's Percentage of the Total of the United Kingdom
Population . . . . .	45,216,741	4,381,951	9.68
Gross assessments to income tax	£ 1,010,000,000	£ 39,737,000	3.93
Net capital of estates liable to estate duty (1910) . . . . .	283,662,000	11,993,000	4.23
Estimated national wealth . . . . .	16,000,000,000	700,000,000	4.37
Estimated national income . . . . .	2,000,000,000	85,000,000	4.25
Foreign or external trade (1910) . . . . .	1,212,000,000	125,600,000	10.36

The average of the above percentages works out at 6.13, and it might be fairly contended that this was a fair basis upon which to estimate Ireland's taxable capacity in relation to that of the United Kingdom; but in order to take the most favourable view which can possibly be urged from the Irish point of view, it will be assumed that Ireland's proportion should not exceed 5 per cent. It may be pointed out that the Childers' Commission of 1894 in effect suggested that 5 per cent. was a reasonable estimate, and since that estimate was framed there has been a vast improvement in the economic position of Ireland.

For the year to the 31st of March 1910 Ireland contributed 5.86 per cent. of the total revenue of the United Kingdom, whereas on the above basis of calculation she should only have contributed 5 per cent. In other words, Ireland contributed 1,340,000*l.* more than she should have been expected to provide on the basis of her estimated taxable capacity. But revenue cannot be considered apart from expenditure, and if we admit the principle that Ireland's true contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom should be 5 per cent. of the total, we must also accept the principle that Irish expenditure should bear the same ratio to the total expenditure of the United Kingdom. Now, for the year to the 31st of March 1910 the expenditure of the United Kingdom was 67,299,000*l.*, of which total Ireland represented 10,712,500*l.*, or nearly 16 per cent., whereas her fair proportion—5 per cent.—amounted to 3,365,000*l.* only. If, therefore, it be claimed that Ireland contributed 1,340,000*l.* more than she ought to have been called upon to provide on account of the revenue of the United Kingdom, on the other hand she received 7,347,000*l.* more than she



was entitled to on the same basis of computation, so that on balance Ireland benefits by a departure from the strict ratio basis to the extent of 6,000,000*l.* per annum. In the light of these facts it may be fairly said that the contention that Ireland suffers through over-taxation cannot possibly be sustained.

From what has been stated above, it will be perceived that the financial problem with which an Irish Legislature would have to deal would be, briefly, to make a revenue of about 10,800,000*l.* meet an expenditure of about 12,000,000*l.* plus such an amount as it may be decided that Ireland should contribute to Imperial services, and plus the additional expenditure which will be incurred in respect of the working of the new National Insurance Bill in Ireland. How is this deficit to be made up?

The Irish Party have plainly intimated their hope and belief that the deficiency—or the greater part of it—will be made up out of the pockets of the taxpayers of Great Britain. It is expected that Great Britain will make what is termed 'a generous settlement.' The Irish Party expect to see at the head of the wedding presents, 'Great Britain, a cheque.' Well, it is worth attempting to form some conclusion as to the extreme limit to which any body of responsible British statesmen could go in the direction indicated without betraying the interests of British taxpayers. At the date of the Union the Irish debt amounted to 36,000,000*l.*, and when the two Exchequers were amalgamated in 1816 the Irish debt which was taken over by Great Britain amounted to 134,000,000*l.* On the basis of Ireland's relative taxable capacity referred to above, namely, 5 per cent., it may be said that Ireland's share of the National Debt at present outstanding amounts to 36,000,000*l.* Surely even the Irish people would regard it as a generous act if Great Britain were to make Ireland a present of her share of the National Debt so that the Irish Legislature might commence its career free of debt?

It is necessary now to consider what annual sum Ireland should be called upon to contribute to the naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom. Under Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1893 Ireland would for the year to the 31st of March 1910 have had to contribute about 3,000,000*l.* towards the cost of the Imperial services. For the year ended the 31st of March 1911 her contributions would have been 3,800,000*l.* Moreover, it has been stated on behalf of the Irish Party that in the past ninety-three years Ireland has contributed 325,000,000*l.* towards expenditure on Imperial services over and above the cost of government in Ireland. This aggregate sounds magnificent; but, even if the facts are as stated, it may be pointed out that almost every nation in the world spends upon national defence a sum proportionate to its wealth, population, and responsibilities, and an average sum of 3,500,000*l.*



per annum does not appear to be an extravagant amount for a nation of such importance as Ireland. The facts, however, are interesting and lend colour to the theory that the minimum contribution which Ireland should be called upon to make to the military and naval expenditure of the Empire could not be fixed at a smaller sum than 3,000,000*l.* per annum.

It is interesting to compare here the amounts expended by some of the small European Powers on national defence. Denmark spends 9*s.* 8*d.* per head, Holland 10*s.* 3*d.* per head, Sweden 16*s.* 8*d.* per head, and Switzerland 9*s.* per head on these services, apart from the annual charges which conscription or universal military service imposes upon those countries. Surely, Ireland, with her great traditions and national aspirations, could hardly feel that she held her rightful place in the British Empire unless her contributions to Imperial services amounted to at least 3,000,000*l.* per annum, or less than 14*s.* per head of her population. If Great Britain were to consent to relieve Ireland of any charge in respect of the National Debt and fix her contribution to the naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom at the small sum of 3,000,000*l.* per annum, we should arrive at the position that the Irish Legislature would in all probability during its first year of office have to face the problem of meeting an expenditure of about 15,000,000*l.*, with a revenue of 10,800,000*l.* It is extremely probable that the Exchequer of Great Britain would never receive a penny-piece from the Irish Exchequer in respect of Ireland's contribution to Imperial services, but it is only fair to Scotland and the other States of the British Empire that the true position of Ireland should be annually revealed and that at least the amount of her annual deficit should be recorded.

It will no doubt be urged that while the present system continues we are not likely to conciliate 'Irish feeling' (by which no doubt is meant Irish Nationalist feeling), and that it would be well worth England's while to have a contented Ireland even if this were only attainable by the imposition of a permanent burden upon the Imperial Exchequer to the extent of a few millions annually. But it would appear to be somewhat premature to speak of a 'contented' Ireland, and the British taxpayer will naturally ask what guarantees are forthcoming that under Home Rule Ireland will be even as contented as she is at the present time? The attitude of Ulster does not appear to afford ground for sanguine anticipation, and when we bear in mind the certainty of increased taxation it is not unreasonable to affirm that under Home Rule Ireland is much more likely to be more discontented than she has been since land purchase has been in effective operation.

One of the financial authorities of the Irish Party has expressed the opinion that any Parliament established in Ireland must fail



unless it is entrusted with such complete control of government in that country as to enable it to carry through a drastic scheme of retrenchment, and it is evidently hoped to persuade the British taxpayer into the belief that the gulf between revenue and expenditure could be bridged to some extent by cutting down expenditure. The two principal headings under which it is suggested that retrenchment could be effected are : (a) the police charges and (b) Government officials. As stated above, Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1893 provided that the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police should be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist, and that while they continued to exist two-thirds of the net amount of their expense should be borne by the Irish Exchequer and one-third by the Exchequer of Great Britain. The total amount voted in respect of these forces for the year to the 31st of March 1910 was 1,475,000*l.*, and, accepting the principle laid down by Mr. Gladstone, it will be perceived that the total cost which would fall upon the Irish Exchequer in the first year under Home Rule would be about 1,000,000*l.* The charge thereafter would doubtless diminish gradually, but it cannot be presumed that Ireland would be able to reduce her police charges below 700,000*l.* per annum. On this basis, therefore, it might be ultimately possible to effect a saving of perhaps 800,000*l.* per annum in respect of police charges.

Then, it is pointed out that while there are 944 Government officials in Scotland whose aggregate salaries amount to 319,000*l.*, Ireland, with 400,000 less population, has 4397 Government officials whose aggregate salaries amount to 1,441,000*l.* Here, again, moderate economies might ultimately be effected; but Ireland cannot expect to set up a separate Legislature and conduct her national government upon the basis of the low level of government expenditure in Scotland. Probably it would be a very risky calculation to expect a bigger saving than 200,000*l.* per annum under this head for many years to come. From what has been said above, it will be perceived that there is reasonable ground for the belief that by a drastic scheme of retrenchment Ireland might be able within the next decade to effect a saving of 1,000,000*l.* per annum in the amount of her present expenditure. The Post Office in Ireland is worked at a loss of 200,000*l.* per annum, and possibly if Irish business men allow a curtailment of existing facilities economies might be obtained here also.

But, on the other hand, it is equally certain that Ireland will have to face a great increase of expenditure in other directions. National insurance will add from 500,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* per annum to her expenditure, and education will in all probability require an increased expenditure of 500,000*l.* The agricultural and development grants will also have to be extended, and



altogether it is abundantly clear that any economies which might be effected by retrenchment of the expenditures referred to above would be more than absorbed by increased expenditure in other directions. This brings us back to the position that under Home Rule Ireland's expenditure may be expected to exceed her revenue by no less than 4,200,000*l.* per annum; and even if Great Britain foregoes or remits any payment from Ireland in respect of naval and military services the Irish Legislature would have to face a deficit of at least 1,200,000*l.* to 1,500,000*l.* per annum. This deficit can only be satisfactorily met by increased taxation.

It may perhaps be contended that the annual deficits could be met by loans instead of fresh taxation. It would of course be possible to resort to this policy, but it would have a most prejudicial effect on Irish credit. Irish land purchase has been only partially accomplished. The purchase money of the lands agreed to be sold but not yet vested in the purchasing tenants is 47,618,000*l.*, while the value of the lands in respect of which proceedings for sale have not yet been instituted under the Land Purchase Acts is about 90,000,000*l.*

As stated in another part of this article, Mr. Wyndham's Act of 1903 broke down mainly because the British Government was unable to raise money by the issue of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Stock at par. Consols can now be purchased to yield a return of 3*l.* 4*s.* per cent. Irish  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Land Stock is now quoted at 78, at which it yields a return of 3*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* per cent. It would be a matter of the utmost difficulty for an Irish Government to raise money at  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., even with the guarantee of the British Government, and it is perfectly obvious, therefore, that Home Rule would mean the permanent suspension of land purchase.

The financial authority of the Irish Party recognises that 'it is possible, even probable, that our modern drift of political thought will involve an increase in the volume of taxation under Home Rule.' This is a mild form in which to indicate the absolute certainty that under Home Rule there would be an immediate increase of taxation in Ireland to the extent of at least 15 per cent. all round; or, if Ireland is to discharge her minimum contribution of 3,000,000*l.* per annum to Imperial services, an increase of taxation to the extent of 45 per cent. is equally inevitable.

The advocates of Home Rule for Ireland are therefore confronted with two alternative policies, namely: (a) the placing of a permanent burden of taxation upon Great Britain in respect of Ireland to the extent of between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* per annum; or (b) an increase of taxation in Ireland to the extent of between 15 and 45 per cent. Any such increase of taxation would have a disastrous effect upon the economic expansion of Ireland;



the 'spoon-fed' industries which have been so carefully nursed during the past ten or fifteen years would be wrecked, and all the economic advance which has been effected since land purchase was first instituted would be jeopardised. Home Rule is financially impossible for Ireland unless the taxpayers of Great Britain are hoodwinked into the adoption of a scheme under which the Exchequer of Great Britain is made responsible for the inevitable deficits of the Irish Exchequer. Irishmen will form their own opinion as to the likelihood of the latter policy being adopted; but in any case it is high time that the Irish people as a whole should be made acquainted with the exact position in which the matter stands, and when this is done it is impossible to believe that the Irish people themselves will permit the demand for Home Rule to be pressed. The people of Ireland cannot wish to commit financial suicide. Ireland has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the separation of the two Exchequers. On the other hand, Great Britain from an economic point of view has everything to gain by separation. There has never been a period in the history of the relations of the two countries when Ireland was of less importance to Great Britain than she is at the present time. On the other hand, it may be safely affirmed that the Union was never of more value to Ireland than it is at this moment. Ireland's population, which at one time was one-third of the total population of the United Kingdom, is now less than one-tenth, and her national wealth is not now more than one-twentieth of that of the United Kingdom. Eighty-five per cent. of Ireland's external trade is carried on with Great Britain; but Great Britain's trade with Ireland represents less than one-twelfth of her total imports and exports. Great Britain's total trade with Ireland amounts to about 100,000,000*l.* per annum; but Great Britain's trade with the Imperial British Dominions beyond the seas now approaches 300,000,000*l.* per annum, of which total India accounts for 80,000,000*l.*, Australasia for 66,000,000*l.*, and Canada for 45,000,000*l.* Great Britain's trade with the United States of America alone is worth 170,000,000*l.* per annum, with Germany 90,000,000*l.* per annum, and France 80,000,000*l.* per annum. All these figures show the relative unimportance of Ireland to Great Britain. If we take the investment of British capital abroad we shall find that Ireland's value to Great Britain is less than ever. Out of 3,600,000,000*l.* of capital invested outside the United Kingdom the percentage placed in Ireland is so small as to be negligible.

If any measure of Home Rule be granted which carries with it financial autonomy it is difficult to see upon what ground Ireland would be entitled to send a single representative to the House of Commons. If an Irish Legislature be created, Great Britain



cannot possibly admit Ireland to have any voice in the disposal of Imperial expenditure to which she does not contribute one farthing; and it is inevitable that the Irish members should be excluded from Westminster until Ireland pays her full annual contribution of at least 3,000,000*l.* towards naval and military services, and then her representation should be in strict proportion to her relative contribution, say 3 per cent., or twenty members in all.

But, apart from any question of Home Rule, it is imperative that Ireland should be relegated to her proper place in the Empire, and that the glaring anomaly and injustice to the taxpayers of Great Britain which results from the over-representation of Ireland in the House of Commons should be remedied with the least possible delay. A great amount of zeal has recently been manifested for the perfecting of the Constitution and bringing it up to such a state of efficiency as will enable it to deal satisfactorily with modern conditions. It is generally recognised that the over-representation of Ireland has been one of the principal causes of the inefficiency of the House of Commons. Under Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1893 it was proposed to retain seventy Irish members at Westminster. If any such proposal should be renewed and carried into effect, it is easy to foresee the eternal disputes that will take place as to what are and what are not Imperial charges and as to the exact amount of Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenditure. Moreover, seventy members would be greatly in excess of the representation to which Ireland is entitled in the House of Commons on any basis of calculation. Under the Act of Union Ireland's representation was fixed at 105 members out of a total of 658 for the United Kingdom. Ireland's proportion thus works out at nearly 16 per cent. Reliable data as to the population of Ireland are not available for an earlier year than the census of 1821. At that date the population of the United Kingdom was 20,893,584, to which total Ireland contributed 6,801,827, or 32.5 per cent. It will be perceived, therefore, that when Ireland's representation was fixed at 105 members, or 16 per cent. of the total, her population formed 32.5 per cent., or nearly one-third of the total population of the United Kingdom. At the census of April last the population of the United Kingdom was 45,216,741, to which total Ireland contributed 4,381,951, or 9.68 per cent. England and Wales, with a population of 36,075,269, return 495 members; Scotland, with a population of 4,759,521, returns seventy-two members; and Ireland, with a population of 4,381,951, returns 103 members. England has one member for every 72,878 of population, while Ireland has one member for every 42,543 of population. Scotland contributes about 9,000,000*l.* per annum to Imperial ser-



vices, and she has one member for every 66,097 of population, while Ireland, which is a drain on the Imperial Exchequer to the extent of 1,500,000*l.* per annum, has one member for each 42,543 of population.

On the basis of population, Ireland is entitled to send sixty-four members to the House of Commons, or thirty-nine members less than the number—103—she at present sends. But on the basis of national wealth, Ireland's proportion works out at thirty-four members only; while on the basis of her contribution to national revenue Ireland is not entitled to more than forty representatives. Whatever basis of calculation be adopted, therefore, it will be perceived that Ireland is at the present time greatly over-represented in the House of Commons, and probably her true proportion is the average of these three calculations, namely, forty-six members. The Irish Party obviously hope to effect some such arrangement as that suggested by Mr. Gladstone in 1893; but it would be difficult to emphasise too strongly the unfairness and the difficulties which would be involved by the admission of the right of the Irish people to Home Rule, and at the same time to send representatives to the House of Commons. Are the Irish people prepared to press a demand for Home Rule on the clear and definite understanding that Ireland is to finance herself; that, until she contributes her fair proportion to Imperial expenditure, the Irish members are to be excluded from Westminster, and that when she does make such a contribution her representation is to be in strict proportion to the total amount contributed?

It is practically certain that if Home Rule be granted to Ireland, measures for the establishment of legislative bodies in Scotland and Wales must also be enacted ultimately. If this were done it would mean that the Imperial Parliament would surrender the prestige and authority attaching to the direct control of revenue to the extent of 32,000,000*l.* per annum. But it would involve more than this. Our war finance would be circumscribed. What financial help could the British Government reasonably depend upon receiving from an Irish Legislature in the event of the British Empire becoming involved in a life-and-death struggle with a great naval and military power?

Scotland and Wales have not proved troublesome partners; they have most loyally contributed blood and treasure in all the great wars in which the United Kingdom has been engaged, and it is impossible to find legitimate ground for extending preferential treatment to Ireland in the matter of finance. It may, therefore, be asked of English taxpayers who are disposed to favour what is vaguely known as 'a generous settlement' of the Irish question:

1. Whether they would be prepared to support the enactment



of measures for the government of Scotland and Wales upon the same relative financial basis, and the same relative basis as to representation in the House of Commons as that upon which it is proposed to grant Home Rule to Ireland; and

2. Whether they are satisfied that the institution of the separate legislatures referred to would not weaken the control of the central Government over the national finances to such an extent as would have a most destructive influence upon British prestige and credit?

EDGAR CRAMMOND.



## THE PHILOSOPHY OF STRIKES<sup>1</sup>

FEW things are more curious than the change which recently came over England in a few weeks. The Imperial splendours and the popular rejoicings which accompanied the coronation of King George the Fifth were suddenly succeeded by scenes resembling the incidents of a foreign invasion or of civil war. Traffic almost ceased in our great cities. The transit of goods was stopped. The trains on many lines of railways ran intermittently, or not at all. The public thoroughfares were full of troops. Trade was paralysed. The King's loyal and law-abiding subjects were impeded in the whole range of their daily activities and necessities. Famine stared men in the face, while thousands of tons of food at the docks, and at the railway stations, were inaccessible and were perishing. Raw material was not forthcoming for industries, and factories and workshops were closed. Such was the effect of the great strike, long threatened, but executed with startling rapidity. It failed, because, though causing universal anxiety, alarm, and irritation, it had not been sufficiently well organised to accomplish its authors' design. What that design was, the Home Secretary told the House of Commons on the 23rd of August in an admirable speech, from which I shall quote a few paragraphs.

England, I think it is true to say, is more than any other country in the world dependent upon railways and open ports. It is true that all parts of England are not equally dependent upon railways and ports. In the Home Counties, in the south and in the east, where agriculture has not fallen so far behind manufacture, the dependence upon railways and overseas importations is not so pronounced, but in the great manufacturing areas of England, in South Wales, on the North-east Coast, above all in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the North Midlands, there is a complete dependence on railways and open ports for the whole means of industry and daily food. . . . It was in those very parts, where the immense populations of working people are concentrated together, who have come into existence as communities entirely by reason of the railways and overseas transport, that the pressure of a national railway strike would be, and had actually begun to be, powerfully exerted. And what a pressure! Had the strike

<sup>1</sup> I should perhaps say that I here use the word 'philosophy' not in the restricted sense of metaphysics, commonly attached to it, but in the larger signification of which Plato speaks : *Τὸν φιλόσοφον σοφίας φήσομεν ἐπιθυμητὴν εἶναι, οὐ τῆς μέν, τῆς δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πασῆς.*



proceeded for a week on the lines which its authors apparently intended—that is to say, had it succeeded for a week in producing an entire stoppage of trains in those parts—there must have been practically a total cessation of industry. Everyone would have been thrown out of work. Every mill, every mine, every factory must have been closed. The wages for the household would have ceased. Had the stoppage continued for a fortnight, it is, I think, almost certain that, in a great many places, to a total lack of employment would have been added absolute starvation. . . . In the great quadrilateral of industrialism from Liverpool and Manchester on the west, to Hull and Grimsby on the east, from Newcastle down to Birmingham and Coventry in the south—in that great quadrilateral, which, I suppose, must contain anything between fifteen and twenty millions of persons, intelligent, hard-working people, who have raised our industries to the forefront of the world's affairs, it is practically certain that a continuance of the railway strike would have produced a swift and certain degeneration of all the means, of all the structure, social and economic, on which the life of the people depends. If it had not been interrupted, it would have hurled the whole of that great community into an abyss of horror which no man can dare to contemplate.

The picture is not overdrawn. Mr. Churchill's words, upon this occasion, were the words of truth and soberness—words worthy of the high office which he holds. Well, the strike *was* interrupted. The Government patched up a truce with the strikers by negotiations of which I leave history to say whether they were congruous with the dignity of a great State. But, abortive as it was, the strike cost the country—so an eminent statistician has calculated—ten millions of money. And what was it for? Ostensibly, it was for the redress of grievances about overtime, Sunday work, inadequate pay, and a multitude of other hardships, greater or less. I am far from denying that such grievances exist and ought to be remedied: but will any man, whose moral sense is not utterly blunted, say that they justified this vast conspiracy against the nation, supported—thanks to the weapon of 'peaceful' picketing with which Mr. Asquith had armed the strikers—by outrageous violence, indiscriminately employed, but especially directed against fellow workmen desirous to exercise their right to work? One of the leaders of the strike has, however, candidly told us<sup>2</sup> that this explanation of it is quite inadequate. We learn from Mr. Thomas Mann, that what he calls 'industrial solidarity' is the true key to it. And what does this mean? It means, Mr. Mann tells us, 'the recognition by the workmen that any section of every industry is interdependent upon every other section, and that the growth of modern industrialism has made this absolutely necessary. Trade Unions,' he goes on to say, 'are not by themselves sufficient'—sectional trade unionism, he calls it. Parliamentary action he condemns as ineffective. 'A

<sup>2</sup> In a paper called 'Why we want a General Strike,' which appeared in the public prints on the 17th of August.



1911

universal industrial organisation' is a weapon which he thinks all-powerful. What he means by this is the co-ordination of the various battalions of labour in such a way that the entire army shall be able and willing, at any moment, to support the claims of the smallest section by paralysing the industries of the whole country. 'The Rhondda Valley Miners,' he observes, 'lost their battle because they struck sectionally. If the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, with six hundred thousand members, had taken up the case of these twelve thousand men, the affair would not have lasted a week.' He adds, 'the prospect for the workers is one of glorious promise. There is no real necessity for anyone in the country to be working under 2l. a week, not even a labourer.' And this happy consummation of a minimum wage of 2l. a week, he hopes to attain by a vast number of strikes, of which the one just ended—if, indeed, we may speak of it as ended—is but the forerunner.

Mr. Thomas Mann is a veteran strikemaster, and knows what he is talking about. I am informed that he is a very honest man, and I think that the public may give full credence to what he says, and should be obliged to him for his frankness. This doctrine of industrial organisation which he preaches is a form of what is called Syndicalism. And what is Syndicalism? The word is, of course, borrowed from the French with the omission of the final e. 'It is generally understood,' Sir Arthur Clay writes,<sup>3</sup> 'to denote the policy of the Confédération Générale du Travail, the object of which is the destruction by force of the existing organisation, and the transfer of industrial capital from its present possessors to Syndicalists, or, in other words, to the Revolutionary Trade Unions: the means by which this object is to be secured being the General Strike. The fundamental precept of Syndicalism is that success must be obtained by violent means.' It is, Sir Arthur Clay points out, a doctrine which inculcates robbery with violence, and is regarded by some of its adherents as a religion—I suppose a sort of adaptation of Thuggism to the Western world. There can be no doubt that it has had a great deal of influence among Socialists in this country, although the number of its thorough-going adherents may not be large. Certainly this doctrine of a General Strike has been widely received: it was the mainspring of the recent disturbances, and no doubt will occupy the like place in future disturbances, which will probably be a great deal worse than the one which we have just passed through. The Trade Unionist leaders have learnt the

<sup>3</sup> *Syndicalism and Labour*, by Sir Arthur Clay, Bart., p. 2. I am glad to have the opportunity of drawing attention to this important book, with which I am largely in agreement. Its value is enhanced by the fact that it was written before the recent strike.



lesson<sup>4</sup>—a plain and easy lesson—that if at any moment they are able to command a simultaneous cessation of work in many trades, and over a large area, they may substitute mob law for the law of the land and terrorise the community. We may regard this as the most recent development of Socialism.<sup>5</sup>

It is curious that such should be the outcome of that old orthodox Political Economy which started in the world as a revelation of liberty. When Adam Smith wrote his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, the law imposed many restrictions—some of them most salutary—on various industries. He advocated, successfully, their entire abolition, on the ground that labour and capital should be left free to seek their interests by what he called 'the obvious and simple system of natural liberty,' the result of which, he predicted, would be 'general happiness.' As a matter of fact, the result was the establishment of a tyranny of capital of the most atrocious kind, based upon a fictitious freedom of contract.<sup>6</sup> It seems not to have occurred to Adam Smith that a necessary condition of real freedom of contract is parity of condition, which could not possibly exist under the law of supply and demand, working by competition, between the replete capitalist and starving labourers, between the owner of lands, mines, manufactories, and the owners of nothing but their ten fingers, skilled or unskilled. In the extremity of their wretchedness the working men began to combine. Dr. Brentano tells us that Trade Unions originated with the non-observance of the Statutes fixing wages and apprenticeships. They were at first viewed with great disfavour, as wicked combinations for the ruin of capitalists. But gradually they found their way first into toleration, and then

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Clay writes: 'In a political sense Trade Unions have now become a weapon at the disposal of the State Socialists for destroying the existing social organisation. In this enterprise their object is the same as that of the Syndicalists and Anarchists, with whom, therefore, they may, to this extent, be considered to be in practical alliance.' p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> M. Sorel, who may be considered the chief apostle of Syndicalism, regards it as Marxian Socialism adapted to existing industrial conditions. See his *Réflexions sur la Violence*, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning which I have written elsewhere: 'I know of no more shameful page in human history than that whereon is recorded the condition of the English working classes in coal mines, woollen factories, and cotton factories during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The victims of overwork, of under-pay, of frauds and extortions of all kinds, notably those practised through the truck system, their condition was worse than that of overburdened and overdriven horses: because those human faculties, those human needs which marked them off from the brute beasts, were utterly ignored and unprovided for. Nay, this is not the worst of it. Not only grown men and women, but little children, were offered up in sacrifice to "Gain, the master idol of this realm." The story revealed in Parliamentary Reports of 1842 and 1843, of general, deliberate, and systematic cruelty practised on girls and boys of tender age—"cruelty horrible, incredible, unparalleled even in the history of pagan slavery," a high authority calls it—cannot be read without sickening horror.' *First Principles in Politics*, p. 98.



1911

into recognition, and became established factors in our industrial system. By exhibiting the advantage of collective bargaining over individual bargaining with employers of labour, of combination over competition, they did much to vindicate the liberty of the toiler. I am by no means saying that they have not on occasions made mistakes, and culpable ones. But with every just allowance for their errors or their crimes, it remains true that they have done much to improve the condition of the English artisan: he owes to them higher wages, shorter hours of work, the removal of middlemen (out-contractors and sweaters), the abolition of many oppressive fines or penalties, the imposition of checks on the brutality of foremen, provision for support to members out of work. As the last century was drawing to its close, a great change came over Trade Unions. Many of them—and some of the most considerable—became largely imbued with the doctrines of Socialism. A vague term indeed, but as I have pointed out elsewhere, in words which I shall take leave to quote, as I do not know how to better them, its sects are all agreed upon one first principle which has been, from the beginning, its distinctive note.

I suppose for the germ of Socialism we must go back to a well-known passage in Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*. But its first set exponent appears to have been the Abbé Fauchet, who in the early days of the Revolution delivered orations at a club called the 'Cercle Social,' and edited a journal entitled *La Bouche de Fer*. He insisted 'that all the world ought to live; that everybody should have something and nobody too much'; and denounced 'the wretch who desires the continuance of the present infernal régime, where you may count outcasts by millions, and by dozens the upstarts (*les insolents*) who possess everything without having done anything for it.' The eloquence of the Abbé, who had become a constitutional Bishop, was cut short by the guillotine in 1793. Another of these primitive Socialists was Marat, who pleaded in the *Ami du Peuple*: 'Either stifle the workpeople or feed them. But how find work for them? Find it in any way you like. How pay them? With the salary of M. Bailly.' Bailly, it will be remembered, was the patriot mayor who floridly harangued poor Louis XVI. at the barrier of Passy, congratulating the wretched monarch upon being 'conquered by his people,' and was himself put to death three years afterwards by the same 'people,' with circumstances of revolting cruelty. Chaumette, too, praised by Mr. John Morley<sup>7</sup> as showing 'the natural effect of abandoning belief in another life by his energetic interest in arrangements for improving the lot of man in this life,' urged that though 'we have destroyed the nobles and the Capets, there is another aristocracy to be overthrown—the aristocracy of the rich.' The poor had the same gospel preached unto them by Tallien, who demanded 'full and entire equality,' and insisted that 'the owners of property should be sent to the dungeons as public thieves'; by Fouché, afterwards Duke of Otranto and Police Minister to the First Napoleon, who maintained that 'equality ought not to be a deceitful illusion'; that 'all

<sup>7</sup> Now Viscount Morley. *Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 78.



citizens ought to have a like right to the advantages of society'; and by Joseph Babeuf, who exchanged his Christian name for Caius Gracchus: 'Pourquoi vouloir me forcer à conserver St. Joseph pour mon patron?' he explained: 'je ne veux pas les vertus de ce brave homme-là.' He sought to realise his doctrines by a conspiracy, and was executed for his pains by the Directory. But perhaps the most memorable of these pioneers of Socialism was Brissot de Warville, for it is to him that we owe the famous formula about property and theft: 'la propriété exclusive c'est le vol,' was the original text of it. For sixty years the dictum lay buried and forgotten in Brissot's not very meritorious work, *Recherches Philosophiques sur la Propriété et sur le Vol*. There Proudhon discovered it, and made it current coin in the shortened form, 'La propriété c'est le vol,' appropriating it, however, without acknowledgment; perhaps, M. Janet conjectures,<sup>8</sup> in virtue of the right, alleged by Brissot, of everybody to everything.<sup>9</sup>

Now this is the essential tenet of Socialism, though it is not always expressed with the same plainness. The literature of the subject is enormous. And its exponents vary in many particulars, some not unimportant. But they all, without exception, so far as my reading enables me to judge, view private property in much the same way. 'Property is theft.' Well, I for my part, though no Socialist, must confess that there is a very unpleasant amount of truth in the indictment. In the abstract, and considered in the light of first principles, the right to private property is an imprescriptible and inalienable prerogative of man: it is the corner-stone of civilisation. But this right is subject to conditions which have been stated with equal clarity and conciseness by one whom I must account the greatest master of ethics. 'The possession of riches,' Aquinas writes, 'is not unlawful if the order of reason be observed: that is to say, if a man possess justly what he owns, and if he use it in a proper manner, for himself and others.'<sup>10</sup> Now if we turn to property in the concrete, can we affirm that it invariably satisfies those two conditions? Let us confine ourselves to one of them, 'justly gained.' How much of existing wealth is due to dreadful deeds of cruelty and extortion in the nineteenth century,—I have touched upon them in a previous page—when the *laissez-faire* gospel of the old Orthodox Political Economy had free course, and was glorified? And to come to our own day, 'how many of the large fortunes which have been amassed by mushroom financiers and promoters, during the last few decades, have been built up on foundations of trickery, deceit and fraud, by means little different from those of the race-course thimble-rigger?'<sup>11</sup> Or think of the money made by sweating, by underpayment, in other words by the robbery of the

<sup>8</sup> *Les Origines du Socialisme Contemporain*, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> *First Principles in Politics*, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> *Contra Gentes*, lib. 3, 123.

<sup>11</sup> They are the words of Sir George Lewis, and are quoted from the anniversary number of the *Financial News* 1910.



1911

poor and needy, because they are poor and needy, an iniquity accounted by the Catholic Church one of the sins that cry to heaven for vengeance. I need not continue the dreary catalogue of ill-gotten gain. Assuredly, no one whose moral sense is not atrophied can deny that much of existing property is theft.

That truth, very often unduly magnified, as is natural enough, appeals strongly to the mind of the working man, and has largely coloured his way of thinking about industrial problems. And the spectacle of insane luxury and profligate profusion which the rich offer for his contemplation does not tend to reconcile him to the existing social order. The result of his meditations about it is the thought that it might be changed with advantage to himself, and that he, perhaps, in his millions, has the power to change it. 'Thou shalt eat the labour of thy hands,' was the blessing promised to the ancient Hebrews. Do not others eat the labour of his hands, with the exception of the fragment doled out to him as wages? I find in the *Manifesto of the Socialistic League* the familiar proposition that 'the workers produce all the wealth of society.' This proposition is naturally acceptable to the worker. It happens, indeed, to be false. But probably there is no one at hand to tell him that both the machine and its manipulator produce value : that both the labour stored up in the machine and the labour of the artisan who works it deserve reward, which in the one case is called profits, in the other wages; and that the real economical question of the day is, what is the just rule of division of the product? But if he were told this, and believed it—he would most likely prefer not to believe it, and belief is largely a matter of the will—what could he make of the question of distribution? It is often a question of the utmost difficulty, requiring for its solution qualifications which the vast majority of artisans do not and cannot possess. They resemble the men of the first French Revolution, who, as Mill has pungently observed, for the most part saw what was wrong, not what was right. The redress which Socialism offers them for their grievances—and let us not forget that in many cases they have very real and very grave grievances—is simple, and attractive to their untutored minds. Syndicalism appeals especially to the more vigorous and pugnacious among them by its doctrine that the capitalist is always the enemy, the oppressor, the robber : that the true solution of the social problem is the total destruction of the existing industrial organisation, and the transfer of the means of production from the present possessors—the wage payers—to the wage receivers. I may here note that of the forty-one members of the committee which directed the recent strike, twenty-one are said to belong to the Socialist party, three to the Social Democratic party, and seventeen to the Independent Labour party, many of



whom are reported to hold, more or less firmly, the doctrines of Syndicalism.

The outcome, then, of the Orthodox Political Economy, little as its pioneers intend it, has been to split the British people into two sections. The old charities and courtesies, which once bound together the various members of the body politic, have disappeared, and have been replaced by a state of universal war—*bellum omnium contra omnes*. And the notion of the social organism, of national solidarity, has disappeared too. Competition, working by supply and demand, arrayed capital and labour into two hostile camps. Mankind is not a mass of unrelated human units. Man tends by the law of his nature to coalesce, to unite. Labour slowly organised itself, as has capital also; but for purposes of destruction, organised labour—what Mr. Thomas Mann calls industrial solidarity—is by far the more formidable force of the two. The true economical ideal is that of a well-ordered commonwealth of industry. Instead, we have the conflict of private interests which is bound to issue in civil war, 'and that of a kind the baser, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword.' It must be perfectly manifest to all men that in the recent strike, as in most others, the strikers were influenced by a spirit of indifference towards the rights and interests of the community at large: nay, that no small proportion of them, at all events, regarded the community as their natural enemy, and delighted in displaying hostility to it. The very idea of a common country, with its superior claims and paramount rights, has been effaced from their minds, and not from theirs only. Devotion to that 'dear, dear land, dear for her reputation through the world,' is incompatible with the intense individualism—the basis of the old orthodox political economy—which has made industrial England what it is.

'Commonwealths,' Burke has excellently said, 'are not physical but moral essences.' The *geistige Band*, as Goethe puts it, the spiritual tie which binds a nation of men into an organic whole, will not be found in competition, working by supply and demand, but in something very different—in justice. Right does not and cannot mean merely thinking of one's self, living for one's self, fighting for one's self. The outcome of that conception of right is anarchy. No: right, as the Latin word witnesses,<sup>12</sup> is the bond which knits mankind with society, and justice is the true foundation of the State: *justitia fundamentum regni*. There are for nations, as for the individuals composing them, necessary conditions of existence, irreversible laws of life: and those laws, those conditions, are ethical. The art of politics, properly under-

<sup>12</sup> *Jus (jungere)*.



1911

stood, consists in apprehending and conforming to 'the moral laws of nature and of the nations.'

*Justitia fundamentum regni.* And what is justice but as the Roman jurisconsult explains it, 'the constant and ever-enduring will to give to each his *due*'? That is the true rule of public as of private action: not to buy human labour for a minimum competitive wage, not to give as little work as possible for a day's pay. But such is the moral degradation of the age in which we live, that the very statement of these truths raises a smile. They are put aside as copy-book maxims. And yet, I venture to say, that we must just go back to those simple principles which regard the State as an ethical organism, and man as an ethical agent. The salvation of society depends upon the recognition of the verity, long universally admitted among us,<sup>13</sup> but now commonly ignored or derided, that the moral law is the supreme rule of public as of private life. Man consists in reason, and so does the State which, in Hegel's admirable phrase, is 'Reason manifesting itself as Right.' And it is the function of ethics, by which I mean the science of natural morality, to indicate what is right or wrong, as befitting or unbecoming the rational being man. Now, unquestionably, it is unethical to pay a worker less than a living wage, the measure of which is—as Pope Leo XIII. puts it in his Encyclical on Labour—'what is sufficient to support him in reasonable and frugal comfort.' It is as unquestionably unethical to plunge a whole community into the gravest distress, to bring it to the verge of irreparable disaster, in order to extort for a few hundred thousands of workers a little higher pay.

I believe then that the root of the evil which has produced such bitter fruits of late in this country, is in the obliteration of belief in the moral law—a law which assuredly exists, and as assuredly is fenced about with penalties, though they are not to be found in any Act of Parliament. There is a fine saying in the *Qu'rân*: 'God does not change the condition of a people, unless they change themselves.' The change which the people of this country must work out for themselves lies in real recognition of that moral law wherein is the only true guarantee of individual right, the only effectual protection for the legitimate employment of the energies of human personality. No machinery will supply its place. And that for the simple reason that man is not a machine. Plato held that faith is unseen and supersensuous realities are the true foundation of any human community. Am I told that this doctrine is out of date in an age when, as a recent thinker has observed, 'le surnatural perd, de plus en plus, sa puissance sur

<sup>13</sup> Sir Arthur Clay truly observes: 'For nineteen hundred years the ideal of the Christian world has been the final triumph of moral motives over bodily appetites in the control of human conduct.' p. 217.



nos âmes'? Well, I am far from denying—how can I deny?—that the age is largely, I will not say Atheistic—that implies affirmation—but Agnostic. Still such is and ever has been the condition of Buddhists. And yet for them an unseen and super-sensuous reality, the moral law, is the great and ultimate fact. Whether there be a God or gods, this moral law exists, as it has existed from everlasting, and will exist to everlasting. The deepest spiritual disease of the present day is not the negation of one or another religious creed; no: it is disbelief in goodness; in the eternal distinction between right and wrong: in conscience, which, in the phrase of Aquinas, is the participation of the eternal law in the rational creature; and in the supreme obligation to obey conscience as the rule of human life, individual and collective. Once recognise this, and the troubles which have recently overwhelmed society will disappear, for the root of them will be cut away. They come from enthroning cupidity in the place of conscience.

Whether anything but an overwhelming national disaster will work this change I, for one, strongly doubt. Meanwhile there are certainly some measures, obviously just and reasonable, which we could and should adopt to save the nation from the utter anarchy to which it is surely tending. Mr. Thomas Mann has frankly warned us—I quoted his words just now—that this recent strike is the forerunner of many other revolutionary labour troubles: and so Mr. Hyndman, I suppose a higher authority, writes to the *Times*, on the 25th of August, 'that there is a bitter feeling of exasperation among the workers is beyond all question, and I do not think there can be much doubt that an outbreak on a much larger scale will be organised from this time forward.' Thus forewarned, it is surely incumbent on the Legislature to turn, for a time, its attention from the party game, and to consider what can be done to prevent a recurrence of the recent social disorganisation.

Clearly, the first step to be taken is the simple expedient of substituting for brute force properly constituted tribunals to decide the points involved in industrial disputes. The State is deeply interested in contentions affecting vitally those interests of the community of which it is the guardian: moreover, it is the helper of those who cannot help themselves: it is, as the younger Pitt said, 'omnipotent to protect.' I need not here dwell on the details of the enactments for the settlement of labour quarrels, which have been passed, and found to work well, in Canada, in Australia, and New Zealand. To consider such details, and to adapt them to the needs of the country, is the business of those who govern, and who receive the rewards of governing. Will it be objected by the strike makers and the trade unionists led captive



1911

by them at their will, that such legislation is an interference with individual liberty? The objection is idle. Liberty, real liberty, consists not in lawlessness, but in servitude to law: that is its essential condition. Milton has put it in majestic words: 'Where complaints are freely heard, deeply considered and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for.' Will it be urged, on the other hand, that the grievances of the working order of men are few and insignificant, that their complaints are exaggerated? Dives in his purple and fine linen, with his daily sumptuous fare, will be ill advised to betake himself to that refuge of lies. The grievances of the men who furnish his luxuries are very sore and cry bitterly for redress. The old principle of competition working by supply and demand still rules in many trades. Our great cities still teem with toilers, the victims of under-pay and overwork, who, in the picturesque language of an Anglican Bishop, seem not so much to have been born into the world as to have been damned into it. 'Twelve millions underfed and on the verge of hunger,' were Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's words, and they deserve to be remembered. And so does that pregnant dictum of Carlyle's, which indeed goes to the root of the matter: 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work is as just a demand as governed men ever made of governing. It is the everlasting right of man.'

But if it is the duty of Government to vindicate that right, it is equally the duty of Government to maintain the liberty of the subject, and all that this time-honoured phrase involves. It is an elementary proposition—I suppose no one will be found who will directly deny it—that every man has a right to pursue his own interests in his own way—I believe I am quoting Adam Smith—provided, of course, that the way he chooses is not unethical, or injurious to the supreme interests of the community. It is impossible to imagine anything more opposed to this right than picketing, or anything more disgraceful than the sanction given to it by the Legislature under cover of 'words deceiving.' The Trade Unions Act of 1875 made it an offence on the part of anyone who, with a view to compel a person to abstain from working, 'watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, or the approach to such house or place,' or 'who follows such other person, with two or more persons, in a disorderly manner, in or through any street or road'; a provision which surely does not go beyond what is necessary for the protection of a workman's liberty. But it did not suit the trade unionists, whose notion of liberty is freedom to compel other workers to do, or to abstain from doing: 'Sois mon frère ou je te tue.' So in the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 the following section was adopted in order, as was said, to



legalise what was called 'peaceful' picketing—as we all know, it was the price paid by the present Government for the Labour vote. 'It shall be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a trade union, or of an individual employer or firm, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully persuading any persons to work or abstain from working.' This 'peaceful' picketing is a fraud and a farce—unhappily, a tragical farce. In practice it means the employment of the worst forms of intimidation and violence against poor and hungry toilers desiring to accept the employment which trade unionists decline. It is a scandalous attack upon the right to work. It is an instrument of the coarsest tyranny over the community at large. 'Peaceful' picketing! The words are a contradiction in terms. Violence and crime are of the essence of picketing. It is a defiance of public order, dislocating trade, arresting industry, destroying property, subjecting law-abiding subjects of the King to brutality and terrorism, inflicting incalculable and utterly undeserved suffering upon the country, and especially upon the lower middle-class and upon the poor, its chief victims being little children. It should be made utterly illegal and sternly put down.

'Sternly.' I use that adverb advisedly. It does not do to try blandishment, or cajolery, or wheedling with a riotous mob. True is that word of the wise and gentle Spinoza: 'Terret vulgus nisi metuat.' It is foolish—yes, and worse, it is criminal—to call out troops and to exhibit them as targets for stone-throwers. I know of no more contemptible spectacle than the drivelling of tears over insurgents shot by the military in quelling them. It is an ugly manifestation of what Carlyle well called 'the sick sentimentalism which we suck in with our whole nourishment, and get ingrained in the very blood of us, in these miserable times.' What are the lives of a few—or of a few hundred—rioters in comparison with the vindication of law and the maintenance of order, in comparison, to quote again Mr. Churchill's words, with the preservation of the community from 'an abyss of horror which no man can dare to contemplate'? I suppose the creed of the apostles of anarchy, who claim 'the right to riot,' is 'Ni Dieu, ni maître.' They must be taught that whether there be a God or not—a question for the solution of which they may wait till the next world—they certainly have a master in this—the State, which is 'a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil': and what greater evil is conceivable for the community than that which the authors of the late strike desired and endeavoured to bring to pass? It is worth while to recall, in this connexion, the action



1911

of President Cleveland, who, in 1894, quelled the great American railway strike by putting the States of the American Union infested by it under martial law, or something equivalent; a wise, and indeed humane measure, as the event proved. Non-union men were escorted to and from their work by troops, whose instructions were to shoot to kill anyone who attempted to interfere, and a considerable number of rioters were shot accordingly. Maxim guns were also brought upon the scene, and were found to have a most pacificatory effect. In three months order was completely restored, and the industries of the country were delivered from a paralysing terror.<sup>14</sup> This is the only attempt ever made in the United States to disorganise society and to coerce the nation by a general railway strike. It failed because the Government knew their duty, and were not afraid to do it.

But the recent railway strike in this country brings prominently before us another question, inconvenient, no doubt, for the players of the Parliamentary game, but of the greatest importance to England. It is an anomaly—yes, and something far worse—that the great highways of the country should be left in private hands—an anomaly fraught with disastrous consequences, which the recent strike has revealed. So long ago as 1844, the late Mr. Gladstone got an Act passed providing that after the lapse of twenty-one years the State might acquire any railway to be made thereafter, upon payment of a sum equal to twenty years' purchase of the annual divisible profits, calculated upon an average of the three years preceding the purchase. After careful consideration of the achievements of that erratic politician, this seems to me the sole legislative measure initiated by him which exhibits the smallest trace of statesmanship. Perhaps that is the reason why it has remained inoperative. Nothing can be made of it for the party game. But it is monstrous that the machinery upon which the food and lives of the people depend, and upon which, in case of invasion, the operations of our army—if we should happen to have one<sup>15</sup>—would largely depend, should be left in private and irresponsible ownership. The railways of a country are the nation's highways, and should belong to the nation. They should

<sup>14</sup> According to the Constitution of the United States, the President cannot interfere in the internal affairs of a particular State unless a federal issue be involved. President Cleveland based his interference on the fact that the federal mails were stopped. Of course, other coaches than those which carried letters were attached to the trains, and shared in the protection given to the mails.

<sup>15</sup> 'If we should happen to have one.' I should like to call attention to the following letter addressed to the *Daily Mail* on August 24 by 'An officer of the Regular Troops on duty in Liverpool City':

'Can you do anything to arouse the British public to the danger that they are in? We, the garrison sent into this city, have been here nearly a fortnight fighting and endeavouring to hold back a scum, the like of which Paris never



be worked by the State through a special service of a quasi-military character. Men should enlist in it, should be liberally paid, humanely treated,<sup>16</sup> regularly promoted and well pensioned; participation of any kind in a strike should be visited with instant dismissal; and to leave the service without three months' notice should be an offence punishable with the same rigour as desertion from the Army.<sup>17</sup> Of course, such a measure would be unpalatable to the strikemongers, whom it would deprive of their most effective weapon. Equally of course, the railway directors in Parliament would vote against it as one man; they are persons, as a rule, of the highest integrity and honesty of purpose, but they are, very naturally, wedded to a system of which they are *pars magna*. These, however, seem hardly sufficient objections to the vindication by the State of the right of the people of England to the great roads of England, to its resumption of functions which it should never have left to private enterprise, to its control of the machinery upon which our existence depends.

Such then, as it appears to me, are the four measures which the recent strike shows to be indisputably necessary—the creation of special tribunals to settle industrial disputes, the total abolition of picketing, the stern repression of disturbances of the public peace, and the acquisition by the State of the railways. But who is sufficient for these things? Is the present Government or, indeed, is any Government which we are likely to get under the party system? I remember the late Mr. Ruskin saying, upon one occasion, when the comparative merits of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli—as he then was—were being discussed: ‘Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli! I care no more for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli than I do for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam.’ I believe that these words exactly express the feeling about Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour entertained by the vast majority of sensible and just Englishmen. How is it possible to have a strong Government when party, not patriotism, is the guiding consideration? Sir Henry Maine put the matter well

saw in her worst days. They are not strikers, they have no regular calling or trade. They are simple hooligans, who will pillage, murder, burn, or riot with hardly any provocation.

‘What is going to happen to this country in the event of our being plunged into a big European war? We may suffer temporary checks or defeats. The price of food will certainly go up. What is going to happen then to Liverpool and many other of our big cities?’

‘There will be no 70,000 Regular troops in England then. The police are untrained in the use of rifles, and so are special constables. They admit that batons are useless.

‘It will be mob law and revolution. Who is going to protect our wives and families from these hordes of hooligans when we are at the front fighting?’

<sup>16</sup> Which unquestionably many railway servants now are not.

<sup>17</sup> These suggestions apply to all public services.



1911

when he asked, 'What can you expect from a system in which half the cleverest men in the country are taking the utmost pains to prevent the other half from governing?' I noticed with some amusement a remark of Mr. Benjamin Tillett in his Trafalgar Square oration on the 27th of August. After heaving a tributary sigh over the rioters shot in the recent disturbances, he observed (I quote from the report in the *Times*): 'Had citizens been killed by order of the Tories, Lloyd George would have shed tears of blood and said prayers in Welsh; he would have out-Limehoused Limehouse. Asquith would have declared that our Constitution had been outraged.' No doubt they would. He went on to declare, 'There never was a Government in a greater funk than the present one.' I think that is probably true. Indeed, the position of the Government, if one realises it, might melt a heart of stone. Office is very dear to its members, or, at all events, to most of them. To retain it, they have to placate half-a-dozen jarring factions. There is the rump of the old Liberal party, who vote—such is the force of habit—at the behest of the Whip for measures which, as many of them will in confidence tell you, they cordially detest. There is the Home Rule party, which, to quote Mr. Gladstone, from time to time admonishes the Cabinet, 'Unless you do this, and unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow.' There is the Teetotal party, which makes up in fanaticism what it lacks in numerical strength. There are the representatives of 'gallant little Wales,' whose gallantry, conspicuously exhibited of late in stoning, stealing, and burning, quailed before a solitary Jew with a loaded revolver. Then there is the Labour party, whose goodwill, so anxiously cultivated by Mr. Asquith and his colleagues—let us never forget that to conciliate it the Prime Minister<sup>18</sup> drove through the Legislature the Act permitting that 'peaceful' picketing which was the instrument of the worse outrages in the late strike—has been alienated by the measures, tardy and inadequate, indeed, which they were compelled, by very shame, to take for the protection of law and order; nor, as it would appear, is there any place of repentance for them, though they should seek it carefully with tears; though, in the elegant language of Mr. Tillett, 'Lloyd George should go down to Wales and snivel, whine, and weep, and say he could not help it.'

Yes: from such a Government it is vain to expect the vigorous action which I have indicated—and without which a far worse

<sup>18</sup> It really is not too much to regard Mr. Asquith as the ultimate author of the late strike with all its atrocities. It *could* not have been carried out without the 'peaceful' picketing, the sanction of which was the price paid by him for the Labour vote. Perhaps we should rather say 'an instalment of the price to be paid.'



catastrophe than the one that has led me to write, will assuredly overtake us, at no very distant date. In a letter published by the *Times* on the 19th of August, Dean<sup>19</sup> Wakefield inquired, 'Are we going to settle our strike, then fold our hands afterwards, and let our legislators go back to their congenial party fights, which wear themselves out, and do little or no good to anyone?' In reply to the Dean's question we may ask another: Can we help ourselves? I know not. But this I know: that unless we can and do—and that speedily—the foreboding of a great poet and a great patriot will be too amply justified:

'Babble, babble, our old England may go down in babble at last.'

W. S. LILLY.

<sup>19</sup> Now Bishop-Designate of Birmingham.



## LIBERTY OF CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

THE Rev. J. M. Thompson, Dean of Divinity at Magdalen College, Oxford, has recently published a book, entitled *Miracles in the New Testament*, in which he deals with the Gospel Miracles, including the Virgin Birth and the physical Resurrection, in a frankly 'critical' way. Numerous protests against his views have been published, and it has been widely urged that no one who holds them can honestly retain his orders in the Church of England. The licence of the writer has in fact been withdrawn by the Bishop of Winchester, acting as Ordinary of the College.

We are not concerned here with the soundness or unsoundness of Mr. Thompson's opinions. Our purpose is rather to consider what is the teaching of history as to the value of such popular outbursts of indignation, and the wisdom of any form of official repression applied to views which at the moment appear to be unorthodox. We need not go further back than the nineteenth century. The stories of its theological controversies have been often told, but in each case the ultimate issue has been obscured by endless complications arising out of questions of jurisdiction, and the like. It may be of value to attempt to disentangle the real questions at stake, and to bring together within the compass of a few pages the long series of trials and prosecutions which dogged the progress of religious thought during the last century. We shall meet with startling examples of the *odium theologicum*. They are not here recalled in any spirit of irony for their own sake, but in the belief that these things, too, are written for our admonition. Nor do we take a malicious delight in telling the tale of the mistaken policy and foolish sayings of men highly honoured among us. The details have not been ferreted out from the files of forgotten newspapers, but they stand written for all to read in the authorised biographies of the period. The very fact that the errors were the errors of good men emphasises the lesson that saintliness of character and sincerity of religious conviction offer no guarantee of an infallible judgment where new modes of thought are concerned.



In 1860 there appeared *Essays and Reviews*, written by seven members of the Church of England, including contributions from Temple (then Headmaster of Rugby), Mark Pattison, and Jowett. To realise in any degree the reception with which it met we must read the accounts in biographies such as those of Pusey<sup>1</sup> or Tait.<sup>2</sup> According to Bishop Wilberforce<sup>3</sup> the writers could not 'with moral honesty maintain their posts as clergymen of the Established Church.' Archdeacon Denison<sup>4</sup> spoke of the young being 'tainted and corrupted and thrust almost to Hell by the action of this book.' On another occasion he said, 'In my judgment of all books in any language which I ever laid my hands upon, it is incomparably the worst. It contains all the poison which is to be found in Tom Paine's *Age of Reason*, while it has the additional disadvantage of having been written by clergymen.' It drew forth countless protests from Rural Deaneries; it was condemned in an Episcopal letter, signed even by Tait, and was denounced in the most uncompromising terms by Convocation. Ultimately legal proceedings were taken against two of the contributors, Williams and Wilson. They were sentenced to a year's suspension by the Court of Arches, but acquitted by the Privy Council, which declared itself 'unable to say that the passages extracted from the essays' on the subject of Inspiration were plainly inconsistent with the Formularies of the Church. While expressing no opinion on the eternity of future punishment, the Judges held that the same Formularies did not require them 'to condemn as penal the expression of hope by a clergyman that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgement may be consistent with the will of Almighty God.'

The verdict only increased the general indignation. Pusey<sup>5</sup> wrote of it as containing 'hidden blasphemy'; it was to him 'a soul-destroying judgement,'<sup>6</sup> due to 'the common enemy of souls'; unless it is repudiated 'the Church of England will be destroyed or will become the destroyer of souls.'<sup>7</sup> Keble, Pusey, and Liddon all refused Stanley's invitation to preach in the Abbey lest they should seem to lend any countenance to the 'Rationalism' he favoured.

It will be remembered that on Temple's nomination to the See of Exeter nine years later the storm arose once more. No stone was left unturned to prevent the confirmation of the appointment. Pusey<sup>8</sup> could speak of Temple (the future Archbishop) as having 'participated in the ruin of countless souls,' and he sacrificed to his convictions a forty years' friendship between him-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of E. B. Pusey*, by Liddon and others., iv. pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of A. C. Tait*, by Davidson and Benham, i. pp. 275 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Tait*, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, iv. p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Tait*, ii. p. 59.



self and Gladstone, who had been responsible for the appointment. When, in spite of opposition, Temple was finally consecrated in the Abbey, the comment of a High Church newspaper ran as follows: 'On that darkest day in the whole year was perpetrated the darkest crime which had been perpetrated in the English Church.'<sup>9</sup>

We turn from the commentators to the text. We can read *Essays and Reviews* dispassionately to-day, and if we take the trouble to do so, our first feeling is one of utter amazement at the storm it raised. It is quite true that there are certain points which would be expressed differently by a modern writer, but its general position would be accepted as almost a commonplace. There is not one of its Essays which might not, with due allowance for change of period, be written by a leading theologian to-day without arousing any serious criticism.

For the many who do not care to read the book two sufficient proofs of this statement may be given.

Pusey, in a letter to the *Guardian*, gives a list of the chief errors with regard to the Old Testament :<sup>10</sup>

When one says that credible history begins with Abraham; another that there 'is little reliable history' before Jeroboam; . . . another denies the accuracy of the Old Testament altogether according to our standards of accuracy, asserting that 'like other records' it was 'subject to the conditions of a knowledge which existed in an early stage of the world'—that 'the dark mists of human passion and error form a partial crust upon it'—that the truth of the unity of God in Scripture only gradually 'dispersed the mists of human passion in which it was itself enveloped'; when contradictions between Kings and Chronicles are vaguely assumed; when it is asserted that prophecies of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, failed; and implied that God could not predict the deeds of one of His creatures by name; that when Nahum prophesied there were human grounds to anticipate the destruction of Nineveh which he prophesied; or that Micah, in prophesying the Birth at Bethlehem, meant only a deliverer in his own times; that 'perhaps one passage in Zechariah and one in Isaiah may be capable of being made directly Messianic'; and that 'hardly any, probably none, of the quotations from the Psalms and Prophets in the Epistles is based on the original sense or context'; when the genuineness of the Pentateuch, of much of Isaiah, Zechariah, Daniel, is denied; when it is asserted that the aspects of truth in the book of Job or Ecclesiastes are opposite or imperfect, that actions are attributed to God in the Old Testament at variance with that revelation which He has given of Himself in the Gospel, when Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is attributed, not to God, but to 'the fierce ritual of Syria,' not to speak of the temptation in Paradise, the miracle of Balaam's ass, the earth's standing still, 'the universality of the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the corporeal taking up of Elijah into heaven, the nature of angels, the reality of demoniacal possession, the personality of Satan, and the miraculous nature of many events,' or the Book of Jonah—how can such

<sup>9</sup> *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*, by Prothero, p. 462 (Nelson's edition).  
<sup>10</sup> *Life*, iv. p. 41. For the sake of brevity I have omitted the references given in the original to the pages and writers of *Essays and Reviews*.



an undigested heap of errors receive a systematic answer in brief space, or in any one treatise or volume?

The quotation is a long one, and its grammar is somewhat obscure, but it deserves careful study. Practically every one of these 'errors' is an admitted commonplace to present-day criticism, and the indictment itself proves convincingly that modern thought has simply moved on to the kind of position taken by *Essays and Reviews*.

Our second proof may be drawn from the famous declaration which followed the Privy Council judgment, and was signed 'for the love of God' by eleven thousand clergy. It expressed their firm belief that the Church of England 'maintains without reserve or qualification the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as not only containing, but being, the Word of God, and further teaches, in the words of our blessed Lord, that the "punishment" of the "cursed" equally with the "life" of the "righteous" is "everlasting."'

In spite of Maurice's criticism of the ambiguity of the wording of this document, the meaning attached to it by those who signed it is sufficiently clear. How many clergy could sign it in the same sense to-day?

We are far from imputing any special blame to Pusey, Denison, Wilberforce, Liddon, and the many good men who followed them. We must allow for the conditions of theological thought at the time, the comparative novelty of the views put forward, and a certain lack of tact and even of reverence in the way they were stated, but these considerations do not affect the fundamental fact. The opinions for the holding of which clergy were branded with every conceivable term of infamy fifty years ago are to-day accepted as a matter of course by the large proportion of educated Churchpeople. The contributors to *Essays and Reviews* were, on the whole, in the right; Pusey and his followers were wrong.

It may be convenient to say something here of the troubles connected with Jowett's position, since they were due in part to his share in *Essays and Reviews*. He had already become suspect on account of the line he had taken in his commentaries on Romans and other Epistles, and his *Essay on the Atonement*. At the time he held the Regius Professorship of Greek at Oxford, to which was attached the meagre stipend of 40*l*. The value of his work in this direction was fully recognised by the University, and tutors of every theological school were glad to avail themselves of his services by sending their pupils to his lectures. Not unreasonably the proposal was made to endow the chair with an adequate stipend. A vehement opposition arose on the ground that the theological opinions of the then Professor of Greek were unsound; it must in fairness be remembered that the University



was still a Church institution, and that all professors were required to teach nothing 'quod fidei Catholicae adversatur.' Pusey realised after a time that the opposition was 'liable to misconstruction,' and suggested a method by which the University should vote the increase without expressing any approval of Jowett's theological teaching. Even this proposal was negatived by the orthodox party, including Liddon, and the final result of a most unsavoury chapter was that, on Freeman's calling attention to a legal point hitherto overlooked, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church felt themselves obliged 'on grounds of general expediency' to grant a large increase to the Professor's salary out of their own incomes. Whilst all this was going on Heurtley, Pusey, and Ogilvie began a prosecution against Jowett for heresy in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, the grounds of the indictment being his teaching on the Atonement, Inspiration, and the relation of Creeds to Scripture. The usual legal and technical difficulties arose, and the prosecution was dropped. It is worth noticing that Pusey<sup>11</sup> speaks of Jowett without qualification as a 'sceptic,' and writes to Stanley<sup>12</sup>: 'I do not know what the common Christianity of myself and Professor Jowett is. I do not know what single truth we hold in common, except that somehow Jesus came from God, which the Mohammedans believe too.'

The generation to which *Essays and Reviews* belonged could hardly be expected to realise the lesson which is so clear to us. Almost at once the whole sorry story was in fact repeated in an even aggravated form in the Colenso controversy. In this case the cloud which rested on the bold critic was never removed during his lifetime; indeed, to many he is still the arch-heretic of modern days. The complications which confused the original issue were greater than ever, the condemnation and excommunication of the Bishop of Natal by Archbishop Gray, of Capetown, raising the whole question of the relation of an Archbishop to his Suffragans, and of a Colonial See to the Church of England and Canterbury. This side of the question, important though it is, does not concern us here. To us the essential point is the almost unanimous condemnation of Colenso's writings then, contrasted with the verdict we should pass upon them now. No doubt there is an unfortunate tone running through his books, and he failed to realise the offence necessarily caused when a bishop puts forward views which run counter to the orthodoxy of his day. His elaborate arithmetical calculations only raise a smile, and he laid himself open to attack by the candour with which he expressed the difficulties he felt in conscientiously using the services of the Prayer Book. They turned, however, not on any rejection of the essential truths

<sup>11</sup> *Life*, iv. p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65.



expressed in them, but on the assumption that the Prayer Book requires a belief in the literal historicity of every fact to which it refers. His scruples were with regard to the mention of the Deluge in the Baptismal Service, and the declaration of belief in Scripture required of Ordination candidates. Such difficulties have been to a large extent settled by tacit consent, and the fact is an eloquent witness to the changed view of the Bible now generally adopted. With regard, however, to his general position, we are bound to admit, as we admitted with *Essays and Reviews*, that it is now a commonplace. Those who doubt this may be referred to the extracts given by Mr. Cornish<sup>13</sup>; his summary<sup>14</sup> is fair: 'Colenso's attack on received opinion is not condoned; but if it came into question again, objection would be taken to the spirit and tone rather than the matter of, at any rate, his historical criticism.' Or, to quote the words of the present Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>15</sup> 'Looking back upon the controversy now . . . most critics who are at the pains to examine what it was that Dr. Colenso really said, will doubt whether to marvel more at the alarm his words aroused, or at the arguments employed in answer to them.' This is a long way removed from Liddon's view, who spoke of 'Colenso and others who are labouring to destroy and blot out the faith of Jesus Christ from the hearts of the English people.'<sup>16</sup>

The line taken by Colenso's opponents was intelligible and even excusable, in view of the prevailing conditions of thought, but we have a right to say that from first to last it opened up no prospect of success in the delicate task of disentangling truth from error.

We pass on to the *Lux Mundi* controversy at the end of the century. Here we find a real improvement in the method and temper of the opposition, but the general outline of events, and the moral they enforce, remain the same. The story is recent enough to be familiar at first-hand to many who read these pages. The book was, briefly, an attempt on the part of a group of Oxford friends 'to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems.' Grave objections were raised to the tendency of the *Essays* as a whole, but the brunt of the storm fell on the concluding pages of Dr. Gore's paper on *The Holy Spirit and Inspiration*. He did not, in fact, say more than had been said for some years past by scholars within the Church of England. The significance of the pronouncement was that it implied the acceptance of a moderate 'critical' position by the most influential of the younger High Churchmen. Dr. Gore

<sup>13</sup> *History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, ii. p. 246 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 248.

<sup>15</sup> *Life of Tait*, i. p. 354.

<sup>16</sup> *Life of Dean Stanley*, p. 364.



was then head of the Pusey House, and the other contributors one and all belonged to the same school. There was in this case no attempt to disclaim a common responsibility; the volume was 'the expression of a common mind, and a common hope.' To the older members of the school, voiced by Liddon, Gore's Essay came 'as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky.'<sup>17</sup> He realises rightly that between the position therein adopted and Pusey's 'there is nothing short of absolute contradiction.' It was 'practically a capitulation at the feet of the young Rationalistic Professors,' and he made some attempt to persuade the writer not to publish it. He regards the whole volume as having 'a naturalistic and Pelagianising tone.'<sup>18</sup> The language of Archdeacon Denison and others in Convocation was to the same effect, and, as a glance at the columns of the religious papers of the time will show, the alarm was shared by many, Evangelicals quite as much as High Churchmen. Dr. Gore remained, in fact, suspect for some years, and the feeling showed itself in the strong opposition to his nomination to the See of Worcester in 1901. The confirmation of the appointment was in fact opposed, as Hampden's and Temple's had been, and the legal points involved were threshed out in a long trial before the King's Bench, in which the Church Association appeared as prosecutors. The decision was once more in favour of the Bishop-elect. He has since then held two bishoprics with honour, and has recently been translated to a third, while nearly all the other contributors to *Lux Mundi* rose to influential positions in the Church. To many of the present generation the question is not whether we can go as far as the writers of *Lux Mundi*, but whether we can stop where they did.

We have dealt at some length with the three great controversies which turned mainly on Biblical criticism, but the tale is by no means complete. The list of attempts to repress supposed unorthodox opinions by the exercise of authority is a long one, and the moral of each attempt is monotonously the same.

Returning to the earlier years of the century, we are met by 'the Hampden controversy.' It will be remembered that great objection was taken to Hampden's nomination as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1836, on account of the heterodox views expressed in his Bampton Lectures and in his Moral Philosophy Lectures. It being found impossible to prevent the appointment, the displeasure of Churchmen found vent in a Statute passed by Convocation, inhibiting him from voting in the selection of University Preachers, on the ground that 'the University did not feel confidence in him in theological matters.' Pusey and Newman took a leading part in the opposition to

<sup>17</sup> *Life of H. P. Liddon*, by J. O. Johnston, p. 367.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 372.



Hampden, which was renewed with even greater bitterness on his appointment to the See of Hereford in 1847.

Now, very few read Hampden's books at the time, and fewer still understood them; it was questioned with some show of reason whether he understood them himself. We certainly cannot expect anyone to plough his way through them to-day, except for some historical purpose, and it is not necessary to do so in order to answer the question we would put. Should we to-day regard his 'heresy' as being of a nature to justify the measures taken to repress it? It is sufficient to quote the remarkable recantation made by Wilberforce, then Bishop of Oxford. He had at one time joined in the outcry, but subsequently announced publicly that having read the Lectures he had arrived at 'the conviction that they did not justly warrant those suspicions of unsoundness to which they had given rise, and which, so long as he trusted to selected passages, he himself shared.' Tait's verdict<sup>20</sup> is to the same effect, and Dean Church<sup>21</sup> clearly held that the recourse to 'persecution' was a grave mistake, for which those responsible had ultimately to pay a heavy penalty.

In 1853, on the motion of Bishop Blomfield, of London, F. D. Maurice was deprived of his Professorship at King's College. A resolution was passed to the effect that his opinions on the subject of Eternal Punishment were 'of dangerous tendency, and calculated to unsettle the minds of the theological students.' The feeling roused on both sides was very bitter, but the judgment of the present generation is sufficiently decisive. In the words of the late Bishop Collins, of Gibraltar, whose loyalty to the Church and the Faith will hardly be questioned, 'it is hard to realise that a man could ever have been expelled from such a position for holding doctrine which is in no sense whatever contrary to the faith.'<sup>22</sup> 'During the greater part of his own lifetime, although greatly trusted and revered by an ever-widening circle of friends, he was about the most generally hated of all men in the religious world at large. To-day there are few names that are more generally honoured amongst us than his.'<sup>23</sup>

The verdict applies equally to the case of his friend and disciple, Charles Kingsley. On the publication of *Yeast* in 1851 he was accused in the *Guardian*, by a reviewer of high standing, of 'heresy,' and of 'encouraging profligacy, of despising doctrines consecrated by the faith of ages . . . if they tend to check the wildest speculations of the intellect, or restrain the most entire indulgence of the passions.'<sup>24</sup> When *Two Years Ago* appeared,

<sup>19</sup> Pusey, iii. p. 162.

<sup>20</sup> *Life*, i. p. 133.

<sup>21</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, ch. ix.

<sup>22</sup> In *Typical English Churchmen*, p. 356.

<sup>24</sup> *Letters and Memories*, i. p. 224.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 328.



the religious Press charged him with Pantheism and Rationalism.<sup>25</sup> *Hypatia* cost him his D.C.L. degree at Oxford in 1863. Though his name had the approval of the Prince of Wales, he was opposed by Dr. Pusey on the ground that *Hypatia* was 'an immoral book,' and calculated to encourage young men in profligacy and false doctrine.

Yet another illustration is found in the career of Dean Stanley. Canon Wordsworth published a long and vehement protest<sup>26</sup> against his appointment to Westminster in 1863, on account of the unorthodox nature of his views, especially on the Old Testament. When he argued in Convocation against the use of the Athanasian Creed, his attitude was branded as being 'scarcely reconcilable with the most fundamental principles of morality.'<sup>27</sup> He was warned that if he had conducted himself 'in the service of an earthly sovereign with like profligacy' he 'would inevitably have been tried by court-martial and shot.' His offence was graver than that of 'the tutor who corrupts his pupil's mind, or the trustee who robs the widow and the orphan of their property.' His nomination as Select Preacher at Oxford was bitterly opposed, and only carried by 349 votes to 287, and Dean Goulburn removed his own name from the list of preachers as a protest against 'the unfaithfulness to the truth of God' manifested by the decision.<sup>28</sup>

It need hardly be pointed out that our survey could be almost indefinitely extended, if, still confining ourselves to the nineteenth century, we were to include other countries than England, or other denominations beside the Established Church. We can only refer in passing to such cases as the removal in 1857 of Samuel Davidson from his Professorship in Manchester Independent College, mainly on account of his rejection of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch, or the still more famous trial and expulsion of W. Robertson Smith from the Free Church College of Aberdeen in 1881 on the ground of his Biblical articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; his writings are now the text-books of a quite moderate and orthodox criticism. In the matter of the repression of unpopular opinions by authority, there are few religious bodies which can fairly cast stones at their neighbours.

Or again, if space permitted, we might confirm our argument by referring to cases such as those of F. W. Robertson, Farrar's *Eternal Punishment*, or Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, where, though no repressive action was actually taken, the theological point of view of to-day unmistakably endorses what was once the unpopular side. But enough has been said of the failure of 'persecution' in its attempt to check the growth of 'liberal' opinions. We

<sup>25</sup> *Letters and Memories*, ii. p. 57. *Ibid.* p. 159. <sup>26</sup> *Life of Tait*, i. p. 516.

<sup>27</sup> *Life*, p. 387.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 388.



must now consider whether it has been more successful when applied to other schools of thought.

The 'persecutions' from which the Tractarians and their successors suffered in their turn are sufficiently well known. As we are dealing here with questions of belief and doctrine, we need say nothing of the numerous prosecutions for ritual which marked the latter half of the century, except to point out that on the whole they confirm our thesis. They have evoked a grave distrust of all such methods of repression, except as a very last resort; they tend to encourage the very things they attempt to check, and it is a simple matter of history that a ceremonial which seems highly objectionable at one period is often accepted as a matter of course in the next. At the same time, it may be pointed out that outward acts can in fact be regulated by law in a way in which inner beliefs cannot.

There are, however, certain incidents of the Oxford Movement more directly connected with our main issue, and to them a brief reference must be made. The language used with regard to Tract XC., and all that it stood for, by the one party is no whit saner than that used about Liberalism by the other. The weapons which had been employed against Hampden were readily turned against the Tractarians. The Tract was furiously attacked in Convocation and elsewhere, and Ward, the author of *The Ideal Church*, was censured and deprived of his degree. We cannot do better than quote the words of one <sup>29</sup> who, though he certainly had no prejudice in favour of the doctrines attacked, yet always stood out consistently as an advocate of toleration :

The more I reflect upon it, the more simply shocking is the impression left. A mob of 1200 persons assuming judicial functions, after the most solemn warnings of their incompetency, on a question which it is quite impossible they can have studied . . . The great mass, I suppose, voted on both sides with their party, the Puseyite side voting for Ward, as they would vote against Whateley or had voted against Hampden; the others, as they had voted, and will vote, against any one who breaks in on the established usage.

Of the real issue raised by Tract XC., Mr. Cornish <sup>30</sup> points out fairly enough that the principle of comprehension which it contained, 'enlarged and applied to other forms of belief than the Roman, is now accepted by men of all parties in the Church, and has had momentous issues.'

The strongest Evangelical would hardly defend the suspension of Dr. Pusey for his *Sermon on the Eucharist* by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford and his 'Star Chamber' court. Apart from the unfairness of the procedure employed, the condemnation only

<sup>29</sup> Stanley, *Life*, p. 179.

<sup>30</sup> *History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, i. p. 293.



strengthened Pusey's position, and encouraged the teaching censured, while the sermon itself would be generally recognised to-day as a fair and moderate statement of the High Church view of the subject. Those who could not themselves accept it would acknowledge that it has its claim to be heard in the Church of England. The same considerations held good with regard to the prosecutions instituted against Archdeacon Denison in 1855, and Mr. Bennett in 1869, also for supposed heretical teaching on the Eucharist. In each case the defendant was condemned by the Ecclesiastical Court, but the judgment was reversed by the Privy Council. In Denison's case the decision turned on a purely legal point, and no opinion was expressed as to the legitimacy of the doctrine impugned. But Bennett's language was on the whole allowed, as not clearly contradicting the Articles. His words were censured as rash, and perilously near a violation of the law, but since the proceedings were penal, the defendant was given the benefit of the doubt. Probably the majority of those who are still opposed to the sacramental teaching in question would admit that the success of either prosecution would have been a disaster to the Church.

Many High Churchmen would in their turn be ready to make the same admission with regard to what used to be called 'the notorious Gorham case.' Here it was Evangelical doctrine which was attacked. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, in 1847 refused to institute Mr. Gorham to a living, to which he had been presented by the Lord Chancellor, on account of his lax views on Baptismal Regeneration. Again we find the Ecclesiastical Court condemning the heresy, and the Privy Council reversing the decision. At the time the judgment created the greatest alarm, and was widely regarded as the death-blow of the Church of England; amongst its immediate results was the secession of Manning to Rome. But we can now see clearly that any other verdict would have made it impossible for the Evangelical party to retain its place in the Church of England. Pusey himself, who in fact deprecated the whole proceedings, had written <sup>31</sup> with reference to the controversy on Tract XC., 'We are content (and I think rightly) to allow our formularies to be construed laxly (I have no doubt contrary to the meaning of their writers). Were *e.g.* the strict meaning of the Baptismal Service enforced at once, how many valuable persons would forsake the Church! In the imperfect state in which we are, they are to be patiently borne with.' Or again, he writes to Dr. Hook, <sup>32</sup> 'We cannot afford to part with the Evangelicals as a body, nor all who at present deny Baptismal Regeneration.'

We need not, in fact, express any opinion as to the ultimate

<sup>31</sup> *Life of Pusey* ii. p. 172.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. 230.



truth of the doctrine in question. It is sufficient to point out that it is not yet universally held by all clergy, and that few to-day would wish to exclude from the ministry those who reject it, or would, like Phillpotts, consider it a sin to hold communion with them. It is hardly, in fact, a burning issue to-day, and we no longer think that a clergyman's usefulness depends on his attitude towards a somewhat technical theological doctrine which admits of being stated in very various ways.

It may be well to emphasise here the debt which the Church of England owes to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In theory its jurisdiction and composition in spiritual cases may be open to question, but in practice the three great decisions we have considered have rendered incalculable service to the Church. In the Gorham case it vindicated the position of the Evangelical party; in the Bennett case it did the same for the High Churchman, and in the *Essays and Reviews* case for the Broad, or Liberal, school of thought. And in each instance the lay court was right, where the purely ecclesiastical court had been wrong.

## II

The length of our historical review needs perhaps some apology, but it has been inevitable, since the strength of our argument depends on the large number of the examples we have quoted, and on the very monotony with which they enforce the same moral. We may now proceed to summarise our conclusions.

(1) The advanced 'unorthodox' views of one generation often become the accepted orthodoxy of the next. It is quite true there is chaff mingled with the wheat. The theories of no single school or writer are accepted in their entirety, nor are they admitted universally. But they come in time to be recognised as legitimate. The denial of verbal Inspiration, the right to interpret the Bible 'like any other book,' the questioning of the strict accuracy of some of its historical statements, the rationalising of some of its miracles, the recognition of the place of myth and allegory, the rejection of traditional views of the Atonement, or Eternal Punishment or Hell, the attempt to restate the Incarnation in terms of modern thought—modes of thought such as these are the commonplace of every theological student to-day. Even those who still fight against them would hardly urge that a clergyman who adopts them is bound to resign his orders. Yet, as we have seen, this was the cry with regard to each of these theories when it first came into prominence. They were regarded as the cloak for rank infidelity; the very foundations of Christianity and religion were being undermined. Bishop Wilberforce<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in *Life of Tait*, i. p. 279, n. 3.



could speak in a charge delivered only fifty years ago of men being in danger of being 'robbed unawares of the very foundations of the Faith' if they should be persuaded to 'accept allegorically, or as parable, or poetry, or legend, the story of a serpent tempter, or of an ass speaking with man's voice, of an arresting of the earth's motion, or of a reversal of its motion.' Such language was not confined to violent partisans or hack scribblers; it expressed, as we have seen, the sincere belief of many of the best and holiest men of the day. Nothing is more startling than to find how often those whom we reverence with good cause as 'saints' were hopelessly mistaken in the judgment they formed on such matters. The fact that a Pusey can speak of a Temple as 'responsible for the ruin of countless souls' has a significance which we dare not ignore.

On the other side, men who in their time were violently attacked as heretics and infidels not only won their way to high position in the Church, but are now recognised as among the great religious leaders of the last century. What would have been the position of the Church of England to-day if success had attended the attempt to silence or expel such thinkers as Arnold, Temple, Jowett, Pattison, Stanley, Kingsley, Maurice, F. W. Robertson, Farrar, or Gore? The list is an impressive one, and it makes us pause. If mistakes had been made merely with one or two, they might be explained away; but they have happened too often to be accidental. They confirm the well-known law that new aspects of truth cannot be recognised by the generation in which they arise. Those who belong to the old school, in their anxiety to reject the dross, throw away the gold. They slay the prophets, and their successors build their sepulchres and value their teaching. We are not, therefore, entitled to assume that what is new is always true, but we are taught unmistakably the need of a wise caution and suspension of judgment lest haply we be found, as the Church in the past has too often been found, 'to be fighting against God.'

(2) We learn further to have a profound distrust of every method of repression by authority. What a sorry story it all is, as one reads it in the biographies or histories of the nineteenth century. The Church as a whole was never going the right way to get at the truth. It is not that wrong methods of repression were tried, but that the whole principle was fundamentally mistaken. For we ring the changes on every conceivable method—condemnation by Hebdomadal Boards or Vice-Chancellor's court, Congregation or Convocation, Pastorals of individual Bishops or joint Episcopal pronouncements, resolutions by the Convocations of the Church, trials before ecclesiastical or civil courts, with varying penalties, suggested or actually applied, of moral censure,



suspension, deprivation of office, or excommunication. We feel dissatisfied with them, one and all. The whole procedure raised the bitterest passions, brought the Church and religion into contempt, and more often than not<sup>34</sup> led to decisions which became the laughing-stock of future generations. Dr. Liddon's words are worth quoting in this connexion :<sup>35</sup>

It is curious to note Pusey's prescience in thus early deprecating those Episcopal declarations which at intervals in the controversies of the next forty years may be fairly charged with having been injurious to the true interests of the Church. While committing nobody, much less the Church itself, they seemed to lay claim to high authority, yet really only expressed the feelings of alarm at moments of agitation.

The reference is presumably mainly to anti-Tractarian pronouncements, and we wonder that neither Pusey nor Liddon realised that the principle had a wider application.

Still more remarkable is Dean Church's summary,<sup>36</sup> *à propos* of the Hampden case, of the effects of persecution, by which he means any repressive policy applied to religious opinions :

No one can help observing in the course of events the strange way in which in almost all cases 'the wheel comes full circle.' *Δράσαντι παθεῖν—Chi la fa, l'aspetti*, are some of the expressions of Greek awe and Italian shrewdness, representing the experience of the world on this subject, on a large scale and small. Protestants and Catholics, Churchmen and Nonconformists, have all in their turn made full proof of what seems like a law of action and reaction. Except in cases beyond debate, cases where no justification is possible, the note of failure is upon this method of repression. Providence, by the visible Nemesis, which it seems always to bring round, by the regularity with which it has enforced the rule that infliction and suffering are bound together, and in time duly change places, seems certainly and clearly to have declared against it. It may be that no innovating party has a right to complain of persecution; but the question is not for them. It is for those who have the power, and who are tempted to think that they have the call, to persecute. It is for them to consider whether it is right, or wise, or useful for their cause; whether it is agreeable to what seems the leading of Providence to have recourse to it.

The whole principle, then, is wrong. For it is an attempt to meet criticism by authority instead of by argument. And in the controversies we have been considering, when argument was employed, it was argument on a false basis. For it centred round the interpretation of formularies and Articles. Did they or did they not permit the doctrine impugned? It did not appear to be the business of the Church to consider whether a thing was true,

<sup>34</sup> We have already called attention to the remarkable exceptions in some of the decisions of the Privy Council.

<sup>35</sup> *Life of Pusey*, ii. p. 277.

<sup>36</sup> *The Oxford Movement*, p. 176.



but simply whether it could be brought within the four corners of certain formulæ drawn from past centuries. No doubt it is a matter of real importance to ask whether a new point of view can be reconciled with the spirit, if not with the letter, of traditional beliefs. But except to those who believe that all religious truth has been revealed once for all in the past, and that the formulæ in which it is embodied are inspired and infallible, this question is subsidiary. The main point is whether the statement or doctrine is true in itself. If a theory put forward on critical grounds is wrong, it must be shown to be so by critical arguments. Here we reach the centre of the position for which we are contending. To put it in concrete form, if Mr. Thompson's book contains bad criticism, it must be refuted by better criticism. This is the only answer which will appeal for a moment to the educated minds of to-day. They will regard Episcopal, or other, censures, based merely on authority or the supposed voice of tradition, as confessions of weakness. Those who cry out for strong measures should ask themselves whether a single clergyman or layman who may be inclined to doubt the Virgin Birth will be brought one whit nearer belief by an Episcopal condemnation of Mr. Thompson's book, and whether such an 'answer' will prevent any young ordinand doubting it in the future. The actual result can only be to induce the temper of mind, voiced by Kingsley in a letter to Maurice, 'if you are condemned for these "opinions," I shall, and must *therefore* avow them.'<sup>37</sup>

Many may deplore this attitude towards authority; but there can be no question of its prevalence. And it may fairly claim to be based on the accumulated lessons derived from the controversies of the nineteenth century.

### III

We have postponed the question raised by Creeds and formularies as subsidiary, not primary. None the less it is of real importance, and requires consideration. Many will admit the cogency of the point of view for which we have been pleading. They do not desire to exclude from the ministry of the Church the advanced thinker, but they do not see how it can be consistent with honesty for him to retain office when he can apparently no longer assent to formularies which he has solemnly sworn to believe, or which 'he is paid to teach.' The answer must be that the whole thing is a question of degree. There is probably not a single clergyman who subscribes to Articles and Creeds in their plain, grammatical sense. Adhesion to the XXXIX. Articles is now of the loosest description. They are as a whole seldom taken

<sup>37</sup> *Letters*, i. p. 296.



seriously, though some one of them may be from time to time appealed to for polemical purposes. Does the ordinary clergyman while preparing his sermon, does the theological thinker, trouble himself, except perhaps as an afterthought, as to whether his doctrine is entirely consistent with them? And does it really matter much whether he does so or not?

Or with regard to the Apostles' Creed, are all its clauses now taken in their straightforward sense, the sense intended by those first responsible for them, and attached to them by the Church during the greater part of its history? Do evolutionists mean by 'Creator of Heaven and Earth' precisely what the believer in creation by special fiat intended? Most of us 'spiritualise' clauses such as 'descended into Hell,' 'ascended into Heaven,' 'sitteth on the right hand of God,' 'shall come to judge the quick and the dead,' in a way which would call forth the strongest protests from bygone generations. It is usually regarded as sufficient, if by the 'Resurrection of the body' (or *flesh* in the question asked of Baptismal candidates) we mean the real survival of personality. In such cases we say it is enough if we believe the spiritual facts symbolised by the words. Is it then dishonest to apply the same principle of interpretation to 'born of the Virgin Mary' or 'the third day He rose again from the dead'? The essential truths behind these words are the real and sinless manhood of Christ, His unique Sonship of God, and the active spiritual life on which He entered after death. Those in the Church of England who deny the Virgin Birth, or the physical Resurrection, believe these truths firmly, and claim that the spiritual truth stands out all the clearer for the denial of the miracle. Without endorsing this position, we may admit that it is both intelligible and honest. And if it is supposed to be a question of 'putting an unnatural gloss on plain words,' or 'twisting them from their historical meaning,' we are bound to ask whether the 'higher critic' is a greater offender in this respect than the orthodox defenders of the Athanasian Creed. We know the glosses put upon 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith, which Faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly'; 'He therefore that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity'; 'This is the Catholic Faith which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved.' These glosses may be legitimate, and inevitable if the Creed is to be retained. But at least they take a good deal of explaining. No layman could accept them as the plain *prima facie* meaning of the words, and they are a long way removed from the sense attached to the clauses by the first compilers of the Creed. It should be remembered that, so far as strictness of subscription goes, the Athanasian Creed is



exactly on the same level as the other Creeds. And if it is a question of the importance of the doctrines involved, it is obvious that if the 'damnatory clauses' are true in anything like their literal sense, they express a fact which has a most direct and vital bearing on the eternal future of every individual. In view, then, of the interpretation, authorised by the highest authority, which is now put upon these phrases of a Creed, are we not bound to ask ourselves in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'whether our objection is to non-natural senses in general, or is *only felt when the sense favoured is the one opposed to our own inclinations*'? <sup>33</sup>

These considerations are more than vulgar *ad hominem* arguments. They suggest that the question of subscription to Articles and Creeds is by no means so simple as the layman sometimes assumes. A method of interpretation which would unfrock almost every bishop and clergyman can hardly be the right one to apply. The liberty which the 'higher critic' claims is no new thing; it is only an extension of a principle universally recognised in practice, if not in theory.

It may be pointed out that the claim for such an extension is particularly strong in the case of the Biblical critic. For the questions raised by the growth of Biblical criticism are to all intents and purposes new. They are new in the sense that they have taken an entirely new form in the light of modern investigations and discoveries. They were not, in their present shape, before the minds of those responsible for our formularies. The Church as a whole has never faced them, or come to a final decision upon them. It is therefore unreasonable to expect to find a final answer to these problems in formulæ which belong to ages when they were entirely unknown. And here we come to a very important distinction between the claims for toleration made by Liberals and those made by an extreme 'Romanising' party. Whether wisely or not, our Prayer Book and Articles were deliberately drawn up in such a way as to differentiate between the Anglican and Roman Churches. It may be a legitimate matter of discussion precisely where the line is drawn; there is no doubt that a line was intended to be drawn somewhere. The question was deliberately faced when our formularies were compiled, and in essentials no new facts or fresh aspects have arisen since those days. In practice, and as a matter of policy, we should probably be wise in allowing to the advanced men of the High Church school the greatest possible toleration. But the fact remains that if our formularies are used to exclude 'Romanising' doctrine, they are being used for one of the very purposes for which they were intended. On the other hand, when we apply them to the

<sup>33</sup> *Life*, by Morley, i. p. 799.



difficulties raised by Higher Criticism and Liberal thought, we are making them the test of problems which they were never meant to cover.

It is indeed sufficiently clear from what has been said that the whole position with regard to 'subscription' is unsatisfactory; it is, in fact, over-ripe for treatment. Creeds have a very real place in religion; they witness to the continuity of religious experience, to the identity of the inner faith in God, Christ, and the Spirit, which lies behind the changing analyses and explanations of that faith, worked out by theology. But there are many who are asking themselves whether we are wise in continuing to use them as 'tests.' The question is a difficult one, and can only be referred to in passing.<sup>39</sup> But the fact that it is being seriously raised is an added justification for our contention that, so long as tests remain, they must be applied in as broad a spirit as possible. If we insist, as it may be necessary that we should insist, on using formularies which embody the language of past modes of thought, it is clear that we must not interpret them with the precision of an Act of Parliament. This is in fact the effect of the new formula of subscription introduced in 1865, which substitutes a *general* assent to the Prayer Book and the Doctrine of the Church of England for 'an unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything' within the Prayer Book, and to 'all and every one of the Articles.'

I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.

This formula suggests the sort of limits which we can set to freedom of thought within the Church of England. They may be illustrated by the prosecution and deprivation of Mr. Voysey in 1870, a case to which we did not refer in our review. He denied that Christ made *any* atonement for sin, asserted that He was *no more* God than we men are; that His worship is idolatry, and that the very idea of the Incarnation takes its rise in unbelief, and springs out of absolute infidelity.<sup>40</sup> Here we have an example not of an attempt to restate or re-interpret doctrines, but of a clear rejection of Christianity as a whole. It can very seldom happen that a man holding opinions such as these would wish to retain his Orders in the Church of England. If he insists on doing so, there must presumably be some authority to which appeal can be

<sup>39</sup> A very suggestive treatment of the whole subject will be found in Denney's *Jesus and the Gospel*, pp. 390 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Life of Tait*, ii. p. 89.



made in the last resort. But it cannot fairly be argued that his case is in any way typical of those who to-day hold 'Liberal' opinions; they are sincerely Christian in heart and belief, and opinions; they are sincerely Christian in heart and belief, and claim, whether rightly or wrongly, to be doing no more than re- interpreting and purifying the essential faith of the Church. We may insist that the clergyman should be a sincere follower and worshipper of Jesus Christ, and should accept the general position of the Church to which he belongs, in its broad outline. The rest may be left to the individual conscience.<sup>41</sup>

#### IV

It may be urged then that while history enforces the lesson of the wisdom of toleration, its legitimacy is tacitly admitted by the practical attitude of the Church of England with regard to its formularies. Perhaps at no period has a patient suspension of judgment been more imperatively needed than it is now. It is a commonplace to speak of this age as one of transition in religious, as in other matters. But probably only those who have some considerable first-hand acquaintance with modern Biblical studies and theological thought generally, both within the Church of England and outside it, can realise how true and far-reaching in its consequences the statement is. Our whole outlook on theology and religion is changing. We are familiar with critical views of the Bible, and new theories of the dates and authorship of its books, or with attempts to restate such doctrines as Inspiration, the Atonement, or the Incarnation. But it seems probable that we have only reached the preliminary stage. We are already face to face with new problems of the origin of Christianity from the standpoint of comparative religion, and its relation to other faiths of the world. The widely recognised distinction between Religion and Theology, drawn by such writers as Father Tyrrell, really carries with it a new *Weltanschauung*. We are fully justified in believing that, come what may, not only religion, but the religion of Christ will emerge purified and strengthened. But we have no guarantee of the permanence or vitality of any particular Church. That will largely depend on its readiness to adapt itself to the new modes of thought, or if you will, to restate the old truths in such a way as to vindicate their claim to validity in the light of the new learning. If this is to be done, we need a cultivated and thoughtful body of clergy, deserving and winning the confidence of the educated laity. Mere appeals to walk in the old paths will be fruitless. The accredited teachers of the Church must have a first-hand acquaintance with modern thought, must sympathise

<sup>41</sup> On this side of the question, see Henson's *Liberty of Prophesying*, ch. ii. iii.



with it, and be prepared gradually to sift the true from the false. In the process mistakes must needs be made; they are inevitable in a period of transition; but it will be better for us to suffer a few heterodox teachers within our ranks, leaving time and truth to bring the corrective, than to fetter our students from the outset by telling them that they must at their peril make their conclusions tally with the old traditional views. In Temple's emphatic words to Tait,<sup>42</sup> 'Such a study [*sc.* the critical study of the Bible], so full of difficulties, imperatively demands freedom for its condition. To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties, come to the same conclusions with those who have not studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded.' Premature decisions on complicated questions, such as those connected with miracles, can only mean that the Church will be forced once more into the undignified position of having to acknowledge as legitimate points of view which a generation before it has condemned as heretical.

And here a personal note must be struck, respectfully, but clearly. The younger clergy have surely a right to look for support from the survivors of the honoured band of *Lux Mundi* writers. We owe them much, and we gratefully acknowledge our debt, not only for their actual teaching, but for the encouragement they gave to study, and for their vindication of the right of a certain amount of unfettered criticism within the Church of England. To them is due much of the progress which has hitherto been made by the clergy in Biblical studies. But can they expect criticism to remain precisely where they left it a generation ago? They themselves felt driven to move a stage beyond that which had contented their predecessors. Is it not reasonable that a younger school should in its turn claim the right to a further advance? Have they set a final limit which criticism cannot cross without ceasing to be reverent and Christian? It is striking to notice the astonishment, and even the indignation, of many of the laity, when they are reminded that the Bishop who has withdrawn Mr. Thompson's licence was himself a writer in *Lux Mundi*, and that among the foremost supporters of his action are some of his fellow-contributors and even Dr. Gore himself.

The fact is that from one point of view, and from one point of view alone, the Conservatives of the last century were right. They were right when they spoke about the thin end of the wedge. Once the Church surrendered the traditional view of verbal inspiration, once it allowed a single historical statement or miracle of the Bible to be questioned, or admitted the possibility of mistakes and contradictions, it became impossible to say *a priori* where the pro-

<sup>42</sup> *Life of Tait*, i. p. 291. See also a striking letter from Westcott in *Life of Stanley*, p. 302.



cess would stop. It abandoned a hard-and-fast theory in favour of facts—and it must now follow where the facts lead it. Where can the line logically be drawn? Nearly all responsible teachers of the Church would now deny the historicity of the Creation or Deluge narratives, and 'rationalise' the ass speaking, or the sun standing still; many would tacitly, perhaps almost unconsciously, apply the same principles to the large majority of Old Testament miracles. Some do so to a few of the miracles of the New Testament, such as the coin in the fish's mouth, the opening of the tombs at the time of the Crucifixion, or the earthquake at the Resurrection. A Bishop<sup>43</sup> can question stories such as these; the Dean of St. Paul's<sup>44</sup> can doubt the historical character of the Fourth Gospel. A smaller, but important, section is extending the principle to most, if not all, of the miracles of the New Testament. We have allowed criticism to have its say, and we must now await its verdict. Nor let us be unduly alarmed at the position in which we find ourselves. It does not in the least follow that because one miracle may have gone, all the rest must follow in its wake. It may turn out to be quite possible to distinguish between one miracle and another. But if it is so, it will be not on the strength of *a priori* theories, or traditional authority, but in reliance on criticism itself, perhaps more broadly based in the future than it may have been in the past. If we are to reject one page of the Bible and accept the next as historical fact, it can only be because the critical and historical arguments justify us in doing so. Faith and the religious consciousness are indeed supreme in their own sphere, but they cannot claim to treat certain points of the Bible story as settled beyond discussion, and by setting up a fence of traditional authority establish a preserve into which criticism may not enter. And the real Christian need surely have no anxiety as to the final outcome of the most unfettered inquiry. He believes that the religion of Christ cannot die; he should believe also that because it lives it must have within it the principle of growth. Theology, which is the analysis of the revelation of Christ and of Christian experience, can never be final and absolute. 'Whole regions of Christian thought,' wrote Bishop Westcott<sup>45</sup> thirty years ago, 'as we cannot but believe, are as yet unexplored.' To find an unalterable standard of doctrine only in a distant past, and to refuse to recognise a deeper insight in the thought of the present, is a denial of the continued activity of the Spirit of God. Pusey and his school always assumed that what they called 'Rationalism' was the working of *unaided* human reason. The

<sup>43</sup> See Chase in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 390.

<sup>44</sup> *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Lessons from Work*, p. 67.



sting, as so often, lies in the adjective, which in fact begs the whole question. What if those who, whatever some may think of their conclusions, are admittedly devoting their best energies to a reverent study of the Bible, and a sincere search for truth, are after all not without some measure of the Light which lighteth every man?

We may sum up our contentions in the following propositions:

(1) The experience of history proves that a policy of repression by authority is always a mistaken policy. Even if we are convinced that the new views are wrong, it is wisest to bear with them patiently and answer them only by argument. Toleration does not imply approval.

(2) The principles on which our formularies are already interpreted in practice ought to admit of a real liberty of criticism within the Church of England.

(3) Those who have been pioneers in the past, and have encouraged the younger generation to study, should be the first to sympathise with those who press forward on a path where they cannot themselves follow them.

(4) The ferment of present-day thought, in religious as in other matters, demands a wise suspension of judgment.

(5) Our view of truth is dynamic, not static. Our insight into the meaning of the Christian revelation grows continually. We believe in the Holy Ghost, Who not only spake by the Prophets, but in accordance with the promise of Christ reveals to each age of the Church aspects of truth which it could not bear before.

CYRIL W. EMMET.



## WHEN FLORENCE WAS THE CAPITAL

It had always been the wish of my heart to go to Italy, and when my husband was named Minister to the post of Florence, at that time a most interesting one, we were both delighted.

As during that summer of 1867 the cholera was devastating Europe, I took my children, household and all worldly belongings by 'long sea' from Lisbon to Leghorn, whilst my husband went to England to kiss hands on his new appointment. When I arrived at Leghorn I found everybody paralysed with terror. The Italians are a very emotional race, and in those days the Government had not learnt to keep things that might affect the public mind out of the papers.

Everybody was talking of a party which Prince Doria had just given, at his lovely Villa of Albano, to the cream of Roman Society, and whilst his guests were chatting on the Terrace some of them observed the so much feared blue mists creeping up towards them out of the Campagna. The next day a number of them, Princes and Princesses, Dukes and Cardinals, were dead! At that time disinfectants and precautionary measures were unknown in Italy, and nothing was done to mitigate the evil; the poorer classes especially were mad with terror.

I retired with my children to the Baths of Lucca till the great heat was over. The whole place still bore the stamp of Byron's and Shelley's days. It had long ceased being the fashionable resort it once was in the thirties and forties, and the only diversions were the weekly receptions of Princess Corsini, the greatest lady in Tuscany, at her Palace in the Piazza, of the part of the Bagni called 'the Villa.'

I was taken to see her by a mutual friend, and though the wife of any Minister accredited to King Victor Emmanuel must have been abhorrent to her, she was most amiable to me, and we became in future the fastest friends. I was ushered through a long suite of rooms into the one in which the Princess sat enthroned in a gilt chair in the midst of her devotees. The room was quite bare like those we had come through, but the walls were hung with a sumptuous damask. The guests were seated on smaller gilt chairs than the one the Princess occupied, the chairs



were disposed in a circle, and everybody took their place according to their rank.

The Princess addressed her visitors with great dignity; she was a frail little woman, covered with jewels like a Madonna. The Prince, with a yellow silk wig and nankin trousers, stood about, throwing in a word here and there. They had shortly before lost their only son, heir to their immense fortune, at the age of nineteen, just as he was going to be married to one of the daughters of Queen Christina of Spain. They were the type of what was then called in Florence the 'Codini aristocracy.' They clung to their Grand Duke, and Victor Emmanuel was only King of Sardinia to them.

When I first went to Florence there were a great many of the old families who would not go to Court, if a Court could be said to exist at that time. King Victor Emmanuel, when he was not chasing the steinbock or the chamois on his beloved mountains, used to drop down to his capital for a day or two only to see his Ministers and then disappear again. Once or twice during the winter months he gave a ball at the Pitti Palace. He loathed these functions, and stood for the short time he remained at them on a kind of daïs at the end of the room, surrounded by his staff, scowling, or rather glaring, at the dancers.

Such was the crowd at these balls—for it must not be forgotten that Italy is a democratic country—that a space had to be roped off in front of the daïs. Within this space, on the right, chairs were placed for the diplomatic corps, and on the left the Knights of the Annunciata and their wives and other great Italian functionaries were seated. Every now and then the King sent messages to the ladies within the ropes to dance before him. Many of them were old and portly and had not danced for twenty years. Outside the ropes the crush was indescribable.

Being filled with a thirst for information and a spirit of enterprise, I insisted, at the first ball, upon leaving the protection of the ropes to inspect the other rooms and galleries of the far-famed Pitti Palace. I was told that it was an impossible undertaking, that no lady had done it before; but I remained firm, and four gentlemen volunteered to accompany me. I took the arm of the Duc de Rivaz, at that time Spanish Minister at Florence; he was a poet of no mean order, the very best type of a high-born Spaniard, dignified, silent, most courteous, tall, pale and red-haired like a portrait by Velasquez. A Neapolitan senator, full of fun and go, carried my train, and two other gentlemen went, one before me and the other to protect me on my right. I laughed at first at all these precautions, but saw very soon that they were by no means exaggerated, for the moment we got into the surging



crowd beyond the ropes, I should certainly have had my dress torn off me, as well as my jewels and laces, and it was only by main force that we got into another room, where it was easier to move.

Italy being so democratic, the guests at these balls consisted of every class of people, mostly men. I saw some in coloured ties and trousers, some in jackets and hobnailed boots, women in the most impossible attire, with striped blankets over their shoulders in guise of a shawl. Some wore mittens, and a camelia in their hair seemed to be the only effort at any kind of ornament which they had made. It was impossible even to approach the room in which the refreshments were, for a free-fight went on there all the time. I was told that the knives and forks were chained to the buffet, and that many who left had the necks of bottles sticking out of their coat-pockets. King Victor Emmanuel was a very generous Sovereign and whatever he did, he did splendidly, and his famished subjects were grateful. There was no lady at the Court, which was a purely military one, and so things went on merrily and without any restrictions. I may here mention that the King's civil list was a far larger one than Queen Victoria's, though Italy is a much poorer country than England. I believe it is the case that the more democratic a country is, the more they spend on their Government.

When I returned to the ballroom it suddenly occurred to me that I ought to be presented to the King, so I asked the Marchese Gualterio, Minister of the King's House, to proffer my request to his Majesty. I thought he looked rather embarrassed, but as I believed I was only doing the usual and right thing, I took no notice. After a while the Marchese returned with this message: 'His Majesty will be delighted to make your acquaintance, but not here, as it would entail his making the acquaintance of the other ladies of the diplomatic corps, and he does not feel equal to that. Will you go and see him to-morrow morning at ten o'clock; Sir Augustus is to accompany you.'

Punctually at twelve o'clock the King, followed by his suite, retired from his daïs, which he had never once left, the ropes were withdrawn, and to my utter astonishment every diplomat seized hold of his wife or daughter and, taking them under their arms, they rushed down, helter-skelter, a small backstairs to the court where their carriages were standing, before the crowd streaming down the great staircase could block the way.

The next morning at ten o'clock I was sitting on a divan in a room in the Pitti Palace waiting till the Council of Ministers should be over. It was a well-known thing that the King, whenever he received ladies, always appointed ten o'clock, but they were not often ladies who belonged to what is called society, nor



were they ever accompanied by their husbands, if they had any; it was therefore not to be wondered at that when the door of the council chamber opened and one Minister came out after another they stopped breathless with astonishment at seeing us seated there. We were immediately ushered into the King's presence. He was sitting at the head of a long green table and made us sit down at each side of him. He at once began to explain why he had asked me to come to him instead of making my acquaintance the night before. He said that all those ladies intimidated him, and as for the old and plain ones (with a grimace) really it was *plus fort que lui*, he could not do it. He rolled his eyes, which were blue and rather bloodshot, and rumbled his hair all the time he spoke. His hair had originally been red, but he now dyed it black, because it was turning grey. He also had a huge black moustache and Imperial, his face was red and he was stout, but looked strong and healthy. He was dressed in some loose garments all made of black broadcloth, and I noticed how little white there was about his thickset, short neck, from which hung a wide black silk tie.

Everybody knows the fascination the 'Re Galantuomo' exercised over those who approached him in those days. His genial address, his generosity, kind-heartedness and mother-wit won all hearts. What did it matter that his private life was not without reproach, or that in conversation he often drew the long bow, or paid without asking the debts of anybody who approached him in the right way? He had all the qualities and defects dear to the Latin heart.

I soon forgot his extraordinary and rather terrific aspect to laugh heartily at the astounding statements which he poured forth during three-quarters of an hour. One of them was a detailed account of how the Sicilian women, his new subjects, cooked and ate their enemies during the Garibaldian invasion.

Another funny episode was the following, which, however, requires a little explanation. Before every Pitti ball a list of the foreigners who want to be invited is sent to every Legation, and the Minister has to stand sponsor for the respectability of his compatriots. I knew nothing at all about this, but my husband had struck out the name of a person whom he deemed unfit to be asked, though he knew she was not unknown to the King.

His Majesty suddenly faced round upon me and shouted in his stentorian voice, '*Ah, vous avez biffé le nom de Madame Z— de la liste ! C'était bien cruel ! J'ai envoyé ce matin mille francs à ce pauvre diable pour la consoler !*' I was not yet inured to this southern *désinvolture*, so I rather gasped, but the King went on chattering and laughing as if he had said nothing extraordinary.

The King was at that time married (religiously) to a very hands-



1911

some but quite uneducated woman, called Rosina, by whom he had several children whom he loved dearly. Rosina would have been Queen of Italy if the King had ever found a Minister foolish or subservient enough to countersign the Civil Marriage Act.

The King had the qualities of a great Sovereign and founder of a throne. His indomitable courage carried him through all his difficulties, but both he and Cavour forgot that they were not immortal and that they had built up an edifice which would require strong shoulders to carry it. Thus it has happened that the growth of Italy has not been such as its makers might have wished, though the splendid talents and capacity of the race encourage one to hope that the present phase is only a passing one, and that Italy is suffering, though in rather a more acute form, from the troubles which are spread more or less over the whole of Europe.

When we arrived in Florence it had only been the capital for a year or two, and there was about the exquisite city '*pulita quanto un gioiello*,' as Benvenuto Cellini terms it, that subtle but saddening charm pertaining to all beautiful things which one knows doomed to be adapted to modern exigencies. Already the noble old walls were beginning to fall, to allow of more extended traffic, and, instead of them, wide boulevards, icy and windy in winter, hot and dusty in summer, began to encircle the town. Many of the old palaces and convents had been converted into barracks and Government Offices, and in several places the alien want of taste imported by its northern masters had begun to show itself in Tuscany.

To anybody used to the order and stability of a town like London, Berlin, or Vienna, it would be difficult to give an idea of the chaotic state which a change of capital produces. We went through it twice—once in Florence and later on in Rome.

Like most Englishmen, my husband had a great sympathy with United Italy, and the Italians at that time were still grateful to England for the moral support she had given them and which had been such a great factor in their unification. It was therefore only natural that all the most prominent Italian statesmen, politicians and patriots congregated at our house. One of these men was Marco Minghetti, who had been Prime Minister a few years before, but was turned out on his signing the unpopular September convention which made Florence the capital. He was the most eloquent of many eloquent speakers, his enunciation was smooth, calm and clear, he never gesticulated, and the words dropped like rounded pearls from his lips. Every sentence was beautifully rounded, he never repeated himself, and his images were elevated and ideal. His speeches gave me the idea of a rivulet flowing, full and limpid, through meadows enamelled with flowers; they created a sense of the beautiful, the pure and good.



Standing immovable, with his right hand hidden in his waistcoat, he gazed upwards with clear brown eyes, ever following an ideal and never despairing. The Italians called him *Il fanciullo eterno*, because of his naïve faith in goodness, a faith so rare with them. He belonged to a well-to-do bourgeois family of Bologna, and had been brought up in antique simplicity. He told me himself that fires and carpets were unknown in his father's house, though Bologna, situated on the northern slopes of the Apennines, is perhaps the coldest town in Italy. The family always dined with their fur coats on, and the men with their hats on their heads. The extreme frugality of Italians in those days explains how it was that so many exiles lived on next to nothing for a great many years in foreign countries.

The foremost patriot amongst Florentines was Baron Ricasoli, always called 'the iron Baron,' from his absolute inflexibility of principle. Rigidly straightforward, entirely honest, and owner of large landed estates, he had a great weight in the country, but was more feared than loved. When not called by political business to the capital, he lived at his Castle of Broglio, which stands on a rock over Lake Trasimene. He never appeared in society, and curious legends, to which I will allude at another time, were woven about his name. He was an aristocrat of aristocrats, but refused to don a uniform when he went to Court, though a staunch Monarchist, for he said no Ricasoli had ever worn any king's livery.

Quite different from him, but equally deserving of his country, was another Tuscan, Ubaldino Peruzzi, then Syndic of Florence, the wittiest and most brilliant man in conversation and of marvellous *finesse*; a Florentine to his finger-ends, but of the very best type. He was devoted to his native city, and spent his life and fortune in beautifying it, without ever securing the gratitude of his fellow-citizens.

Then there was the brave soldier and *preux chevalier*, General La Marmora. He was a Piedmontese and had fought many battles for his country, and also played a certain part in politics. Married to an Englishwoman who had long ceased to be young and never had been pretty, he was always at the feet of the most charming women in society.

There was one political man who, as far as I remember, never crossed our threshold, and that was Ratazzi, the Prime Minister of that day. King Victor Emmanuel was most partial to him, though nobody reposed any confidence in a man who, though full of ability, was quite devoid of principle. He was a lawyer by profession and belonged to what is called in Italy *il mezzo ceto*. He was able always to adapt himself to the exigencies of the moment and the requirements of party. He was the first of the



long list of men of humble birth who was made a Knight of the Annunciata, and raised, together with his wife, to the rank of cousins of the King. In the case of Madame Ratazzi, this created a most embarrassing position, as even the large heart of Florentine society quailed at admitting her, and everybody was kept in terror lest, by dint of the high rank bestowed on her, she should try to force an entry into it.

Madame Ratazzi was the beautiful daughter of Letitia Buonaparte and Mr. Vyse, a long-time H.B.M.'s Minister at Athens. She first espoused an adventurer calling himself Count Solms, but soon separated from him and led an untrammelled life at Paris and Baden-Baden. When she married Ratazzi she was stone-deaf and no longer young, but she had large, innocent-looking blue eyes, and was an authoress. Some years later, when well past fifty, she gave birth, at Rome, to a daughter, to whom the town stood sponsor with great pomp, and who was called Roma. She was in the habit of receiving every evening in her spacious apartments the most advanced and turbulent spirits, political, literary, and artistic, nearly all men, and would ply them with copious, though elementary, suppers and Virginias, the strong and cheap Italian cigars which were the fashion then.

Florence in those days was full of eminent men whose names were in everybody's mouth, but all of them have disappeared long ago, and the present generation hardly knows anything of the one which made Italy. Most of these men had gone through the bitter school of adversity. They had been exiled, poor, and sometimes imprisoned. It is in adversity that the Italians shine most. They are patient, enduring, content with little, full of resource, and can turn their hands to everything.

I must, however, mention a man who, though not an Italian, played a large part in the unification of Italy, and that is Sir James Hudson, who had been English Minister at Turin and now lived in Florence. He was an intimate friend of my husband's, and we saw him constantly; though he lived an absolutely retired life, he made an exception for us, and occasionally came to dine and meet old friends. He was a man of immense charm of manner, witty, genial and open-hearted, very good-looking still, with his snow-white hair and bright flashing blue eyes. His retirement from the post of Turin has always remained a mystery, but though he never said so, he must at times have regretted not to have been allowed to finish the work he had begun, and both King Victor Emmanuel and Count Cavour reposed the greatest confidence in him. He lived in a beautiful but most secluded villa, to which only his intimate friends were admitted. He had great artistic talent, and in spite of his solitude kept his mind alert and interested, as in his most active days. 'Jimmy Hudson' was to all who knew him beloved and a bringer of sunshine.



Florentine society had at that time a decidedly political and official aspect, out of which, however, occasionally peeped the former Boccaccio colouring. The King, the Ministers, the Senators and Deputies, the army, the diplomatic corps, and the thousands of employés who are the curse of Italy, all had to be squeezed into that small town.

What had been Florentine society was wiped out, and only a few of the ladies, who belonged to families which had accepted the new order of things, ever appeared, except at some great balls given at the foreign legations, for they found it difficult to compete with the new and much more luxurious habits of the newcomers.

The most striking aspect of a Florentine drawing-room of that day was the immense preponderance of men, about nine to one lady. There was only one small set of about a dozen ladies and fifty men who formed real society. The ladies were all either clever or beautiful, and many of them young. The leader was Donna Laura Minghetti, a woman of great charm and originality. The men, if they were Italians, had all played some part in their country's history; there were statesmen and soldiers, senators and deputies, promising young artists, distinguished foreigners and diplomats, but politics were never mentioned in those days of repose, after the storm and stress of the last six or seven years.

Whenever a lady appeared at one of these small parties she was immediately conducted to a seat, and a gilt Chiavari chair, now a thing of the past, was placed before her to put her feet upon the crossbar, because the marble floors were icily cold and only imperfectly carpeted. A dozen men seized other Chiavari chairs and at once made a circle around her, and there she remained for the rest of the evening. Two women never sat together; if they wanted to talk they visited in the morning. It was a very restful and pleasant way of going into society, for one only had to sit and listen and be amused, very different from the undignified rush and push and agitation of the present day.

I disliked most the late hours. Mothers with daughters used to arrive at my balls at two and three o'clock A.M., and always wanted to dance till six in the morning, when it was the fashion to drive straight to the Cascine and breakfast there. Some ladies who had receptions every evening were never to be found before midnight, and they were nicknamed *les dames d'après minuit*. This was the only sign that remained of the Bohemian element of former days, when the *dame aux perles* and others of that ilk led society.

During the first spring that we passed in Florence the marriage of Prince Humbert to his cousin Princess Margaret took place. To please the Piedmontese, who were very sore at Turin being a capital no more, it was decided that the ceremony was to take



place there, and all the Court officials and dignitaries, the Ministers and diplomats removed for it to Turin.

The journey at that time took the whole day, and we travelled with Count and Countess Usedom, old friends of ours from Berlin days. Count Usedom as Prussian Minister had played an important part in Italy during the war of 1866, and had a great position in his own country. He was not only a clever diplomat, but a man with a vast knowledge of art and literature. Very moderate and *liant* in all difficulties, he had often to smooth over those created by his witty but violent and imperious spouse. She was a Scotchwoman by birth, very original and amusing, and she spoke every language with utmost fluency but quite incorrectly. On one occasion her carriage was held up during the Carnival in the Corso and not allowed to cut the string. White with anger, she stood up in it to her full height, and stretching out her arms, she shouted : '*Io sono la Prussia e si non mi lasciate passare vi metto tutti in prigione.*' ('I am Prussia and if you do not let me pass I put you all into prison.') The effect was magical, for it was soon after Sadowa.

Clothes had been a great preoccupation for these marriage festivities, and there were but few that at that time were wealthy enough in Florence to procure them from that great arbiter of taste, M. Worth, who ruled the ladies of the Second Empire with a rod of iron. One day at Turin I entered Countess Usedom's room, for her apartments were contiguous to ours, and I found myself in the midst of a kind of battlefield of cherry-coloured ribbons and precious laces, which with a large pair of paper-scissors she was ripping off ruthlessly from one of Worth's choicest creations just arrived, simply because she did not like it. Only a woman of that day can appreciate the independence of spirit which could commit such a sacrilege. Personally I applauded her.

Princess Margaret was at that time barely seventeen. A slight, graceful girl, with a bright, vivacious manner. Her splendid fair hair waved thickly about her low forehead, her long, grey, almond-shaped eyes were fringed with thick brown lashes, and the full red lips, an inheritance from Austrian ancestors, were always smiling. Prince Humbert was a shy, slim young man, with rolling eyes like his father's and a heavy moustache. Though reticent with people he did not know well, he was capable of strong and lasting friendships and great devotion. It was well known that he too possessed the physical courage which has always been the patrimony of the House of Savoy.

It was in the month of April, and a lovely spring. Festivity followed festivity, and the old town of Turin, accustomed to the severe etiquette of the Sardinian Court, was so overwhelmed by



young and democratic Italy that at some great civic function the ladies were nearly thrown down, had their jewels torn off, and the whole festival degenerated into a kind of bear-garden. Such things cannot be avoided in new and unregulated communities.

At Florence the main attraction consisted in a tournament in the meadows of the Cascine, a truly artistic sight, for the Italian moves in a fancy dress as if it were his own, and has the instinct of the part he is playing. Prince Humbert as one of his Piedmontese ancestors was a most picturesque figure.

The one who, however, attracted most attention during all the festivities was the Crown Prince of Prussia, later Emperor Frederick the Third. He was then in all the splendour of his manhood and with the glory of Sadowa about him. He was so fascinated by Princess Margaret that he could talk of nothing else. He thought her so clever, so natural and winning. This was, I think, the first beginning of the intimacy of the Royal houses of Hohenzollern and Savoy which has been such a feature during the last twenty years. No other foreign Princes attended the marriage ceremonies, for several of the Royal Houses allied to that of Savoy had been alienated by the recent events in Italy, and they feared the displeasure of Pius the Ninth, though it only applied to public events, for it was no secret that personally he had a leaning towards the *Re Galantuomo*.

It is a fact that at the time when King Victor Emmanuel still thought of remarrying, it was not the hand of a Roman Catholic Princess he sought, but that of Princess Mary of Cambridge, then in the full bloom of her youth and beauty. The negotiations advanced to a certain point, and were conducted by Count Cavour himself, through Lady Ely, Queen Victoria's lady-in-waiting and friend, to whom Count Cavour was personally devoted. They were, unfortunately for Italy, broken off, for it may be surmised with certainty that such a personality as Princess Mary's would have had a most beneficial influence on many problems in the country over which she would have reigned.

I must confess that, though we lived almost entirely in the society of politicians, I did not know much about or interest myself in political events. Nobody ever mentioned them in society, everybody seemed to rest upon their oars, and the art and beauty of Florence and its surroundings entirely absorbed me. I could think of nothing else, and found willing and learned cicerones to guide me amongst the Italian statesmen, though they sometimes asked smilingly whether I wanted to write a guide-book, for it was quite unfashionable, nay, unheard of, for ladies to meddle with art at that time. Things are quite changed now; many Italian women not only take a platonic interest in art, but they have become executive, as is proved by



the exquisite embroideries and woven textures produced under their direction by the wives and daughters of agricultural labourers.

Italy was then still to a great degree untouched; many of its masterpieces were left in the original places for which they had been wrought, and had not been taken to museums or dragged out of the country. I learnt a great deal about Italy from Lord Malmesbury, one of our most frequent visitors. He knew the country well and had lived in it and loved it when he was quite a young man. He had known the Countess Guiccioli (who at this time lived in her villa near Florence) very well, and from her gathered a number of anecdotes about Lord Byron, who had only died a few years before Lord Malmesbury first knew her. One she used to relate to show his love of animals was that every year a goose was bought to fatten for Michaelmas, but when the time came Lord Byron would not allow it to be killed. At last he travelled about with six or seven geese slung under his carriage. Countess Guiccioli later in life married the Anglophobe Marquis Boissy d'Anglas, but at that time she led a very retired life and never mixed in society.

Lord Malmesbury was much annoyed that, when Countess Guiccioli's memoirs appeared, she had left out all the amusing stories about Lord Byron which he had so often heard; however, he himself had the same lapses of memory when he published his *Reminiscences of an ex-Minister*, for none of the adventures and extraordinary experiences which he had related to his intimate friends appeared in them.

In those days Florence was not, as it now is, the playground of all nations just for a few weeks in spring, then to remain empty for the rest of the year. The real Florentines hardly ever left their palaces, except for a few weeks in October, and it was said of the Marchese Piccolellis (the stepfather of Countess Walewska, so well known in England) that he had never left Florence for twenty-two years, except to drive his four-in-hand every day for an hour in the Cascine.

Florence always has been the preferred town of the English, and many are the interesting and illustrious names of those who dwelt there and still shed a romantic charm on the places where they lived. Mrs. Browning had died in the Casa Guidi only a few years before we came. Walter Savage Landor also lived no more on the southern slopes of Fiesole; the Villa Bricchieri, where Owen Meredith had written his charming *Goodnight in the Porch*, stood empty; Clare Claremont had left the two rooms of the almost ruined old villa which she inhabited at Bellosguardo, and was a daily governess in Florence. What an ending for the mother of Allegra! Charles Lever lived with his lively and witty daughters



on the Costa San Giorgio, and Tom Trollope wrote his lovely little story of the Beata in the villa which is now a lodging-house in the middle of the town. That curious old artist Kirkup, whose name none remembers now, lived in two rooms over the Ponte Vecchio. He had been Sir Thomas Lawrence's most promising scholar, and had painted, or rather, drawn, all the beauties of the Court of George the Fourth. They were exquisite, delicate drawings, and a few of them still hung in his bare and lofty rooms. He had the most wonderful occult library of that day, which unfortunately at his death was dispersed into unknown hands, probably for a song, for at that time nobody knew anything of occultism, and spiritualism had not yet emerged from the phase of table-rapping.

I do not think a picture of Florence would be complete without my mentioning Lady Orford, who had lived there for a great number of years. She was an extremely witty and clever woman, charitable in deed and speech, but family disagreements had driven her from England when still quite young, with her two daughters, and sympathy had attracted her to Italy. She had in almost everything adopted Italian habits, and was one of the ladies who received after midnight; generally only men, who did not even come in evening-dress. At the end of the room was a long supper-table, with innumerable bottles of Chianti wine, hams and other cold meats; the room was filled with the smoke of strong cigars, and the hostess herself smoked. We were in the habit of going there once a year, but by her express desire we announced ourselves the day before. Cigars were banished and everybody was in evening-dress, much, I fear, to the discomfort of the company.

It was a careless life, full of charm, art and pleasure, that we led in Florence for the first two years, till we were suddenly awakened from it on the 17th of July 1870.

We had taken for the summer a beautiful old villa situated on the last spurs of Monte Albano, about twelve miles south of Florence. Built by the Grand Duke Francis, in obedience to a caprice of Bianca Capello's, it was said that from its balconies the Cardinal Ferdinand di Medici watched for the messenger coming from Poggio Accaiano in the valley below, where Bianca and her husband were lying sick unto death, after eating of the cherry-tart which either Bianca or the Cardinal had poisoned. As soon as Ferdinand became Grand Duke he resigned his ecclesiastical dignities, for he had never taken any vows, and married Christina of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Catherine de' Medicis, and they had lived in the spacious halls and galleries of this earthly paradise. Such it may indeed be called, for the eye roams from the fir-clad heights of Vallombrosa on to the Apennines of Modena, and



further still to the Apuan Alps. To the south the silver line of the Mediterranean, the Siennese hills and the mysterious plains and marshes of the Maremma were closed by cloud-crowned Monte Amiata, from the summit of which, it is said, on a clear day you can see the cupola of St. Peter's and that of Santa Maria del Fiore, and the two seas which wash the Italian shores. A large golden full moon hung over the Val d'Arno as we sat with our guests on the spacious loggia, enjoying the sea-breeze which always rises at ten o'clock after a stifling day. Somebody was strumming Italian airs on a piano, and several of our friends strayed down the wide stone stairs on to the green lawn which surrounded the great castellated palace on all sides. Suddenly the music lapsed into a valse, and two or three couples whirled over the grass. The diamonds glinted in the moonlight on the ladies' hair and the large pearls shone on their necks, the warm scent of aromatic herbs, brushed by their flowing dresses, was wafted up to us, and over all lay the indescribable witchery of an Italian summer night.

A telegram was brought to my husband: 'War declared between France and Prussia!' It was like the blare of trumpets awakening one from sleep! Though things had looked serious for some time, they seemed to have quieted down again. As soon as the Hohenzollern candidature was withdrawn, search had been made for another king to fill the Spanish throne. My husband at once thought of the Duke of Aosta, and even went so far as to sound King Victor Emmanuel, who honoured him with his particular friendship and confidence, whether he would be favourable to the proposal. The answer was in the affirmative, and my husband wrote privately to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) to inform him of it. The reply was that it could not be considered. Yet, after all the misery and bloodshed of that terrible year, it was the Duke of Aosta who became King of Spain.

King Victor Emmanuel's sympathies, and certainly his gratitude, were in the beginning of the war on the French side, and so were those of society in general. All 'the smart set' who had often been to Paris, had been presented at the Imperial Court and invited to Compiègne, remembered the amusing days they had spent at what was then considered the centre of Europe. The common people all sided with Germany, very much as they did in England.

The French sympathisers, however, received a severe shock with the surrender of Sedan, as was also the case with the members of the French Legation at Florence, some of whom had played a not unimportant part at the Tuileries. From the moment the Emperor was taken prisoner their interest in the war became very platonic; they had, however, the *mot d'ordre* not to show



themselves at any balls or parties. I had, at one of the first fierce battles around Metz, lost a most dear and near relative and never went out during the whole winter. Intimate friends used to come and see me, and the members of the French Legation were in the habit of doing so at least once or twice a week. One evening they were all assembled in my drawing-room, even the military attaché was among them, when my husband received a telegram. After a moment he read it out. It was the fall of Metz! Nothing but this had been talked of for weeks, and though it decided the fortunes of the war, none of the Frenchmen seemed much pained, the Imperial feeling was too strong with them. It put me in mind of the emigrés in Condé's army during the Revolution, who had only Royalist sympathies and no French ones.

On the 20th of September the walls of Rome had fallen before the assault of the Italian soldiers, for France was unable to protect the Pope any longer. The determination to have Rome as the capital was the passionate wish of the whole nation, and not to be resisted.

The King was probably the one who least of all Italians wished for 'Roma Capitale.' He went there for a few days and hastily returned to his beloved mountains. He always knew that Rome would be fatal to him, and stayed there as little as he could.

In the spring of 1871 the whole machinery of the capital was set in motion and moved to the Eternal City. *Fiorenza la gentile*, the home of art and flowers, was deserted, but not, I think, distressed, for deep down in the heart of every Italian lives the passion for his native city and the wish to keep it for himself; and does not every Florentine know that, capital or no capital, Florence is the jewel of Italy?

WALBURGA PAGET.



## *HOW NELSON'S MEMORANDUM WAS CARRIED OUT AT TRAFALGAR*

THE design of this article is to prove from recorded facts that the Battle of Trafalgar was fought on the consummate plan issued by Lord Nelson in his Memorandum, and also to give a denial to the accusation levelled against him by some writers of having gone into action in a fleet-order which would have been, with one exception, the worst possible that could have been devised. Carried with this accusation there is also a second charge—namely, that after having prepared a plan of attack months before, and having fully discussed it and explained it to his admirals and captains, and also having issued it to them in writing, he at the last moment (actually during the advance to the attack) threw the whole plan to the winds and, without any explanation to his second-in-command or anyone else, rushed into battle anyhow and anywhere.

In order to prove that Lord Nelson's Memorandum was carried out, the following points must be made :

1. Who said it was carried out, and is their evidence worthy of credence?
2. Who said it was not carried out, and were they in a position to know?
3. What directions were given to the fleet, verbal or signalled, and would these directions put the fleet into the position demanded by the Memorandum?
4. Arising out of No. 3 comes the question : Was signal 76 an order to 'Bear up together' or 'Bear up, preserving the order of sailing'?
5. Do the ships' logs and Admiral Collingwood's journal show that the Memorandum was carried out, or do they not?

In all matters of fighting it is essential to weigh the evidence most carefully, and to consider by whom it is given, and what opportunities the witnesses had for seeing and noting the course of events.

Even in modern exercises, free from the clouding effect of smoke and the distractions of hitting and being hit, it is



impossible to gain any idea of what manœuvre has been performed from the after-accounts of lieutenants and midshipmen at their quarters; indeed, captains themselves cannot usually be depended upon for any lucid account of the engagement.

Who, then, are the people who are most likely to be right in their accounts of the tactics of the Battle of Trafalgar? It is, of course, an incontestable fact that the admiral who designed the plan of attack and the leader of the lee line, who also was thoroughly conversant with it, would be the most likely people to have a correct knowledge of the state of affairs at the various phases of the attack. In addition to this, each admiral had a secretary, an officer whose sole duty in action was to remain with his chief and note down at the time the progress of events, for the purpose of afterwards writing them in the admiral's despatch and journal. This officer was also well acquainted with the plan of attack from having written it out for transmission to the fleet. It therefore follows that the admirals' journals and despatches are *facile princeps* in accuracy. Next to the admirals, the captains of frigates had the best opportunities for observing accurately the progress of the battle, their business being not to fight but to repeat the signals between the different admirals and captains, and also to keep a careful watch on all ships in order to assist them, if necessary, either to get into or out of action.

The theory of the perpendicular attack is based principally on the account of Lieutenant Senhouse, an officer on board the *Conqueror*, a ship in Nelson's line (Mr. Corbett makes a mistake when he says that he was in the *Colossus*, a ship in Collingwood's line), commanded by Captain Israel Pellew, and, being a mile and a half from the nearest ship of the lee line, he was not in a position to judge or see what was going on in that portion of the fleet. This evidence is in part supplemented by Lieutenant Browne and in part disproved by him, and in one passage by Captain Morsom, but contradicted by the latter in his description of his own ship's movements. Now, turning to the evidence of Lord Nelson, Admiral Collingwood, the log of the *Victory*, the logs of the frigates *Naiad* and *Phæbe* and the ships of the lee line, and the account of Captain Blackwood, of the frigate *Euryalus*, we get a state of affairs described which makes the idea of the perpendicular attack an absolute impossibility.

It is proposed to commence this argument in a different way from the line that is usually taken, and to start by working the two fleets according to the known signals that were made, and see the positions into which these signals would have brought them. But before commencing, Nelson's Memorandum must be quoted in full.



1911

*Secret Memorandum.**Victory, off Cadiz,*

9th October 1805.

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a Fleet of forty Sail of the Line into a Line of Battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the Enemy to Battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have therefore made up my mind to keep the Fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the First and Second in Command), that the Order of Sailing is to be the Order of Battle, placing the Fleet in two lines of sixteen Ships each, with an Advanced Squadron of eight of the fastest sailing Two-decked Ships (which) will always make, if wanted, a line of Twenty-four Sail, on whichever Line the Commander-in-Chief may direct.

The Second in Command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his Line to make the attack upon the Enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

If the Enemy's Fleet should be seen to Windward in Line of Battle, and that the two Lines and the Advanced Squadron can fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their Van could not succour their Rear.

I should therefore probably make the Second in Command's signal to lead through, about their twelfth Ship from their Rear (or wherever he could fetch if not able to get so far advanced); my Line would lead through about their centre, and the Advanced Squadron to cut two or three or four Ships ahead of their Centre, so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-Chief, on whom every effort must be made to capture.

The whole impression of the British Fleet must be to overpower from two or three Ships ahead of their Commander-in-Chief, supposed to be in the Centre, to the Rear of their Fleet. I will suppose twenty Sail of the Enemy's Line to be untouched, it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British Fleet engaged, or to succour their own Ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the Ships engaged. (Mr. Scott here added a reference to the following words written by Lord Nelson in the upper margin of the paper: 'The Enemy's Fleet is supposed to consist of 46 Sail of the Line, British Fleet of 40. If either is less, only a proportionate number of Enemy's Ships are to be cut off; B. to be  $\frac{1}{4}$  superior to the E. cut off.'))

Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a Sea Fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the Van of the Enemy could succour their Rear, and then that the British Fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty Sail of the Line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off.

If the Van of the Enemy tacks, the Captured Ships must run to leeward of the British Fleet; if the Enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the Enemy and the Captured, and disabled British Ships; and should the Enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

The Second in Command will in all possible things direct the movements of his Line, by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as their rallying point, but in case signals can neither be seen or perfectly understood, no Captain can do very wrong if he places his Ship alongside that of an Enemy.

Vol. LXX—No. 416

X X



Of the intended attack from to windward, the Enemy in Line of Battle ready to receive an attack.

B.

E

The divisions of the British Fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the Enemy's Centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the Lee Line to bear up together, to set all their sails, even steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the Enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning from the twelfth Ship from the Enemy's Rear. Some Ships may not get through their exact place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends; and if they are thrown round the rear of the Enemy they will effectually complete the business of twelve sail of the Enemy.

Should the Enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the twelve ships composing, in the first position, the Enemy's Rear, are to be (the) object of attack of the Lee Line unless otherwise directed by the Commander-in-Chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the Lee Line, after the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the Admiral commanding that Line.

The remainder of the Enemy's Fleet, 34 Sail, are to be left to the management of the Commander-in-Chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the Second in Command are as little interrupted as is possible.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

In this Memorandum the principles involved are, first, that 'The Second in Command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his Line to make the attack upon the Enemy,' and second, that the Commander-in-Chief 'will endeavour to take care that the movements of the Second in Command are as little interrupted as is possible'; third, that the lee line should be parallel to the rear of the enemy and should with sixteen ships 'complete the business of twelve Sail of the Enemy.' To do this they are to bear up together and set all their sails if the attack is from windward. Fourth, the weather line would be directed by the Commander-in-Chief to surround and capture the enemy's Commander-in-Chief and break up the enemy's centre after having shielded the lee line from any attempt at interference by the enemy's van tacking or wearing. (The advanced squadron was given up on account of shortage of ships.)

On the day in question, the wind being extremely light and fluky, support by *wearing the van* would have been quite useless: there was therefore only one manœuvre to be provided against: that of tacking, and the obvious way to prevent this was to keep



the tail of the weather line stretched out to windward until the lee line had commenced the business in the rear.

It must be remembered that while the lee line was confined to the terms of the Memorandum, Lord Nelson reserved to himself and his division the right of performing any manœuvre in order to keep the enemy's van from interfering with the attack by Admiral Collingwood.

We must now argue one of the most-debated points in the whole controversy. This is whether the signal 76 (Appendix I.), with a compass signal (the meaning of which reads : 'When lying to or sailing by the wind, to bear up and sail large, on the course steered by the Admiral, or that pointed out by signal'), directs the ships to 'turn together, or in succession, preserving the line, lines ahead, or order of sailing.

Now in all signal books and in common naval parlance the word 'succession' has two different meanings. One sense in which it is used signifies that a ship is not to carry out the manœuvre until her next ahead or astern has done so ; for instance, 'Weigh in succession from the rear' directs the rear ship to weigh first, then her next ahead, and so on up the line. This is the meaning of the word 'succession' when used in the Trafalgar signal book in the *Orders for the Conduct of a Fleet*, page 122 (see Appendix II., Article XXII.).

The article just referred to also explains the reference to signal 76 in the *Directions for the Order of Sailing* (Appendix III., Article XIV.) of the same signal book, and should be read in conjunction with Article IX., page 150 (see Appendix IV.).

The other sense in which the term 'succession' is used is that which directs that the 'turn or manœuvre about to be performed is to be carried out so as to preserve the line or lines ahead, or the order of sailing (or, as it is now called, 'preserving the order of the fleet') ; and this explanation always accompanied the signal, either in the wording of the signal or in the note to it. This double meaning of the word 'succession' is the rock on which so many writers and students have been wrecked.

Again, in all signal books, orders, and fighting instructions there are, even as far back as 1778, two distinct signals for altering course. Let us examine the signals of the above date as given in the Navy Records book, *Signals and Instructions*, on pages 286 and 287. The first of these reads as follows :

'When in Line of Battle, for all Ships to alter their course and preserve the same bearings and distance from each other as before—To starboard—To port. (Guns fired to indicate the number of points.)'<sup>1</sup> In the explanation to this it directs that every ship in the line is *immediately* to alter her course accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> Signal Book of 1778.



The next signal reads : 'When in line of Battle ahead, for the leading Ship to alter her course, and the rest of the Ships to get into her wake, still preserving the line ahead.' In the directions to this signal it is ordered that 'The leading Ship is immediately to alter her course accordingly, and the rest of the Ships in the line are *in succession* to get into her wake as fast as possible. (Guns fired to indicate number of points.)'

Now we must compare these with the signals in the signal book used at Trafalgar, one of which, No. 76 (Appendix I.), has been given above. The other signal, to alter course in succession, is repeated twice, once for a turn to starboard and once for a turn to port, so it is only necessary to give the former, which reads as follows : No. 79.—'The leading Ship in Line of Battle or Order of Sailing is to alter the course one point to starboard or to the point of the compass shown by signal ; the other Ships are to follow in succession.'

It will be seen that the wording of signal 79 is very similar to the wording of the second signal of the fighting instructions of 1781, and is practically the same, whereas the signal 76 would appear to have grown out of the 'alter course' signal of the old fighting instructions which directed ships to turn together. If Nelson had intended, when in the order of sailing, to alter course leaders together, preserving the order of sailing, to E.N.E. or East, would he not most undoubtedly have used the signal 79, which clearly directs the fleet to carry out that manœuvre? Again, the wording of the signal number 76 is a definite order to bear up and steer the same course as the admiral or that pointed out by signal. If this is intended to be in *succession preserving the lines ahead* or order of sailing, the wording is ridiculous, as if they were following the admiral, or were in the same column (line ahead) as the admiral, they *must* steer the same course, and there can be no question of 'or that pointed out by signal.' This signal was also made to a single ship, the *Prince*, and a signal with this wording (if intended to imply in succession) made to a single ship is also absurd from a signalman's point of view. It is also to be remarked that where *succession preserving the lines ahead* is intended it is always laid down in actual words, either in the signal or in the note.

Mr. Julian Corbett, to whom we are so greatly indebted for his many excellent researches into past naval history, has, in his interesting book, *The Campaign of Trafalgar*, made some most remarkable mistakes. I will only deal in this article with a few of the principal ones, not in a spirit of captious criticism, but merely to knock the bottom out of his arguments in favour of the theory of the perpendicular attack in two columns, and also



to take the wind out of his sails with regard to his own speculation as to what was in Lord Nelson's mind at the time when he was supposed to have given up his prescribed mode of attack for the senseless fleet-order ascribed to him by other writers besides Mr. Corbett.

On page 362 of *The Campaign of Trafalgar* Mr. Corbett states that :

(a) The 'signal 76 "When lying to or sailing by the wind, to bear up and sail large on the course steered by the Admiral or that pointed out by signal" was a signal not intended for a formed fleet, that is, a fleet in sailing or battle order.'

(b) The signal 76 'was a signal Nelson was in the habit of making to an unformed fleet, e.g. "Proceedings of the Fleet, September 30th" (Add. MSS., 34973): "At 1.0 hove-to; at 6.0 made general signal to make sail after lying-to (i.e. No. 76); at 6.35 to tack in succession [this time is a misprint, it should be 6.25]; at 6.35 to bear up and sail large (No. 76 again); at 6.42 general, to form the established order of sailing.'" &c., &c., &c.

Now an examination of the MS. just quoted shows that on the date mentioned—the 30th of September—the signal 76 was not made at all. Mr. Corbett has apparently mixed the meaning up with the signification of signal 94, the wording of which is: 'Make sail after lying by; leading ship first,' a signal that was used to re-form the fleet after lying by, just as at the present day the signal 'Proceed under steam' is made to a fleet that has been lying with engines stopped.

On the 1st of October an entry is found similar to that which Mr. Corbett ascribes to the 30th of September, but again he makes the strange mistake of mixing up the meanings of the two signals 76 and 94, and the consequence is that the MS., instead of showing that Nelson was in the habit of making the signal 76 to an unformed fleet, demonstrates that he took the trouble to form the fleet before making it.

To show that the fleet was formed when signal 76 was made at 6.35 A.M. on the 1st of October, it is only necessary to read the MS. (In the sea calendar the day commences at noon.)

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE FLEET.<sup>2</sup>

September 30 P.M.—Moderate breezes and clear. At 12.10 the *Euryalus* parted company on the above service. At 6.28 made the signal for all Lieutenants and issued a pendant sheet with the Order of Battle and sailing to each of the fleet.

A.M.—Moderate breezes and hazy. At 5.40 made the General Signal to make sail after lying by and form the established order of sailing in two divisions, at 6.30 made the *Nimble's* Signal to examine a sail S.E., and at 9.33 she made the Signal that the *Chace* was an enemy and prize to the *Pickle* Schooner, made the *Nimble's* Signal to close, at 10 made

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 34973.



the General Signal to bring to, at 10.7 made the Signal to prepare Letters for England. At Noon light breezes and cloudy.

October 1st P.M.—Light breezes and cloudy. At 1 hove too on the star-board tack.

A.M.—Calm and cloudy. At 4 moderate breezes and cloudy. At 6 made the General Signal to make sail after lying by, at 6.25 made the General Signal to tack in succession, and at 6.35 to bear up and sail large, at 6.42 made the General Signal to form the Order of Sailing, at 9.5 directed the fleet by Signal to keep close order by closing to the Van.

It is quite obvious that the re-forming signal, after the fleet had been hove to, was No. 94. It is also clear that after the new order of sailing had been issued the fleet was at once ordered to take it up. It is also laid down in the instructions that when an order of sailing has been signalled the fleet will remain in that order until it is changed by signal (Appendix III., Article XVI.).

Bearing this in mind, and again reading the list of events given above, it will be plainly seen that :

The fleet was hove to in the order of sailing in two divisions.

At 6 A.M. they were re-formed and proceeded in the same order.

At 6.25 they tacked in succession, which still kept them in the same order of sailing (Appendix III., Article XI.).

At 6.35 the signal 76 was made to bear up and sail large.

At 6.42 the signal was again made to form the order of sailing.

Why was this made if they were already in this order, which they most certainly would have been if the signal 76 is an order to turn in succession, preserving the line or lines ahead, or order of sailing?

The answer is easy. Because the signal 76 is an order to turn together, it, like all turns together, changes the order of the fleet, and therefore it was necessary to signal the order of the fleet anew to get them in the position laid down in the *Order of Sailing Instructions*, page 127, Article II. of the *Signal Book of 1799* (Appendix III., Article II.).

It is absolutely clear from all the above that the signification of signal 76 is exactly what the wording would imply—namely, to bear up *together* and sail large on the admiral's course or that pointed out.

Now apply the knowledge we have just gained to the signals made on the morning of Trafalgar and the situation at the time.

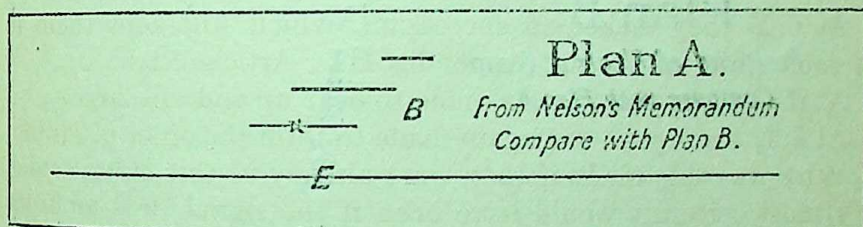
The enemy had been sighted, and the advanced two-deckers were rejoining the main body, so naturally the order of sailing was made again in accordance with the instructions in the signal book. After this signal has been taken in, and the fleet supposed to be in that order, the signal 76 is made, which, as we have just seen, is an order to turn together, and afterwards no signal



is made to bring the fleet back to the order of sailing, such as was made on the morning of the 1st of October.

Therefore we may be quite certain that the fleet did not go back to that order, but remained in the order that the turn had brought them to, which was, at the same time, the order that Nelson had laid down in his Memorandum for the commencement of the advance to the attack—namely, parallel to the line of direction of the enemy's line.

On the 21st of October at 5 A.M. the British Fleet was steering N. by E. close-hauled on the port tack, wind N.W. by W., in the order of sailing in two columns, close order. Several of the two-decked line-of-battle ships were away to the eastward, forming a line of communication between the frigates and the main body. About 5.45 A.M. (the wind being N.W. and the course N.N.E.) the signal was again made (in consequence of the advanced ships rejoining) to 'form the Order of Sailing in two columns' (Appendix III., Article II.).<sup>3</sup> At about 6 A.M. a general signal was made to 'Bear up and steer the course E.N.E.' (Signal 76.) (Plans A and B.)



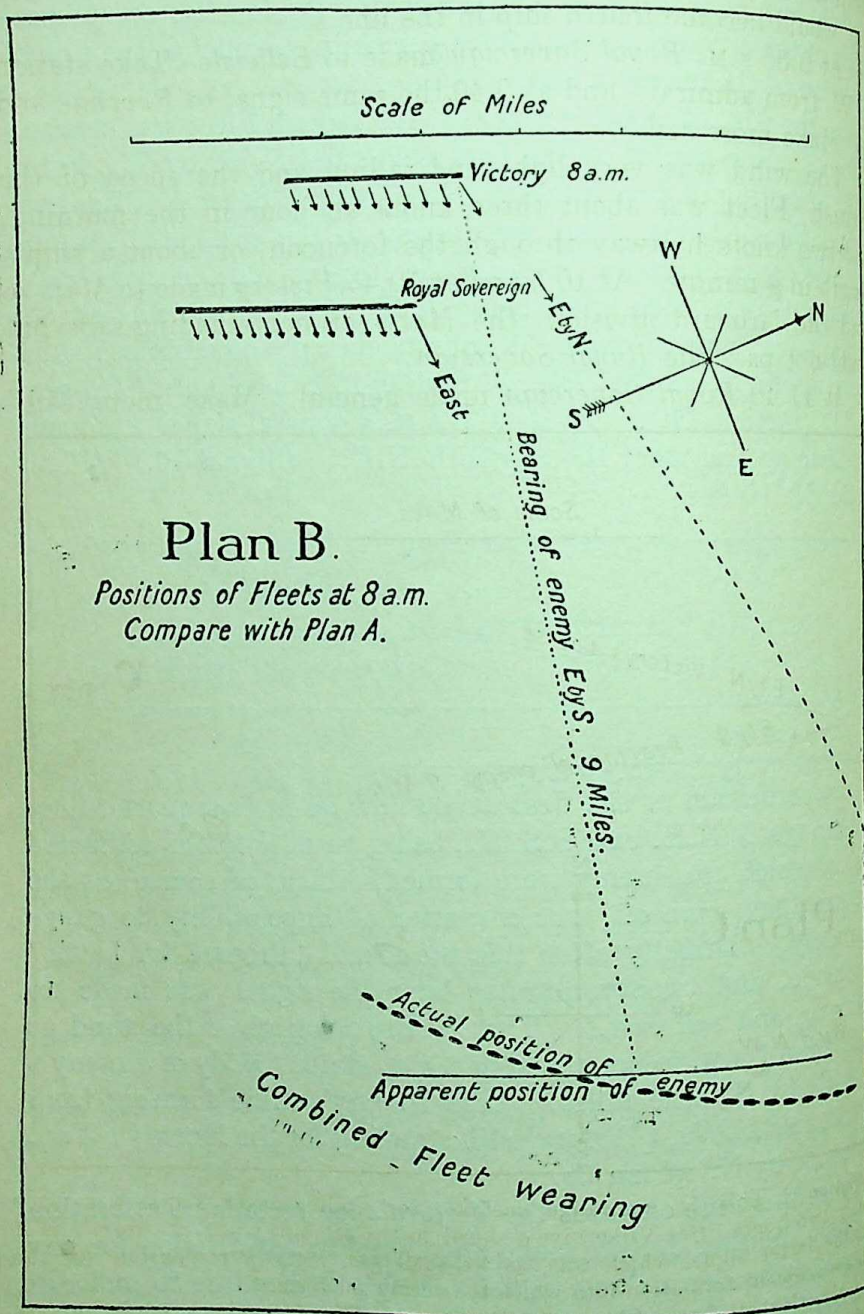
The formation of the fleet would now be in two quarter-lines on bearings N.N.E. and S.S.W., being parallel to the estimated line on which the enemy were formed, which, of course, at the distance they were off, was a matter of impossibility to gauge accurately. Directly after this the signal 'Prepare for battle' was made, and twenty minutes later the signal was made to 'Bear up and sail east.' The *Victory's* log gives the wind as N.W. from 7 A.M. to noon, and at 8 A.M. states 'Body of Enemy's Fleet E. by S. nine miles. The Enemy's Line forming from N.N.E. to S.S.W., [*Victory*] still standing for the Enemy's Van. Course E. by N.' (Plan C).

From this time onwards the *Victory's* log records no alteration of course, neither did she make any signal to her division for any alteration of order, or any signal to a ship in her line to make or reduce sail. At 8.46 A.M. the *Royal Sovereign* made to her division 'Form the larboard line of bearing' (Appendix IV., Article VII.). This would make the lee line form in the direction S.W. by S. from the *Royal Sovereign*. This signal was made

<sup>3</sup> According to the eternal law of Signals, as soon as a forming signal is made, the Fleet is, for subsequent signals, supposed to be formed.



about an hour and a half or two hours after the combined fleet had commenced to wear, and thus would place them at an angle of three points with the line of direction of the rear of the combined fleet, if both lines were correctly formed.<sup>4</sup>



<sup>4</sup> Mr. Corbett makes a grave error on pages 368-9 of his book *The Campaign of Trafalgar*, when he states that Collingwood's signal to 'Form the leeward line of bearing' was not made in consequence of the position of the combined line, for, says Mr. Corbett, 'Collingwood gave the order nearly two hours before Villeneuve made the signal which, as we shall see, produced the mal-

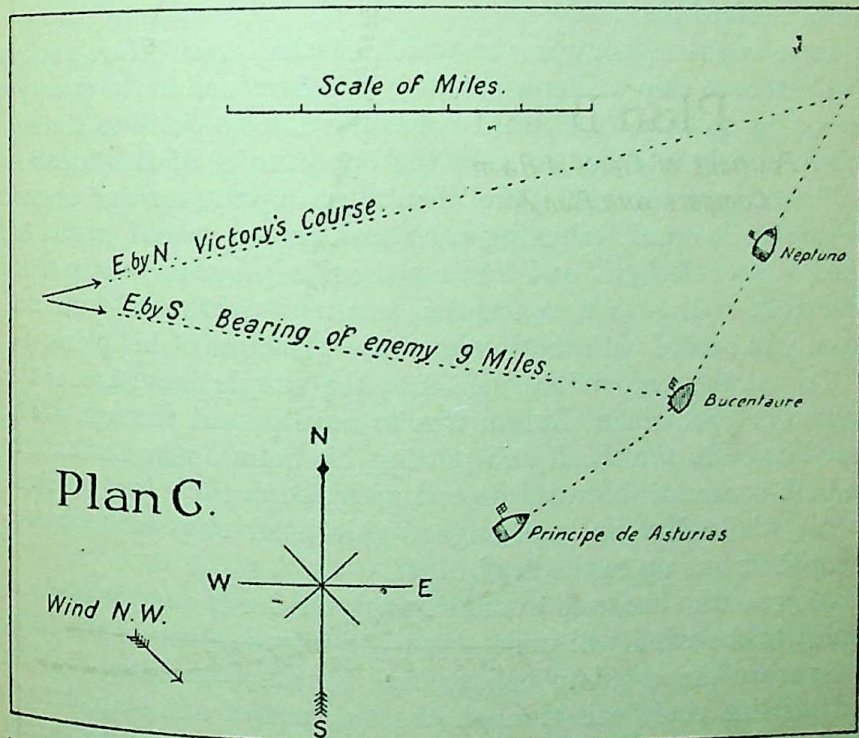


Directly after this the *Royal Sovereign* made to the larboard division 'Make more sail.' At 9.20 A.M. *Royal Sovereign* made to *Belleisle* and *Tonnant* 'Change stations in the fleet' and *Belleisle* to 'Make more sail.' This would make the *Belleisle* next ship to the *Royal Sovereign*, while *Tonnant*, who could not keep up, would become fourth ship in the line.

At 9.30 A.M. *Royal Sovereign* made to *Belleisle* 'Take station S.W. from admiral,' and at 9.40 the same signal to *Revenge* and to 'Make more sail.'

The wind was very light and falling and the speed of the British Fleet was about three knots an hour in the morning, and two knots halfway through the forenoon, or about a ship's length in a minute. At 10.5 and at 10.45 *Victory* made to *Mars* to lead the larboard division, the *Mars* set her studding-sails but could not pass the *Royal Sovereign*.<sup>5</sup>

At 11.40 *Royal Sovereign* made general 'Make more sail.'



formation.' This is a strange mistake, for Collingwood's signal was made nearly two hours after Villeneuve's signal to the combined fleet to wear, and it was the latter signal which was, as we shall see, entirely responsible for the concave crescent formation into which the enemy got formed.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Corbett has made a mistake on page 375 of his book when he says that, in defiance of Nelson's order, Collingwood set studding-sails, and quotes the *Royal Sovereign*'s log in support. Unfortunately no trace of the *Royal Sovereign*'s log can be found, but he evidently refers to the journal of Lieut. Simmond (or Simmons) which is in the Public Record Office; but this journal states that the *Royal Sovereign* set studding-sails at daylight, and at 11 o'clock 'brought the ship under her courses,' which was an old way of saying that the studding-sails were taken in at that time, and not 'set,' as Mr. Corbett has it.



This presumably was only intended for his own division, and being made without a distinguishing signal, indicates that Admiral Collingwood considered that he was acting independently according to the instructions in the Memorandum (Appendix IV., Article XII.). At 11.40 *Victory* made to *Royal Sovereign* 'I intend to push or go through the end of the enemy's line to prevent them from getting into Cadiz.' This signal was caused by the sighting of land, which Nelson undoubtedly took to be Cadiz, but which shortly afterwards proved to be Cape Trafalgar.—(See *infra*.)

We must here refer to the defence that Mr. Corbett sets up in order to explain why the greatest naval tactician of the world should have attempted to attack in such a deplorably bad fleet-order (as Mr. Corbett assigns to him), namely, two divisions in line ahead perpendicular to the line of battle of the enemy; and also to excuse him for departing at the eleventh hour from his brilliant and prescribed plan.

Here is the apology in the words of the book: 'Now, about the thirteenth ship we know a wide gap had opened in the enemy's line owing to ships to leeward not being able to get into station. Nelson clearly intended to seize the opportunity of this break in the line to pass through it and then to run up the van and engage it from to leeward, crippling each unit as he passed with his massed three-deckers, and leaving them a prey to his weaker following. It was a conception entirely worthy of him and entirely in accord with the fundamental principle of his plan.'

To put this astounding idea into the simple language of the seaman or yachtsman, Nelson was to have passed through a line *close-hauled to the wind*, and putting his helm down was calmly (in both senses of the word) to sail up *through their lee*, followed by his whole division, and engage ship after ship as he passed along their line up to the head of it!

Anyone who has tried to sail through the lee of *one* yacht close-hauled to the wind will understand the impossibility of the task, and yet we are asked to believe that Nelson considered that he and his line could sail through the lee, not of one ship, but of *thirteen* line-of-battle ships close-hauled with all sail set and yards braced sharply up! In other words, Nelson's ships, after losing a lot of way by putting their helms over, could sail in a calm (such as there must be under the lee of a line of two and three deckers) so much faster than the enemy's line sailing with an unimpeded wind, that they can hope to go past them and gain a distance of two miles on them in reaching their van, and this in spite of the fact that, by constantly engaging new ships, the leaders would not probably have a sail or spar left by the time they had fought the first three antagonists!

It is unnecessary to labour this point, but it may be advisable



1911

to call attention to the fact that this scheme of Mr. Corbett's entirely defeats the primary objective of the weather line (which was to prevent the enemy *tacking* so as to double on the lee division), as by placing themselves to leeward they left the enemy's van free to tack and support their rear as they chose!

There are two points, referring to the same thing, which must now be cleared up. Why, when the land was sighted about 11.30 A.M., did Nelson make the signal 'I intend to push or go through the end of the enemy's line to prevent them from getting into Cadiz'?

Secondly, Nicolas and Corbett both<sup>e</sup> quote the *Neptune's* log as stating that Blackwood came on board the ship with a message from Nelson to say that he intended to 'cut through the enemy's line about the thirteenth or fourteenth ship, and then to make sail on the larboard tack for their van.' This is a mistake, for an inspection of the originals (in the Public Record Office) of the ship's log, the Captain's journal, and the Master's journal, shows no trace of any such entry ever having been in these documents; and, of several Lieutenants' journals that have been examined, in only one has the entry been found. This, of course, is not an official document, but was written up some time afterwards; still, this solitary entry looks as if the message had been delivered to this officer but was afterwards countermanded, as it was not entered in the official log. It was also sent, if sent at all, at the time when the land was first sighted, and consequently at the same time that the above signal was made.

The explanation is very simple, and as follows:

The British Fleet had been cruising in hazy weather, out of sight of land, up and down, on and off, for some days, and must therefore have been very uncertain of its position. Land was sighted at 11.30 A.M., but not identified. Nelson, who was extremely anxious to prevent the enemy from getting back into port, must have jumped to the conclusion that this land was Cadiz, for he made the above signal and possibly sent the above message, showing that he intended to pass to the southward and to leeward of the enemy's van in order to prevent them from getting into Cadiz. This was a natural and necessary order if the land just sighted had been Cadiz (as a matter of fact it was not identified as Cape Trafalgar bearing S.E. by E. until half an hour later—see logs of various ships).

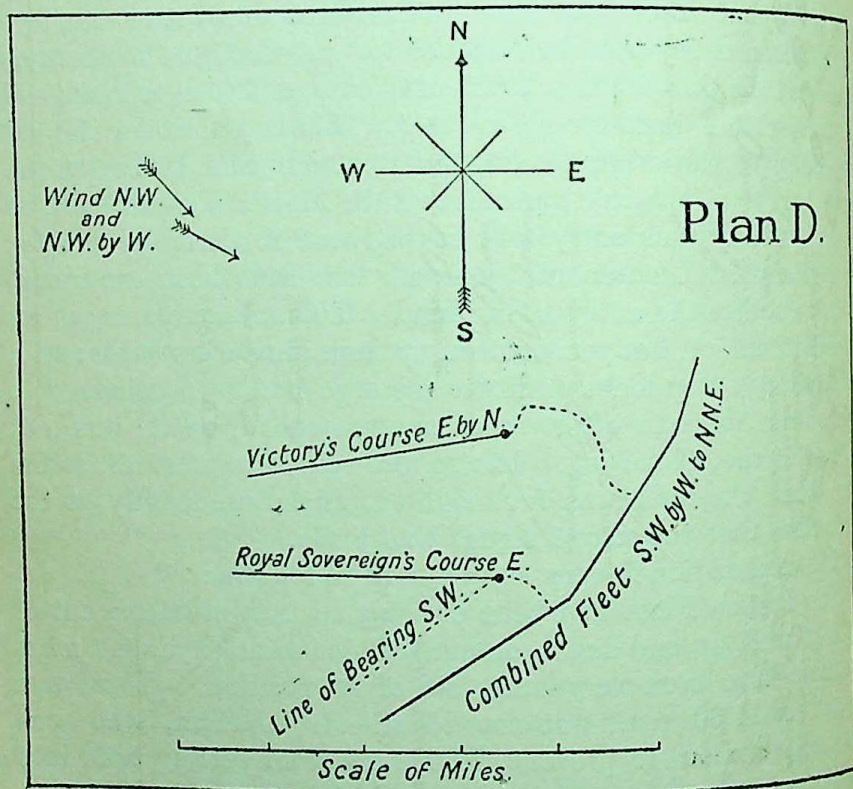
Now Cadiz was about N. by E. fourteen miles from the head of the combined fleet, and consequently was to windward and ahead of them, and so if Nelson had intended to cut them off from Cadiz, he would have been obliged to pass to the northward and to windward of their van instead of to the southward and to leeward of them, as indicated by the above signal and message.

<sup>e</sup> Nicholas, vol. vii. p. 186. *Campaign of Trafalgar*, p. 383.



There is therefore no possible shadow of doubt that the land when first sighted was mistaken for Cadiz, and, in consequence of this mistake, Nelson signalled that he intended to pass to leeward of the van to prevent them from getting into Cadiz.

It is evident from the times given in the only journal (Lieutenant Green's) that mentions the message to the *Neptune* that if it was conveyed by Blackwood, it was not on his final departure from the *Victory*, but clearly shows that he must have gone back to the Commander-in-Chief, for we know that he stayed with him until the shot actually passed over the *Victory*, when he left for the last time, with the message to the whole fleet.



which showed undoubtedly that the prescribed method of attack was being adhered to.

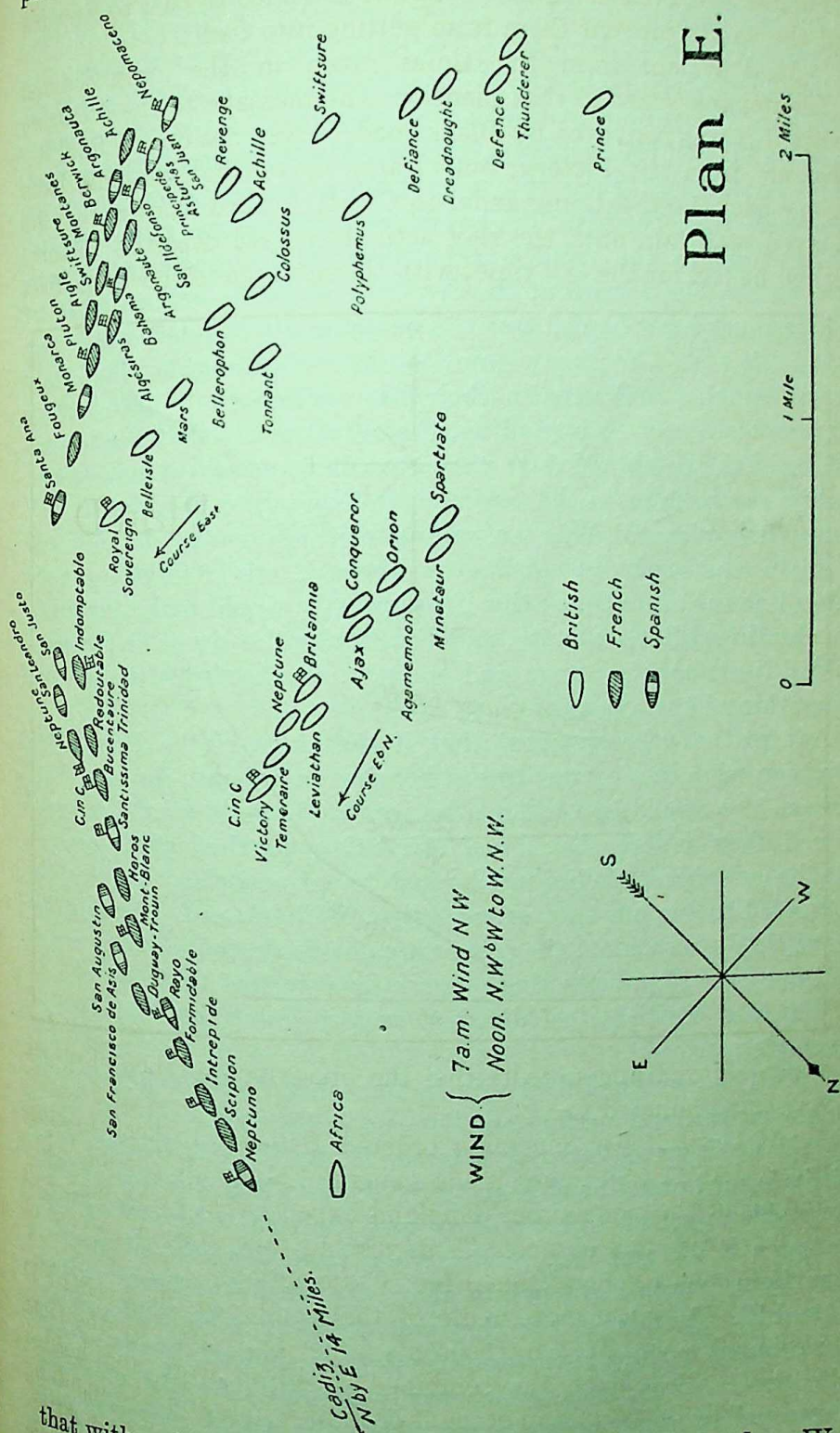
At 11.50 *Royal Sovereign* ordered *Belleisle* to keep in close order. At 11.55 *Victory* made general 'Make all possible sail,' and about the same time 'England expects that every man will do his duty,' and at noon *Téméraire* to take station astern of *Victory*, and a general signal for 'Close action.'

To turn to the movements of the combined fleet (Plan D and Plan E). At 7 by Nelson's time, or 8 A.M. by the time of the French fleet, the combined squadron wore and headed to the northward, but on account of light winds and bad handling this manœuvre was not completed until 10 A.M. or soon after. As the attack depended greatly on the direction of the wind we may be certain that up to the time of opening fire the *Victory's*



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

log would be more accurate than any other (as Mr. Thursfield points out in *Nelson and other Naval Studies*), bearing in mind



that with so light a wind the direction would not be steady. We also know from the French as well as the British accounts that the wind was backing to the westward at the end of the forenoon.



We may therefore assume that when the combined fleet was closed-hauled on the starboard tack they were heading about S.W. by W. When the manœuvre of wearing was completed the leading ship would be heading about N.E. by N., and the remainder would haul their wind on arriving in the wake of their next ahead. Taking the length of the line of the combined fleet as being about five miles and the rate of sailing from one to one and a-half mile an hour, this would mean that between noon and one o'clock their line would form an angle of about 150 degrees, with the apex in the centre and concave to the British Fleet, and as the wind was backing to the westward towards the end of the forenoon, the *Neptuno* and the other headmost ships must have hauled up in succession about one point higher than the rest. We know from the French accounts<sup>7</sup> that there were bunches and gaps in their line, which the admirals were trying to correct by signalling, the result being that the leading ships of the combined fleet were crowding on sail to make room, while many ships in the centre were heaving-to in order to drop into their places. When a sailing ship is hove-to she does not remain stationary but drifts to leeward, while forging slowly ahead at the same time; this consequently would make the angle in the line still more acute, and thus make the shape of the combined fleet, between noon and one P.M. on the day of the battle, something like a crescent.

It will now be apparent that if the ships of the British lee division were in a correct line of bearing as ordered, the starboard wing ships would be too far advanced and would meet the combined fleet before the *Royal Sovereign* reached their centre. As he advanced, Collingwood must have recognised this, as he signalled to his most advanced ships, *Belleisle* and *Revenge*, to form S.W. from him; the other ships he neglected, as they could not get up. Now with these corrections we find that:

- (1) The British lee division was forming parallel to the enemy's rear.
- (2) The combined fleet was in line ahead with a large angle in the centre, and another smaller one in the van.
- (3) Collingwood steering East or E. by S. with his line partially formed on a line of bearing S.W. from him, but some ships only able to get up to bear West, and the remainder on bearings between S.W. and W., so that they formed a sort of quarter line from four to eight points abaft the starboard beam (Plans D and E). In this position they would appear to be in line ahead (or column) to ships in the weather line, or, indeed, to any casual observer in either line, which easily accounts for the opinions expressed by some people present that the attack was made in two columns or lines ahead.

<sup>7</sup> Villeneuve's Despatch.



1911

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In addition to this, as the original course in the morning was laid when the combined squadron was heading to the southward, now that they had *wore* and were moving to the northward it is certain that Collingwood would have to haul up to port (*Belleisle's* log shows one such general signal), and as the ships were on a line of bearing they would have to turn together in order to keep their station, even if no signal were made (Appendix III., Article XVI.), and this would eventually bring them almost into line ahead but still parallel or nearly parallel to the enemy. This would account for the signal previously made to the *Belleisle* and *Tonnant* to exchange stations in the fleet, a signal never made in line ahead, as ships in that position were obliged to do it automatically if any ship were unable to keep her station (Appendix II., Articles IX. and X.; Appendix III., Article XII.).

We have now arrived at the position the lee line would have been in had they carried out the signals made by the two admirals (Plans D and E), and we have seen that at this moment (that is to say, 11.55 A.M.) Nelson made one of the signals which he had laid down in his Memorandum that he would probably make when 'nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre,' namely, 'to set all their sails.' The other signal, namely, 'To bear up together' was naturally not made, as several ships by doing so would have missed their opponent.

Let us now see what the ships of the lee line give us as their positions at this time. This we can tell by the time they state that they got into action after the *Royal Sovereign*, and also by Lord Collingwood's remarks on the subject in his journal; the latter says 'Passing close under the stern of the *Santa Anna*,' at this time *Mars*, *Tonnant*, and *Belleisle* had just broke through the enemy's line (a situation impossible if the ships were in line astern of their leader and perpendicular to the line of the enemy).

The positions of the ships of the combined fleet given below are partly taken from the excellent picture-plan (Plan F, copy in the Admiralty) made by Escaño, Chief of the Staff to Admiral Gravina, whose flagship, the *Principe de Asturias*, was in the tail of the rear division which he commanded, and who consequently was in the very best position to note the doings of the British lee division; the plan agrees in every important particular with the position of the lee line which the present writer has worked out from the British ships' logs and journals.

In corroboration of the above, the *Swiftsure*, who was some way behind, states that at half-past twelve the whole fleet was in action, which is again borne out by the logs of the *Phæbe* and *Naiad*.

Blackwood, in the *Euryalus* frigate, notes that Collingwood and his headmost ships broke the line together, and Beatty,



surgeon of the *Victory*, corroborates this statement. The *Conqueror* states in her log that the *Tonnant* lost her fore topsail yard ten minutes after the *Royal Sovereign* commenced the engagement.

The *Colossus* notes that she received a galling fire from the enemy's *Rear* twenty minutes after the *Royal Sovereign* engaged. The *Polyphemus* log says '11.30 the Van of the larboard division began to engage the Enemy, the rest engaging us coming up.'

The log of the *Revenge* states that she commenced action in the *Rear* ten minutes after the *Royal Sovereign* had commenced action in the centre.

The following are the times (taken from the ships' logs) that the ships of the lee line got into action after the *Royal Sovereign*, and the names of the ships they engaged with (the latter's positions in the enemy's line are also given where the evidence is forthcoming).

British Ship	Position in Line	Time in action after "R.S."	Enemy's Ship	Position in Line
		Minutes		
<i>Royal Sovereign</i>	No. 1	0	<i>Santa Ana</i>	1
<i>Belleisle</i>	No. 2	8	<i>Fougueux</i>	2
<i>Mars</i>	No. 3	13	<i>Pluton</i>	4
				but moved up to 3
<i>Tonnant</i>	No. 4	13	<i>Algeiras</i>	5
<i>Bellerophon</i>	No. 5	15	<i>Monarca</i>	3
				originally, but dropped when blanketed by <i>Pluton</i>
<i>Colossus</i>	No. 6	20	<i>Pluton</i>	3
<i>Achilles</i>	No. 7	15	<i>Berwick</i>	12
<i>Polyphemus</i>	?	50	<i>Achille</i>	14
<i>Revenge</i>	No. 9	10	<i>Argonaute</i>	9
			<i>San Ildefonso</i>	11
<i>Swiftsure</i>	No. 10	—	<i>Achille</i>	14
<i>Defence</i>	—	128	<i>Achille</i>	14
			<i>Berwick</i>	12
<i>Thunderer</i>	—	—	—	—
<i>Defiance</i>	—	—	<i>Principe de Asturias</i>	16
				moved up to 14
<i>Dreadnought</i>	—	73	<i>San Juan</i>	15
<i>Prince</i>	—	180	<i>Principe de Asturias</i>	16
				moved up to 14
<i>Orion</i>	—	120	<i>Swiftsure</i>	8

We have evidence that Admiral Collingwood was some little distance ahead of the rest of his line, and putting the distance between the other ships on an average of only one and a-half cables apart (Appendix II., Article XIX.), it is obvious that if the lee



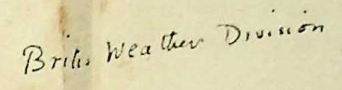
Weather Division



positions of the Combined Rear and the British Lee Divisions with regard as having just broken the line in the centre, and the *Revenge* having just other Division, and had Collingwood's Division between him and them.

[To face p. 696.]





This Plan is a copy of the Plan in Madrid which was drawn by Escano, Admiral Gravina's Chief of the Staff. It is most valuable as showing the positions of the Combined Rear and the British Lee Divisions with regard to each other, especially as Escano was in the best place to see advance and attack of Admiral Collingwood's Division. The *Royal Sovereign* is seen as having just broken the line in the centre, and the *Revenge* having just broken it in the rear. The situation as regards Lord Nelson is, naturally, not nearly so accurate, as Escano was four miles away from the Weather Division, and had Collingwood's Division between him and them. The situation as regards Lord Comptre Plan with Plan E, and with Lord Collingwood's and Captain Morsom's accounts. (Names of British Ships were not given in the Original.) [To face p. 696.]



divi  
tion  
two  
not  
Cap  
line  
ship  
was

colu  
occu  
seve  
sail,  
tion

*Def*

' Al  
that  
was  
that  
was  
form  
orde  
ranc  
stee  
E. I.

got  
and  
Mr.  
*Stu*  
ahe  
wh  
nin  
mo  
hav  
not  
her  
lea  
(ar  
top  
at

lin  
ste



division was in single line ahead perpendicular to the line of direction of the enemy, the ninth ship in the line must have been at least two miles astern of the *Royal Sovereign*, in which case she would not have got into action for at least an hour after her Admiral. Now Captain Morsom of the *Revenge* gives his position as ninth in the line, and says that he got through between the fifth and sixth ships from the enemy's rear, and also remarks that the *Revenge* was one of the leading ships through the enemy's line.

As station-keeping signals from a leader to the ships in his column are almost unknown in line ahead, but are frequent occurrences to ships on a line of bearing, it is significant that while several signals were made to ships of the lee line to make more sail, none were made to ships of the weather line, with the exception of the *Africa* (who was detached) and the signal made by the *Defence* to the *Orion* at 11.41 A.M.

The *Defence* also made a signal to the *Orion* at 11.32 A.M. to 'Alter course together to port 1 point.' It would appear from this that the *Orion* was not formed in the weather line at the time and was also under the orders of the *Defence*. It is also noteworthy that the first ship attacked by the *Orion* was the *Swiftsure* (who was No. 8 in the enemy's rear division) which would point to the former being ordered to join Admiral Collingwood's division in order to bring it up to the sixteen ships mentioned in the Memorandum. She also did not engage until 2 P.M., and her courses steered are a long way to the southward of the *Victory's* course E. by N.

With regard to the weather line, the evidence shows that they got into some sort of line ahead or quarter-line during the advance, and that the *Victory* steered E. by N. during the forenoon (Plan C). Mr. Thursfield has proved in his book, *Nelson and Other Naval Studies*, that the *Victory* was steering for a point about two miles ahead of the leader of the enemy's van. This course was laid when the body of the enemy's fleet bore from the *Victory* E. by S. nine miles. Mr. Corbett has stated that the combined fleet was motionless. If this was the case the *Victory* and her line must have missed the enemy by over two miles, but we know this was not the case, as the *Victory*, without altering course, arrived at her desired destination. The French evidence<sup>\*</sup> also shows that the leading ships were pressing on, while some of the centre ships (and also some rear ships of the van) had backed their main topsails in order to disentangle the bunches of ships which occurred at intervals along the line.

The *Victory's* course brought her to a point in the combined line about the tenth ship, and Captain Codrington of the *Orion* states in a letter to Sir Harris Nicolas ('and which, though



written forty years after the battle, is shown by the log not to be a mere fancy of after-meditation')<sup>9</sup>:

In Lord Nelson's Memorandum of 9th October 1805 he refers to 'an Advanced Squadron of 8 of the fastest Sailing two-decked Ships,' to be added to either of the two Lines of the Order of Sailing as may be required; and says that this Advanced Squadron would probably have to cut through 'two, three, or four Ships of the Enemy's Centre so as to ensure getting at their Commander-in-Chief on whom every effort must be made to capture,' and he afterwards twice speaks of the Enemy's Van coming to succour their Rear.

Now I am under the impression that I was expressly instructed by Lord Nelson (referring to the probability of the Enemy's Van coming down upon us), being in the *Orion* one of the eight Ships named, that he himself would probably make a feint of attacking their Van in order to prevent or retard it. I have no doubt of the *Victory* having hauled out to port for a short space [Plan D], and of my calling the attention of my First Lieutenant Croft to the circumstance of her having taken her larboard and weather stunsails in, whilst she kept her starboard and lee stunsails set and shaking, in order to make it clear to the Fleet that his movement was merely a feint, and the *Victory* would speedily assume her course, and fulfil his intention of cutting through the Centre. In admiration of this movement I observed to Lieutenant Croft, 'How beautifully the Admiral is carrying into effect his intentions.' In corroboration of this the *Orion's* log states the *Victory* after making a feint of attacking their Van hauled to starboard so as to reach their Centre.

This movement of the *Victory's* is curiously again substantiated by the *Téméraire*.<sup>10</sup> Captain Harvey of that ship states that he was so close to the *Victory* that he sometimes touched her taffrail with his flying boom, and at fifteen minutes past noon the *Téméraire's* log records, 'Cut away stunsails and hauled to the wind'; the log goes on to say, 'At 18 minutes past noon the enemy began to fire; 12.30 the *Victory* opened her fire: immediately put our helm to port to sheer clear of the *Victory* and opened our fire against *Santissima Trinidad*, and the two ships ahead of her, when the action became general.' We here see that the *Téméraire*, when close to the enemy's line, hauled to the wind, and, as shortly after she had to sheer clear of the *Victory*, it is certain that the *Victory* must have been ahead of her, and therefore must also have hauled to the wind (Plan D). As the *Téméraire* had to put her helm to port and then fired at the *Santissima Trinidad* and the two other ships ahead of her, who were then on her port side, it is equally certain that the action of the *Victory* which made the *Téméraire* run up to her, was also a porting of the helm, thereby causing her stern to swing to port of the *Téméraire's* stem. Had it been otherwise, that is to say, had the *Victory* used starboard helm, the *Téméraire* would not have been able to fire at the

<sup>9</sup> *Letters and Despatches*, Nicolas.

<sup>10</sup> *Téméraire's* log, Public Records Office.



three ships mentioned above, but, on the contrary, would have passed the *Victory* on the opposite side to them, and indeed she would have broken the line by the *Bucentaure* before her Commander-in-Chief.

The last order Nelson gave to his fleet is related by Captain Blackwood in the following words: 'When Lord Nelson found the shot passing over the *Victory* he desired Captain Prowse, of the *Sirius*, and myself to go on board our ships, and on our way to tell all the captains of the line of battleships that he depended on their exertions, and that if by the mode of attack *prescribed* they found it impossible to get into action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an enemy.' This shows that the captains of the line of battleships knew they were attacking by the *prescribed* method, and that this method was one expected to lead them quickly and closely alongside an enemy. This certainly does not sound like a perpendicular attack, which is undoubtedly the slowest.

It is worth remarking that the opinions given by some of the most intelligent officers of the fleet (judging from what we know of them) were all emphatic in their judgment that Nelson's Memorandum was carried out. Lord Nelson has just been quoted. Admiral Collingwood, writing to Sir Thomas Pasley, said: 'You know what time is required to form a regular line of battle. Lord Nelson determined to substitute for exact order an impetuous attack in two distinct bodies. It was executed well and succeeded admirably, probably its novelty was favourable to us, for the enemy looked for a time when we should form something like a line,' and later he writes: 'The weather line he commanded and left the lee line totally to my direction. He had assigned the points to be attacked.' Again, in his official despatch, he says: 'As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on and communicated to the flag officers and captains few signals were necessary, and none were made except to direct close order as the line bore down.' (The *Victory* did not make any tactical signals after 'Bear up and steer east' in the early morning.) 'The Commander-in-Chief in the *Victory* led the weather column; and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at 12 by the leading ships of the column breaking through the enemy's line, the Commander-in-Chief about the tenth ship from the Van, the Second in Command about the twelfth from the Rear . . . the succeeding Ships breaking through in all parts *astern* of their leaders' (a situation impossible if the ships were in line *astern* and perpendicular to the line of the enemy).

Writing to Blackett on the 2nd of November he says: 'In this affair he [Nelson] did nothing without my counsel. We made our



line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack which was put in execution in the most *admirable style*.'

Captain Harvey says the action was 'done according to the instructions given us by Lord Nelson.'

Captain Hope, of the *Defence*, endorsed his copy of the Memorandum with these words: 'It was agreeable to these instructions that Lord Nelson attacked the Combined Fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st of October 1805.'

We have already given the opinion of Sir Edward Codrington, of the *Orion*, Captain Blackwood and others. How much, then, can the evidence of Lieutenant Senhouse and Lieutenant Browne weigh against the opinions above quoted, to which may be added the signals made and the ships' logs cited above, concluding with the illuminating plan drawn by Admiral Gravina's chief of staff?

Corroboration of the above arguments is also given by the following:

Lieutenant Clement, of the *Tonnant*, fourth ship in the lee division, wrote: 'We went down in no order but every man to take his bird.'<sup>11</sup> Lieutenant Browne, of the *Victory*, says: 'The lee division having a *less angle* to make towards the enemy's line, arrived up with them a short time before the weather division.'

Mr. H. Walker, midshipman of the *Bellerophon*, says *Royal Sovereign* broke their line at 12.20 P.M. She was followed by *Mars*, *Belleisle*, and *Tonnant*, which engaged their respective opponents, 'at 12.25 we opened our fire; at 12.30 broke the line astern of a Spanish two-decker.'

In the *Prince's* log we find 'Bore up per signal, with the fleet steering for the centre of the enemy. Answered our signal to take station as most convenient. Fleet formed order of sailing; hauled to port to give room for line to form. Answered signal to bear up. (*Téméraire's* log gives 8.33. *Victory* to *Prince*, 'Bear up and sail large on the course steered by the Admiral'); later on states: 'Steering down between the lines with all sail set.' Now, as the *Prince* was the worst sailer in the fleet, it is certain she would have dropped to leeward during the night. She would therefore be nearer to the enemy than the rest of the line. As she was later on steering down between the lines her position must have been somewhere to the northward of Collingwood and to the southward of Nelson. If the fleet were advancing in two lines ahead the *Prince* could not possibly have got in the way of the fleet forming, but if the lee line was in line abreast or quarter-line, the *Prince* would, in passing to her station in the line, cross ahead of most ships of the lee division, and consequently prevent them forming. It is now easy to see why she hauled to port and why the signal 'Bear up and steer the same course as the Admiral'

<sup>11</sup> Naval MSS., British Museum.



1911

was made, and consequently how she found herself steering down between the lines.

The last, and a most powerful argument, at any rate to a naval officer, is the remark that Admiral Collingwood made to his Flag-Captain Rotherham just before the impact between the fleets. When Collingwood saw a signal being hoisted on board the *Victory* shortly before noon, before the meaning had been reported to him, he exclaimed, 'Why does Nelson make any more signals, we all know what we have got to do?' Now think what this means. The plan of the battle had been discussed and explained to the admirals and captains and also issued in writing, yet when, according to the advocates of the attack in two columns perpendicular to the enemy, at the last moment Nelson throws the whole thing to the winds without a word of explanation to his second-in-command, the latter, instead of showing any surprise or horror, coolly remarks, 'Why does Nelson make any more signals, we all know what we have got to do?' Surely it is inconceivable even to suggest that the Memorandum was not carried out.<sup>12</sup>

MARK KERR,  
Captain R.N.

## APPENDIX I.

### SIGNALS

	Instruct.	
	Pa.	Art.
No. 76.—When lying to, or sailing by the wind, to bear up and sail large, on the course steered by the Admiral, or that pointed out by signal ... ..	132	14
No. 79.—The leading ship in line of battle or order of sailing is to alter the course one point to starboard or to the point of the compass shown by signal; the other ships are to follow in succession ... ..	150	8
No. 80.—The leading ship in line of battle or order of sailing is to alter the course one point to port, or to the point of the compass shown by signal; the other ships are to follow in succession ... ..	150	8
No. 81.—Alter the course <i>together</i> , one point to starboard, or to the course pointed out by compass signal; the ships preserving their relative bearing from each other ... ..	150	8
No. 82.—Alter the course <i>together</i> , one point to port, or to the course pointed out by compass signal; the ships preserving their relative bearing from each other ... ..	150	8
No. 94.—Make sail after lying by; the leading ship first ...	122	21
	150	9

<sup>12</sup> The Appendices are all taken from the *Signal Book for the Ships of War*, 1793, which was the book in use at Trafalgar. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness in producing this article to the works of Mr. J. R. Thursfield, Mr. Newbolt, Mr. Edward Fraser, and Mr. Julian Corbett, and also to Mr. W. G. Perrin and the officials of the British Museum for their kind help.



## APPENDIX II.

## GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE FLEET

ARTICLE IX.—If, from any cause whatever, a ship should find it impossible to keep her station in any line or order of sailing, she is not to break that line or order by persisting too long in endeavouring to preserve it; but she is to quit the line and form in the rear, doing everything she can to keep up with the fleet.

ARTICLE X.—If, by the absence of one or more of the ships, a vacancy should be left in any line or column, the ships astern are to close and compleat the line.

ARTICLE XIX. (Sig. 56, 55).—When the fleet is directed to form in close order, the ships are to be from one and a half to two cables' length distant from each other; and when they are directed to form in open order they are to be from three to four cables' length distant; but their distances may be increased in proportion to the strength of the wind and the roughness of the sea.

ARTICLE XXII. (Sig. 99, 102).—Although evolutions which are to be performed together are generally to be performed as nearly as possible at the same moment, yet, when the fleet is formed in very close order, it may be necessary to allow the evolution to begin by the outer ship, at that end of the line toward which the ships will turn in performing it, the other ships following in a very rapid succession. And it will always be necessary to pay particular attention to the different velocities with which different ships perform their evolutions, without which there may be great danger of their running on board each other.

ARTICLE XXX.—Although it be the duty of every ship to preserve, as correctly as possible, the station appointed her, yet if any ship, in disobedience of these directions should, by attempting to pass through the line or by any other improper conduct, expose another to the risk of being run down, that other ship is no longer to attend to the preserving of her station, but is to bear up, bring to, or do whatever may be necessary to avoid the danger to which she may be exposed; for it can scarcely ever happen that as great inconvenience will arise from a ship being out of her station as may be occasioned by two ships falling on board each other.

## APPENDIX III.

## INSTRUCTIONS RESPECTING THE ORDERS OF SAILING

ARTICLE II.—In the order of sailing on two columns, the van great division is to form the starboard column, if the fleet be sailing before the wind, or the weathermost column if it be not; and the rear great division is to form the other column. The columns are to be one mile and a half, and the ships in each column two cables' length, distant from each other. The columns are to be parallel to each other, every ship steering in the wake of the leading ship of her column. The leading ships are to bear from each other in the direction of the wind (if the fleet be sailing by the wind); but if the fleet be sailing large the leading ships are to be abreast of each other. The Admiral will generally place himself ahead of the weathermost column.

ARTICLE XI. (Sig. 95).—In whatever number of columns the fleet may be formed, when the signal is made to tack in succession *all the leading ships* are to tack together, which, if the Admiral be ahead of the weather



1911

most column, they are to do when the leading ship of that column can fetch into the Admiral's wake after he has put about, by which they will continue in the same direction from each other as they were before they tacked; and if every ship be properly in her station the corresponding ships in the several columns will also tack together. The ships are to carry sail enough to insure, if possible, their not missing stays; they are not to stand beyond the wake of their seconds ahead before they put about; if they should drop astern in tacking they are immediately to make sail to get up to their stations.

ARTICLE XII.—Although it be intended that the captains should be guided by the motions of their seconds ahead, yet if any ship shall keep to windward or to leeward of her station, or shall neglect to put in stays, to wear, or to alter the course in proper time, the ship astern of her is no longer to attend to her, but is to keep in the wake of the leading ship of the column, or to tack, or wear, or alter the course, whenever it shall be proper for her to do so; and if any ship shall, for a considerable time keep so far astern of her second ahead as to exceed materially the distance prescribed, her second astern is to pass her and take her station, but is to allow her to resume it whenever she shall be able to do so.

ARTICLE XIV. (Sig. 76. Sig. 98-99, 101-102).—When the fleet is to bear up in succession and sail large, it will be necessary that each ship should make sail before she bears up, that she may not be too far separated from her second ahead; and that she should shorten sail again as she bears up, that she may not, by her increased rate of sailing when going large, be too far separated from her second astern: but when the fleet is to haul to the wind in succession, it will be necessary that the ships should shorten sail before they haul up, and make sail again as they haul to the wind; and it may sometimes be necessary for the ships in the rear to bear up and keep a little more from the wind, to prevent them from closing too fast on their seconds ahead as they haul to the wind.

ARTICLE XVI.—In whatever order the fleet may be formed, that order is to be preserved till the Admiral shall by signal direct it to be altered; and if, by a change of wind or by any other cause, it should be broken, it is to be formed again whenever circumstances will admit of it.

#### APPENDIX IV.

##### INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE FLEET BEFORE ENGAGING OR WHEN ENGAGED

ARTICLE VII. (Sig. 41, 42).—When the signal to form a line of bearing for either tack is made, the ships (whatever course they may be directed to steer) are to place themselves in such a manner that if they were to haul to the wind together on the tack for which the line of bearing is formed, they would immediately form a line of battle on that tack. To do this, every ship must bring the ship which would be her second ahead, if the line of battle were formed, to bear on that point of the compass on which the line of battle would sail, viz., on that point of the compass which is seven points from the direction of the wind, or six points if the signal is made to keep close to the wind.

ARTICLE IX.—If the signal to make more or less sail is made when the fleet is in line of battle, the frigate appointed to repeat signals will set the same sails as are carried by the Admiral's ship; the ships are then in succession (from the rear if to shorten, or the van if to make more, sail) to put themselves under a proportion of sail correspondent to their comparative rate of sailing with the Admiral's ship.



ARTICLE XII. (Sig. 57).—When any number of ships, not having a flag officer with them, are detached from the fleet to act together, they are to obey all signals which are accompanied by the flag appropriated to detachments, and are not to attend to any made without that flag. But if a flag officer, commanding a squadron or division, be with such detachment, all the ships of it are to consider themselves for the time as forming part of the division or squadron of such flag officer; and they are to obey those signals, and only those which are accompanied by his distinguishing flag.

NOTE.—The numbers refer to the original signals and articles in the Signal Book.



## *OUR PROVISION FOR THE MENTALLY-DEFECTIVE.*

THE object of this article is to examine and discuss the results of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, which was passed by the English Parliament in 1899. Prior to the passing of this Act the School Boards of one or two large towns had opened classes for the feeble-minded. These classes were of an experimental nature, but they drew public attention to the fact of the existence of a large number of mentally-defective children whom compulsory school attendance had forced into the Elementary Schools. A Departmental Committee appointed in 1896 dealt exhaustively with the whole matter, and led to the Act of 1899.

By this Act Local Education Authorities were empowered but not obliged to ascertain the number of mentally-defective children in their district, and to provide special classes or schools for those children who came within the meaning of the definition of a mentally-defective child given in the Act.

The promoters of the Act apparently believed that mental defect arose from retarded or arrested mental development, and that suitable and sufficient special education and treatment would gradually though slowly develop the brain to a normal or only slightly sub-normal level. The curriculum of the special schools was framed on this assumption, and accordingly the school exemption age of feeble-minded children was raised to sixteen instead of fourteen, in order to allow these retarded and stunted intellects full time to grow and expand. In almost every respect the education recommended was similar to the ordinary elementary education in the three R's, but was simplified as much as possible, and great emphasis was laid on the use of Froebel methods, and on the importance for purposes of development of manual occupations. The regulations issued by the Board of Education under this Act made small classes obligatory, the number in each class being limited to twenty, the object being to make up for the retarded brain development of the pupil by the greater individual attention of the teacher. This, with other regulations,



insisting on certain qualifications for teachers in special schools, and enforcing double the amount of floor space for each scholar, made the education of children in special classes a most expensive affair. A larger grant per head was given by Government to children in special classes, but in spite of this the amount that it was necessary to obtain from the rates for the education of mentally-defective children was greatly in excess of that needed for a normal child, and often reached a sum twice or three times as large. It was confidently hoped that the expensive education given would be justified by rendering the feeble-minded child capable of becoming a self-supporting citizen, instead of falling back on rate support in later life. Apart from the purely economic point of view, it was hoped that the habits, morals and character of the feeble-minded would be so influenced by this careful and prolonged training, that they would not sink into misery, degradation, and crime when they left school.

We will now seek to ascertain from the evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-minded how far the hopes and expectations of the promoters of the Act of 1899 have been realised.

Numerically, the Act may be stated to have failed, and its failure is attributable to two causes. In the first place, by its own definition of mentally-defective children it curtailed its possible usefulness, and selected to educate and train only children who could be certified as 'not being imbecile, and not merely dull and backward.' It thus excluded from its operation children who in the opinion of any individual medical practitioner or of H.M. Inspector of Special Schools might be termed imbecile, although improvable by training and emphatically needing care and control.

According to Dr. Tredgold there exist in England and Wales some 25,000 imbeciles who do not come under the definition of the Act, for whom no authority is responsible, who are absolutely untrained in habits of decency, order, cleanliness, obedience, and in industrial occupations. They suffer from the more marked degrees of mental defects, but they are of the same types and degrees as many of the cases which the Commissioners saw doing a fair day's work on the farm and industrial colonies in the United States. The Act of 1899 excluded them from the scope of its operations, doubtless with the idea that they were incapable of elementary education in the ordinary though simple form provided in the special schools. No provision was made by the Act to provide a different but suitable training for this large class of trainable children. They were left out; the Act did not pretend to touch them. Further, the Act has created a great deal of confusion, for children are now certified as mentally-



defective and educated in special schools who are really of exactly the same degree of defect as others who are certified as imbecile and sent to asylums.

Secondly, the permissive character of the Act, combined with the large expenditure it involves, has so restricted its operation that it has only dealt with about 9,000 out of the 45,000 mentally-defective children in England and Wales who come within the definition of the Act.

Only a very small number of Education Committees have adopted the Act, and a still smaller number have administered it so as to provide sufficient accommodation for all the defective children in their district. Out of the 9000<sup>1</sup> children in special schools, 5000 are in London, and the rest are mostly in the larger provincial towns.

Numerically speaking, therefore, the Act cannot be regarded as successful, as it does not attempt to deal with a large number of existing mentally-defective children, and has only succeeded in reaching one-fifth of those it does seek to provide for. We have now to ascertain the results of the education given under the Act.

These results may be thus classified :

(1) The amount of instruction which mentally-defective children have been able to absorb in special schools as shown by their actual knowledge on leaving.

(2) The character-forming effects of special schools as shown by the after lives of scholars and their capacity for self-support and good citizenship.

The aim of special teaching, as already stated, was to seek by improved methods of instruction and by individual attention to bring defective children up to the normal level, and accordingly children who improve sufficiently are returned to a normal school at about the age of twelve, and are usually placed with normal children of the age of ten, passing out into the competition of life as ordinary children at the age of fourteen. It appears that some 5 to 10 per cent. are thus treated in London. The percentage varies greatly in different places and is dependent on how each individual medical practitioner interprets the definition in the Act. In London, for instance, a larger percentage are returned to normal schools than in Newcastle or Birmingham, in consequence of the fact that very slight degrees of mental defect are admitted to the London special schools, and marked degrees of defect are either not admitted or are quickly discharged as incapable of benefiting by the education given. It is curious to note, in passing, that the curriculum of special schools, once set up, seems to have

<sup>1</sup> The figures given are those supplied to the Royal Commission. An increase has taken place since their Report.



received little modification, the tendency being to dismiss as unimprovable children who did not respond to it, rather than to seek to adapt the training given to the needs and capacity of the children. No doubt the definition of what constitutes a mentally-defective child has led to this inelasticity. The return of children to normal schools has given rise to some controversy. The condition of mental defect is now recognised as an incurable one. Once a defective always a defective has become an accepted maxim. What little intellect a child possesses can be trained and made the best of, but what is lacking can never be supplied. This fact has been so clearly established that when a child is returned to a normal school and proves himself in after life capable of competing with his fellows under ordinary circumstances, the immediate inference is that such a child was not ever a true defective, but was only dull and backward, his condition being due to some functional disorder and not to congenital defect. Dr. Kerr has called such children 'Spurious defectives,' and there is no doubt that for them special education, culminating in a return to normal schools, is a great advantage. The outlook is entirely different when a true defective is returned to a normal school. He is in this manner rendered a more dangerous citizen, for he is once more lost in the crowd of the normal population. We have made him as like a normal person as possible, and we finally send him out as if he were quite to be trusted, free to commit any of the many anti-social acts to which his mental defect will most certainly lead him, and free to reproduce his kind.

Of those children who remain for the whole of their education in special schools, we find that it is quite exceptional for any of them to reach a higher educational position than that attained in Standard II. This means that at sixteen the best of them will be able to read and calculate to about the same extent as a normal child of eight or nine. The numbers who attain Standard II. are variously stated by witnesses as from 40 to 58 per cent., not at the best much more than half the total number. Miss James, of Liverpool, a witness of great experience, expresses the opinion that this amount of knowledge (Standard II.) is sufficient to be of some use to a child in after life. He will at any rate be able to read the numbers on doors and the names of streets. Dr. Dickinson Berry thinks that about 40 per cent. learn enough reading to be useful to them, and with this figure Dr. Ethel Williams agrees. Miss Townsend, of Bristol, records the best results. She says that 58 per cent. learn to read (she does not specify the Standard) and 55 per cent. to do simple arithmetic. On the whole there is a striking agreement among the witnesses, and almost all plead for more manual work and for the cessation of the useless attempt to drive the three R's into minds incap-



able of utilising them. I think we may safely take Standard II. as the least amount of learning which is likely to be of any permanent use to the child. If it is a question of any pleasure or profit to be obtained by the child from reading in leisure hours, I am afraid we can hardly flatter ourselves that special school teaching confers this benefit on the mentally-defective, for to read for pleasure after school age a far greater ease and fluency must be obtained than is represented by Standard II. Only about half get as far even as this. In handwriting the results will be found to be more encouraging. It is a subject which does not call for the same amount of reasoning faculty and memory as reading or arithmetic, and consequently many mental defectives will be found to write a fair hand, although they are often incapable of correct spelling or of reading what they have written; but such mechanical and unintelligent copying as they can learn is of little use to them in after life.

Roughly speaking, we may perhaps say that it is worth while to continue teaching the three R's to half the number of children admitted to special schools, and that to continue trying to teach the other half is sheer waste of time and money.

The curriculum of the special schools allows for at least six hours a week manual instruction. Most of the time-tables submitted to the Commission showed that this time was rarely exceeded. In London several trade schools for older children had been started where a small number of mental defectives were taught bootmaking or carpentry during half of each day, but the amount of this accommodation was absolutely insufficient to meet the numbers of elder scholars. In Birmingham, where the question of manual training has, I think, received more attention than elsewhere, a system has been established whereby every child over twelve is able to spend half its school time in the workshop or manual room. But even in Birmingham the tradition of three R teaching dies hard, and one still sees many children with whom it would be far better to give up all attempt at literary training. Everyone seems to agree that a change of curriculum is desirable, but at present neither the Board of Education nor the Local Education Authorities have the courage of their convictions. The half-time manual system has been in existence for about four years in Birmingham, so that it is possible to form an estimate of its results. It shows that only very simple forms of manual work are possible, and that these need the constant supervision of the teacher. The teacher has to supply the headwork, the mentally-defective child becomes the machine. Probably the most useful work has been effected in the tailoring and bootmaking shops. Under supervision the boys have been able to turn out useful rough boots and suits of clothes,



while the girls are able to do washing, cooking, housework and needlework, all of a simple description. I am afraid it will be proved that neither with the girls nor the boys has the work much market value. The clothes and boots made are good and durable, but they can hardly be said to have a 'shop finish,' or be saleable. It is certain, too, that the mentally-defective adult, working for an ordinary master or mistress, will betray many weaknesses which were overcome while in school by the mental and moral force which has been supplied by the teacher. Yet the work which has been taught has a real value, it has been an intense pleasure in the doing to the defective, who has been introduced to the joy of creating something, and if he could still go on working under the same kind of supervision and control the work might be of real economic value. For instance, the boys and girls now drifting out of special schools could easily, under supervision, make every article of clothing necessary for institution wear, and could do all the washing, cooking and household service that is necessary.

Besides the results of special school training in mental and manual work there is a third consideration, perhaps more difficult to estimate, but, at the same time, of vast importance to the community. I mean the training in good habits and in character. Here I believe we may speak with no uncertain voice. No one can doubt that so long as mental defectives remain in school the effect of the discipline and training is little short of wonderful. Children who on admission are wild and ungovernable, passionate and disobedient, become quiet and amenable and capable of being controlled. They learn to be tidy and clean, to take a pride in themselves and their schools; they have often strong imitative faculties, and are easily led by example to adopt the simple moral code which governs their little community. There are, of course, exceptions to this, namely, children of innate vicious tendencies, and others where the bad influence of the home is strong enough to counteract that of the school, but in about 90 per cent. of the cases the influence of the school is sufficient to keep the children from harm. The mentally-defective are proverbially lacking in will-power, but the teachers are able to impose their stronger wills on the scholars and to keep them within the bounds of decorum. The improvement is far more due to this external influence than to the children having acquired habits of self-control. Independent will-power, real self-control, are the coping stones of character, and only attained by those whose mental equipment is vigorous and sound. They cannot be expected of the mental defective and the weak-minded, and just as the manual work, though fair in its results when done under supervision, has no value in the



open market, so the children's frail morality when severed from the ever-present sanction of the teacher falls to pieces on contact with the outside world and succumbs to every temptation. Yet these same weak-willed people, when kept under control in a simple community, live happy, useful and kindly lives, harming no one, and often showing a touching desire to help each other, and to win the approval of those who take care of them.

To sum up the first part of our inquiry, we may say that the results of the education given under the Act of 1899 are as follows :

Half the number of children educated learn an amount of reading and writing which, though very small, is sufficient to be of some use to them in after life.

A far larger proportion could, but do not at present, owing to lack of opportunity, learn to be useful with their hands and acquire the rudiments of simple trades, such as tailoring and boot-making. The amount they are able to acquire has not much value in the open market, owing to the fact that it can only be done under supervision and control, but it would have a real economic value if performed in institutions.

During school life the majority of the mental defectives improve greatly in general behaviour, in habits and in amenability to discipline. They become controllable from the outside. The teacher can supply the will-power necessary for decent conduct, but they are incapable of true self-control, and therefore will lose what they have gained in good habits as soon as the external influence is removed.

The foregoing conclusions are arrived at from the evidence given by those who are familiar with mentally-defective children up to the time they leave school. We now turn to the second part of our inquiry, and seek to ascertain from the after-lives of the mental defectives how far the training given develops a capacity for self-support and good citizenship.

There is some difficulty in estimating the worth of the evidence given on this question. But one or two points stand out distinctly. In the first place the most sanguine evidence given only shows that about 50 per cent. of children have been enabled to become wage-earners. A large number of these were returned to ordinary schools, which at once raises the suspicion that a very high grade of mental defect is being dealt with. Dr. Kerr, reviewing the tables of results for the London schools, says that 'about one-third will be capable of materially contributing to their own livelihood; one-third will partially contribute, but will require an After-care Association of some kind to watch over them; whilst the remainder should not be allowed to mix with the rest of the community, but should receive some kind of custodial



treatment.' He points out that a considerable proportion show little moral restraint, and that many who can materially contribute to their own livelihood would be better under permanent custodial treatment, showing that special training has been unable to eradicate immoral tendencies, or to induce habits of self-control. Dr. Dickinson Berry says, 'roughly I should consider that at least 50 per cent. of the children in London County Council special schools are suitable for permanent care in homes.' Mrs. Owen Fleming, who gave very careful and detailed evidence of thirteen years' work in a London special school, gives only 34 per cent. of results as 'satisfactory or harmless,' and when all her figures are analysed they show that only 44 per cent. are doing fairly regular and unskilled work. Of those who are recorded by Mrs. Owen Fleming as 'earning good wages,' about 12 per cent. seem to come mostly from the class of 'spurious defectives,' in other words, were probably only dull and backward children. Where more favourable results have been put forward, we find, I think, that the facts have been gathered from the old pupils who have been encouraged to come back and report themselves at the school, and not from a regular visitation of mental defectives in their homes. In this manner we obtain only the histories of those who are keeping their heads above water, and lose sight of those who sink and become too degraded and careless to continue in contact with their old school. It is for this reason that more weight is to be attached to the organised work of the After-care Committees. I will give a short summary of that supplied to the Royal Commission by the After-care Committee which has been longest at work. This Committee state that on examination of their statistics it is found that out of 308 mentally-defective children who have left special schools during seven years, only 19 per cent. have become wage-earners, and further they point out that few of these wage-earners become self-supporting, only 3.9 per cent. earning as much as 10s. 6d. per week. Also that their average wages do not increase, that is, they seldom earn more than the wages of boys and girls. Again, they point out the tendency of the mental defectives when they become men and women to lose the situations they obtained as boys and girls, and thereafter to remain unemployed. The older they grow the more difficult it is to find them work. The work they do is unskilled, intermittent, casual, and poorly paid. Already thirty-six out of the 308 were in the workhouse, while sixteen others were in various institutions, and twenty-nine were in a home for the mentally-defective, making a total of eighty-one receiving institution treatment. Owing to lack of money and powers of detention not one of the institutions can be relied on to exercise permanent care and control, and until they do so the money spent



by them is almost entirely wasted. For instance, one case reported has already given birth to three illegitimate children in the workhouse, where she went for her confinements, leaving between whiles to lead a street life. Other cases had been in prison and then discharged, and appear likely to be in constant trouble with the police during the rest of their natural existence. At the end of their Annual Report, this Committee say that after seven years' work among the defectives, they would like to 'endorse their opinion previously expressed, that for a large percentage of the feeble-minded, permanent supervision is necessary for the following reasons :

- (1) To enable them to contribute to their own support ;
- (2) To save them from vicious habits ;
- (3) To save them from harsh treatment at home and in the streets ;
- (4) To prevent their becoming drunkards, criminals, and prostitutes ;
- (5) To prevent their giving birth to children who can only grow up to be a burden to the community.'

From the evidence I think we may fairly conclude that special school education as given under the Act of 1899 does not meet the needs of mental defectives. It does not attempt to deal with all degrees of defect and it has failed to deal with more than one-fifth of the numbers suffering from the degree of defect defined in the Act. The training given has not succeeded in making a large majority of defectives either self-supporting, self-controlled, or satisfactory citizens ; and the evidence shows that the time when they leave school and all control over them ceases is just the time when care and control become most important and should in a large percentage of cases be continued. Continuity of control is necessary to prevent them from falling into vice, crime, drunkenness and prostitution, and from producing children who, even if some of them escape the inheritance of mental defect, become delinquents or dependents in consequence of the bad environment at once created when the parents are mentally-defective.

The Act of 1899 needs remodelling in the light of more than ten years' experience. The Royal Commissioners have suggested that all the useful provisions should be embodied in a new Act for the Care and Control of all Mentally-Defective persons, both children and adults, and that this Act should contain further powers to enable suitable treatment and training to be given to persons of all ages suffering from all kinds and degrees of mental disease, infirmity or defect. The Special School would then become one part of a great organisation for dealing with the whole problem. It would act as an Observation School where defectives were sent to be watched and tested, and as a centre from which



full knowledge could be obtained of their home circumstances as well as of their mental and moral capacities. They would be under the skilled observation of the teachers and the school medical officers, who would see that various kinds of training were tried until it could be determined to which the individual was most likely to respond. The Special School would be the necessary sorting house, and after a period of observation, the teachers, officers and committee would be able to decide the kind of supervision and care which any particular defective would need in later life. There would be no break in the continuity of supervision at the school exemption age. The defective unable to control himself or his affairs with ordinary prudence would remain under care and supervision in his own home, if that were possible and desirable, or if his degree of defect or home circumstances rendered it necessary, in a home or colony where the training given and the work done was suited to his capacity.

If we could induce Parliament to pass an Act for the Care and Control of the Mentally-Defective as suggested by the Royal Commission, we should prevent the present waste of public money. It is grotesque folly to spend large sums of money on defectives up to the age of sixteen, and then to give them complete liberty. We know that congenital mental defect is an incurable condition, and one which is transmitted from parent to child; yet we are lavish in our expenditure on defectives until they reach the reproductive age, when we leave them absolutely free to reproduce. Every page of the Report shows that they are a constant source of expense to the community. Lack of sympathetic control means for them, drunkenness, destitution, disease, and crime, and their weak degenerate children are born to the same ghastly inheritance.

On this subject all thinking people are agreed, the uniformity of opinion is most striking. Surely then it is time that the Government should grant the request for legislation which has been made to them from so many influential public bodies and from so many private and philanthropic sources.

ELLEN F. PINSENT.



## MY REISEBILDER—OLD AND NEW

I AM now an old traveller, for my experience of Continental cities began sixty-six years ago, when there were no railways between Paris and the coast, when Rome, Florence, and Vienna were walled cities under reactionary rulers. Those were the days of Pio Nono, Ferdinand the First, Louis Philippe, and the Grand Dukes. In 1845, 1846, and 1847, I spent the autumn in Picardy and Normandy, living with French families in the old Provincial days, and driving about the country from village to village, and from farm to farm. And in 1851 I travelled through Belgium, up the Rhine, and thence across South Germany, all through Switzerland, and then by North Italy, and home by Dijon and Paris, mainly by road in each country. Since 1851 there have been few years in which I have not spent a month or more in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and of later years in Holland, Spain, Greece, and Turkey.

These sixty odd years cover the enormous changes that have taken place from the development of steam by rail and ship, the vast social and industrial revolution that set in after the year of political revolution in 1848, and the portentous rise of Germany to the hegemony of Europe. When I first knew France under Louis Philippe, Guizot, and Marshal Soult the opponent of Wellington in Spain, Louis Napoleon was a prisoner at Ham; the Emperor Napoleon's widow, and his brother Jerome, were still living; and his body had only just been restored to France. In things visible, and to some extent in things political and social, France was much as it had been at the Restoration of Louis the Eighteenth in 1815. The only means of locomotion was by diligence, post chaises, or the ponderous hooded gig. Each department, almost each village, had its local costumes and manners; the old provincial life as described by Balzac, Hugo, Erckmann-Chatrian was in full career with its markets, fairs, ducasses, and pilgrimages. The churches and cathedrals were still undefiled by the hand of the restorer, and they were full of honest worshippers.

Sixty years ago every village was a new picture, a fresh romance. Ah! the dour picturesque fisher-folk of Calais, Dieppe, Boulogne, Havre, Honfleur, and all the ports along the coast of



Picardy and Normandy. Trouville was a rude seaside camp where I saw men and women who walked from their cottages straight into the sea and tramped about the sands till they were dry; Cannes was a pretty fishing village, with a couple of villas on the hills; Nice and Mentone were old Italian towns, and Monte Carlo was an orange garden. What delicious picnics we had on the Liane and the Orne, then like the Cherwell and the Isis, now defiled with furnaces and chimneys belching forth poisonous fumes. The markets of Boulogne or Caen, Bayeux or Rouen, were glowing and moving panoramas of quaint costume, manners, and appliances, such as Prout and Turner loved to paint, and Béranger to sing of. We, of those unsophisticated days, saw foreign parts as Byron saw them, or Heine, or young Ruskin, as Sterne and Goldsmith, Thackeray and Hawthorne and Landor, once knew them, in their warm glow and infinite variety of colour and form. The glow, the variety, the local colour, are all gone! Railroads, factories, steam, electricity, the Press, the density of population, the growth of cities, the change from rural to urban life, the closing up of the earth, the crowding out of clear and open spaces, the assimilation of European peoples to a common type, a commonplace type, have taken the charm and the freshness out of foreign travel. We are told now, if we want a change of scene in a holiday, we should 'try Uganda,' gallop round the globe in sixty days, or risk our lives in an airship.

When I first tramped the Alps in 1851, we passed through Belgium, visited Cologne and the Rhine cities, flung away a crown at the gambling casino of Baden-Baden, drove through the Black Forest, crossed the mountain chains of the Oberland and the Pennines, descended into the Lombard valleys and round Mont Blanc, back to Geneva, and thence over the Jura into Burgundy. These six countries had different languages, coinage, laws, habits, costumes, and religions. It was a perpetual joy to find new ways and scenes in each, and a general air of peace and goodfellowship. There had then been no European war for thirty-six years, and there was a vague sense that war between nations was a thing of the past. The turmoil of 1848-9, when retrograde thrones had fallen, was then quieted down. There was no sense of bitterness between nations which was apparent to a traveller. Half-a-dozen different languages could be heard in a public carriage, and German, French, Swiss, Italian, and English chatted pleasantly side by side in the long table d'hôtes, and compared their experiences or discussed the scenery and the local habits.

Both the peace and the contrasts have now ceased. Men of different nations keep to their fellow-countrymen. Public and national questions are never discussed in public; the table d'hôte



1911

has been replaced by the separate tables, from which those of different nations or different class stare coldly at each other. The same stale, faked imitations of Paris Boulevard *menus* are dished up to us at German baths, Alpine Grand Hôtels, Riviera *Métropoles*—on the slopes of Vesuvius, in sight of the Golden Horn, or under the shadow of the Pyramids. We can never get away from the dreary round of food, furniture, dress, habits, and amusements which the caterers and traders impose on us alike on the Thames, the Seine, the Elbe, the Danube, or the Nile—amidst the majesty of the Alps, and the loveliness of Italy, the solitude of the desert, or the poetry of Hellas.

Coelum—non victum—mutant qui trans mare currunt.

Europe has been standardised—brought to one dull conventional pattern—and that, although each nation is watching the others as showmen watch their performing lions and tigers. We are all made to look as much alike and to live as much alike one another as if we came out of the same family, and all the while we suspect the foreign man as a possible enemy or rogue. It is nonsense now to talk about a tour abroad being “a change.” We see just what we see at home—rather more so, perhaps—folk rather smarter, rather less vulgar, not quite so Cockney, but otherwise life is much the same at Homburg as at Harrogate, at Scarborough as at Naples. If we had all grown into a millennial brotherhood it might be a thing to be proud of. But to have settled into one dull regulation fashion, whilst being full of suspicion at heart, is not so noble a result. In my old age I retain my love of foreign travel, but I like to be spared the eternal scramble for a new room night after night, the bore of packing, catching trains, and registering baggage. I have taken to these cruising yachts which are growing into fashion, so that one can visit cities on the coast without changing one's room for a month. Of late years I have been in Spain to Cadiz, Gibraltar, Granada and Malaga; in Portugal to Lisbon and Cintra; in Turkey and Greece to Constantinople, Smyrna, and Brusa; to Athens and Corinth; and round the great cities of the Mediterranean. And this year I took the run up to the capitals of the North—Amsterdam, Christiania, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and St. Petersburg. Most of the Mediterranean, French, and Dutch cities I have long known well, and am now mainly interested in revisiting museums, churches, and ancient buildings. In a short cruise of the kind one gathers little but general impressions—snap-shots at the outside of things. But even snap-shots over a great and varied series of scenes have a certain value of their own. And I proceed to note a few of these.



First and foremost, is the universal levelling-up of all European peoples—the adoption of common habits and dress. Men and women engaged in hard manual labour still retain some minor differences of local costume; although even these are small now, and unobtrusive. But in every country of Europe the middle-class people, down to those just above manual crafts, have uniform style of dress and nearly the same habits of life. If you want to find national costumes in the well-to-do persons in the streets, they must be looked for North of Christiania, St. Petersburg, or south-east of Buda-Pesth and Athens. Anywhere south or west of these points there is little to denote nationality, at any rate among people of the class of lower shopkeepers, clerks, and smaller business occupations. Of course the richer, cultured, and highly-educated people of all European nations conform to French standards, if women, and to English, if men. That fact has long been familiar to us all, whether we travel, or meet foreigners at home. But the assimilating process has now completely absorbed all classes in all countries down as far as the workmen and their wives. A sempstress, a shop-girl, a teacher, will now look much the same in Paris, in London, in Christiania, in Naples, in Amsterdam, in Athens, or in St. Petersburg. A typist, violinist, art student, or milliner, will have the precise cut of skirt, collar, sleeve, and hat which the *Daily Mirror* or the *New York Herald* assures us pictorially to be essential to the man or woman who respects himself or herself. A “general” maid of housework, whether in Copenhagen or in Lisbon, will get as near to a hobble-skirt or a picture-hat as her wages and her avocations permit. This identity of dress may seem a petty, unimportant detail, but it is the outward and visible sign of a great assimilation of life and ideas underneath the surface. It implies a curious similarity of interest, education, manners. This results mainly from the enormous diffusion and activity of the Press, the simultaneous exchange of information through the telegraph, the rapid locomotion caused by infinite railroads and steam vessels. As our planet has been closed up, shrunk in extent, and unified within two generations, so has Europe been brought into common life. Whatever happens at one end of it is known to the man in the street in a few hours all over the continent. Politically, nations may be as wide apart as ever. Indeed, some of them are fiercely suspicious and hostile. But for social, economical, and industrial purposes, Europe is getting to be one population.

The immediate and decisive result of this is what abroad they call *the solidarity of Labour*. Social and industrial movements—what they name ‘unrest’ by a convenient euphemism—fly round Europe, and indeed America, without any regard to national frontiers. For some years now we have seen this growing, and



1911

we are likely to see it grow. The working classes have a different influence on their respective governments in different nations. But in all nations, at least of Western and Northern Europe, they have the same aspirations and opinions, and are more and more learning to act in concert. The reason is that by the enormous development of means of locomotion and of information, they can easily pass from place to place, and are daily supplied with the same news. For some purposes the Roman Empire made one people from the Euphrates to the Tyne. And for economic and industrial purposes, the Press, the rail, the steamship, and the telegraph have made Europe one.

In our recent cruise, when we landed in the capitals of five different nations, we found everywhere the tale of Labour strikes and 'unrest,' either actually present, or in recent experience, or in probable outlook. At Christiania or in Stockholm, the men on the quays knew what was doing on the Thames or the Tyne quite as fully as men knew on the Clyde or the Mersey. What with Marconigrams, telegrams, the post, and the Press, we on board ship never got behind the news of the day. We might be out of sight of land in the North Sea or the Baltic, but we never lost touch with Europe or Britain. The 'wireless' report every noon kept us well up to date. At St. Petersburg the local daily paper gave us all the essential facts known throughout Europe to within the hour of 'going to press'; and on the third day we read the dailies published in London. As in mid-ocean one has nothing to do but to read and amuse oneself, some of us had more time to study the news than when we were busy at home.

In my early days, no doubt, I could not have submitted to so superficial a mode of travelling abroad as that of touching at five capitals in a few weeks. But in my old age, when my object is to revisit well-known scenes and museums, or to compare a variety of impressions, the cruising system satisfies my idea of a holiday. I have always loved the south more than the north. Years ago I had planned a trip to the Fjords of Norway; but bad weather and the late season turned me southwards, and, in fact, when the day to start came, I went to Florence. As one great end of travelling is to find the beautiful, the picturesque, the historic, the sublime in nature and in art, this preference is instinctive and has ample justification.

If one sails from the Thames north-east into Scandinavia and the Gulf of Finland, the sense of things beautiful seems to fade away with a perpetual *diminuendo*. Belgium and Holland are countries rich with ancient memorials and great art, glowing with colour and picturesque incidents at every corner, with five or six centuries of memorable achievement—part of the great European movement since the Middle Ages. Van Eyck, Rubens,



Vandyke, Rembrandt, F. Hals, Cuyp, and Wouvermans, the ancient churches, town halls, palaces, and castles, seem indigenous and spontaneous products. They fill the mind and delight the eye even of those who know best France, Italy, and Spain. But as we pass up by sea from the continent into Scandinavia, the Danish islands, and the Baltic, the historic tradition seems to grow thinner and more recent. It is a world which, for all we see to-day, seems to have begun with the seventeenth century. Beauty of scene and of art, colour, and grace fade away together. Bleak rocks, crude ornaments, ungainly edifices are too common and look native and unimprovable.

Copenhagen, it is true, stands on a noble range of islets and has grand sea channels, and the genius of Thorwaldsen seems to have stamped upon it a classical tradition. Its new museum and the Glyptothek are really amongst the great collections of Europe. Copenhagen, with its beautiful site, its picturesque streets, and its new Attic halls, does something to carry on the charm of Holland—*longo intervallo*—with rather recent traditions and art. But as we pass further north there comes a cold and scanty look over the landscape, a monotony of foliage, a flatness of coast, and a crudity of ornament which, like any barbarous art, seeks quaintness, not grace; intricacy, not harmony; glaring tones, not rest and mellowness. The eastern coasts of Norway and of Sweden have neither beauty nor character; and the northern coasts of Russia seem to be nothing but monotonous and dreary steppes. One fancies that the flat, dull, melancholy aspect of Holy Russia accounts for the sad cheerless air of the poorer folk, who look as if they carried on a life-long struggle to get food, air, and rest.

One of the most interesting facts in modern development is the way in which the genius of Thorwaldsen has stamped itself on the art of modern Denmark, for one must count the New Glyptothek as due to the impulsion to high art given by the famous Dane. Of course, the vogue of the neo-classic sculpture is on the wane, and I fear that a visit to the singular museum where the sculptor lies in his tomb, surrounded by his works, in some degree explains this. The idea of a great artist lying entombed in what is at once a vast mausoleum and also a gallery of his whole life achievements, promises to be both original and magnificent. In cold truth the impression is not at all what one could hope. The sarcophagus standing in an exaggerated Etruscan tomb, a sort of Doric temple, is surrounded, not by a careful selection of his best work and not by marble originals, but by a miscellaneous collection of all his works indiscriminately, and the great majority of them in plaster casts. Thorwaldsen, like almost every artist who became popular and fashionable, often



1911

turned out from his studio and pupil-room works very much below his best, and unfortunately we see his tomb surrounded by some of his best and much of his worst. Besides this, everyone knows how much replicas, copies, and casts deaden the impression left by the original marble. The 'Theseus' of Phidias or the 'Aphrodite' of Melos fail to enchant us in plaster. Now, most of us who care for sculpture have seen a good many of Thorwaldsen's best in the original marble, and it is disappointing to see beside his bones so many of his worst in copies and casts.

On the other hand, to those who follow out the history of modern art it is deeply interesting to find collected in a single museum the entire product of an artist of extraordinary fertility, who undoubtedly exercised an immense influence on his country and his age. One sees how a noble genius became more or less infected by his own success, a fate which overtook Vandyke, Reynolds, and even Raffaele himself—in our own age Sir Walter Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray. The serene genius of Athene subsides into memorials to grandees, church decoration, and orders that pay well.

But, after all, Thorwaldsen is a noble figure in modern art. His reliefs, at any rate, justify the enthusiasm which they once aroused in Europe. If Canova's fame did him harm in the end, his earlier work will stand in the forefront of modern art. With our own Flaxman, he is one of the restorers of a sense of antique purity of conception. Those who care most for the true antique best know how far short of Phidias and Praxiteles was Thorwaldsen even at his highest. But he deserves study now that the art of sculpture is rudely invaded by the craze for brutal realism—sculpture which of all the arts is the most antipathetic to realism in any case. Photography, democracy, and a morbid passion for what is gross, common, obscene, or loathsome are poisoning poetry, romance, painting, music, and now even sculpture. Those who go into raptures over the 'literal truth' of a bag with pendant dugs scratching her nude back, may stand beside the grave of Thorwaldsen and watch his 'Mercury,' his 'Jason,' his 'Night and Morning,' and feel the air a little sweeter and less mephitic.

The influence of Thorwaldsen's art must have inspired the noble gift of the Glyptothek Museum—one of the most splendid benefactions in modern Europe. Would that some of our own brewers would imitate the munificence of Carl Jacobsen! The collection with which his taste and public spirit have enriched his country is as valuable in its way as any in modern Europe. In its best form it is not long completed. It would justify a visit to Copenhagen to those who have not been to that city in recent



years. With the fine new National Museums this Glyptothek places Copenhagen almost in the front rank of European collections. For myself, I do not hesitate to claim the internal arrangement of the classical works in the Glyptothek, where statues are placed between the columns, as the very best gallery in which works of antique art can be properly seen and judged. Excepting our Parthenon Hall in the Museum and the Greek Museum at Athens, there is nothing so effective as the Glyptothek central hall either in London, Paris, Munich, Berlin, or Rome. This is a real triumph for a small northern country such as Denmark.

Copenhagen, indeed, like Stockholm and Christiania, has many splendid points of view and striking and most interesting buildings. But to those who know the ancient cities of Europe and the palaces and cathedrals of France, Italy, South Germany, and Spain, all three northern capitals have an air of being at once modern and exotic. In all these cities the picturesque old boat or carriage service is now replaced by new launches, steam tenders, trams, and motor taxis. The great buildings are more or less recent imitations of European styles. There is almost nothing of importance that takes one's mind back to anything mediæval. Here and there we are reminded of Vikings and old sea kings; but, on the whole, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden seem only to have emerged into national life at earliest in the second half of the sixteenth century. There is little whatever that is Pre-Reformation, and all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they called in foreign architects from France, Italy, or Germany, and adopted some fantastic variety of later Renaissance or even hybrid Rococo art.

The noble city of Stockholm is so deeply saturated with its worship of the heroic Gustavus and his followers and successors that one sees almost no trace of any earlier history. One grand mediæval church does indeed remain, and serves to deepen the impression of the modernity of the rest of the city. The 'Knight's House' Church, with its early-pointed arches and pure Gothic aisles, survives as a pathetic memorial of the past, and links up the present with distant ages. The Westminster Abbey of Stockholm is indeed a tomb worthy of the Swedish heroes.

But if Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania look quite recent and rather exotic to the historian and the traveller, how much more recent and exotic is the capital of Russia. As Peter's mighty creation of the seat of his Empire is only just two hundred years old, it could not possibly offer us a single stone of the older world or the faintest memorial of the past. And of all the cities of the world St. Petersburg, I suppose, is the one most thoroughly the work of alien artists and is imitated from foreign art. Its



1911

grandiose scale and gorgeous palaces tell us of little but vicious taste and arrogant ostentation. Hardly a monument or a building, public or private, but recalls a foreign design, or some attempt to copy, to outbid, and often to vulgarise, a French or an Italian edifice. Now and then, the foreign artist has served his patron well, and has been suffered to erect a fine building; but too often the result is a pompous jumble of baroque ornamentation. Modern Tsars, like modern Sultans, seem to have thought that these sham Aladdin Palaces would fill their own subjects with admiration and awe, and fill the foreigner with envy and fear.

But the imperial ambition and boundless resources of the later Tsars have enriched Europe with two possessions of unique value—the Hermitage collections and the Isaac Church—both, except for raw material, wholly non-Muscovite. The statues and the paintings of the Hermitage are too well known to need another word, except that it is well worth a voyage of two thousand miles to see them. But in the unique collection of Greek art in the Kertch gallery, a dominant thought comes into the mind. We are too apt to think of Greek art in terms of its temples and its statues; and even in the museums of London, Paris, Rome, or Athens, we are mainly absorbed in pediments, marbles, vases, and terracottas. A careful study of the Hellenic remains found in Russian territory and now in the Hermitage, in gold, ivory, wood, bronze, and the most trifling implements of daily use, brings home to us the familiar details of Greek life, and impresses on us the truth that the architecture and the statuary of Greece were simply the mountain tops of an æsthetic genius which surrounded with its halo and aroma the life of every Hellene from the cradle to the grave, in his rising up and in his lying down, in the most trivial and most common act of existence. Greek temples and statues were great art, because every Greek, man, woman, or child, lived in lesser art, by art, and for art. How touching in its simple grace—*simplex munditiis*—is the little engraved wooden comb, a birthday gift to a soldier on a campaign from his sister, inscribed 'a sister's gift.' With such a comb we may fancy the Spartans of Leonidas sate in the pass of Thermopylæ 'combing their long hair,' as Herodotus relates. Alas! it makes one tingle, in poring over these Crimean relics, to remember the savage destruction of the old Kertch museum in 1855, when the town was occupied by British troops, as described by Sir William Russell and by Dr. Duncan Macpherson.

To my mind an even greater glory of St. Petersburg than the Hermitage is to be found in the great Isaac Church. Of all the domed edifices of the world, it is the only one that reaches perfection—at least in its elevation, external and sky aspect, and for its exterior. I have long ago contended that the dome was the



grandest discovery in architecture ever made by man, has been the most prolific of all elements of the building art, and lastly, that the dome must be the essence, centre, and soul of every great domed building, and not a mere adjunct or ornament. The oldest and the greatest of domed buildings—the Pantheon at Rome and Santa Sophia at Constantinople—fulfil this axiom; but neither of these has any adequate exterior, and both have been diverted to other uses by successive creeds. It is the exterior aspect of St. Isaac's with which I am now concerned.

The domes of Brunelleschi at Florence, of Michael Angelo at Rome, of Wren at St. Paul's, are tacked on to Latin Cruciform churches with long naves to the west, which utterly ruin the effect of the dome as seen from the front approach, and greatly lessen its majesty when seen from within. The same is the case with the Panthéon and the Invalides in Paris, and perhaps every domed church in Western Christendom. In spite of the protests of Michael Angelo and of Wren, the Latin churches deliberately destroyed the symmetry of their fanes by insisting on long western naves. The dome of the Capitol at Washington is merely an adjunct to the huge lateral colonnades. The Kaiser's new cathedral in Berlin is happily avoiding the fatal blunder of crowding out a central dome by a long Latin cross; but the Greek Church naturally placed its dome on a Greek or equilateral cross.

This is the only way in which a dome can be seen to advantage, and to my mind the exterior of the Isaac Church, as seen from the garden on the north, or from the Neva, is far the most successful of all the domed buildings in Europe—indeed, it is the most symmetrical of all recent buildings. The stupendous portals of granite monoliths on the four sides of the square church make a magnificent base to the dome, which is admirably carried up by the four belfry towers and the minor domes around. All this is proportioned with a sense of symmetry and of reserve which are quite Greek in spirit and do high honour to their French designer. Grand, simple, and harmonious as is this consummate pile, it has nothing Russian about it except its superb granite and marble. I count these tremendous monoliths of polished pink granite from Finland—forty-eight of them, ordered with consummate judgment in two double colonnades of sixteen each on north and south, and two single colonnades of eight each on east and west—as being the principal triumphs of modern architecture. A monolith column is an emblem always of might, majesty, and solidity. In our islands we have never seen and cannot realise the sublimity of monolith columns more than fifty feet high and more than six feet in diameter. The mind reels when one tries to conceive the incalculable labour involved in the quarrying, hauling, and polishing of these colossal granite pillars.



1911

I love to stand beneath them by the hour, filled with the same sense of awe with which I have gazed up at the dome of the Pantheon or of Justinian's temple of Santa Sophia. They enable us to recall in imagination what that portal of Agrippa was at its best.

Inside and out, St. Petersburg abounds in lovely marbles and colossal stones. To my mind, the Kazan Cathedral is not equal to the Isaac, but it has even more monolith columns. This is the one great glory of Muscovy. Enormous natural resources and unlimited manual labour it has—and when these are placed in the hands of French or Italian artists of genius, a great and rare triumph is the result. When the Muscovite falls back on native art, it is barbarous, baroque, gaudy, and discordant, like the blazonings of a negro potentate. On the Kazan Church they have hung bronze replicas of Ghiberti's exquisite gates in the Baptistery, and near them are coarse imitations of modern work. Everything Russian is mammoth, as if bigness could mean beauty, or costliness could spell art. It is astonishing that the people who possess so exquisite a type of all that is sublime in architecture, as is the Isaac Church, could endure the barbaric trumpery and gaudy colours of the new Expiatory Church of the Resurrection. But so it is. It recalls the antique traditions of the Kremlin, and that is enough in Holy Russia. There never was, and never will be, any pure art in the slough of such obstinate superstition and ignorant pride. The North may be, as the poet says, 'Dark, and true, and tender,' but for beauty, gaiety, and grace, let us wend our steps toward the South.

FREDERIC HARRISON



## THE SIEGE OF DELHI

A REMINDER FROM ONE WHO WAS PRESENT

*'Taylor took Delhi, and if I live through this, the world shall know it,' were the words of General Nicholson as he lay dying from a wound after leading the storming column over the breached rampart.*

IN these days of pageants, when the contemplated Delhi Durbar, the state of affairs in India, and the visit of princes and gallant soldiers may be suggesting thoughts on that country, some reminiscences of the Siege of Delhi in 1857, by one who was present, may be of interest. For it was perhaps the most notable event in the history of British India, as the crowning and successful effort of a handful of British soldiers, against a vastly superior force, to save British rule and the many British dwelling in Upper India in imminent peril of their lives—notable also as a military operation of a nature unprecedented in warfare, both in itself and in the Engineer project it involved.

As the revolt of the native army and the events of that time are probably of too ancient a date to be much in the minds of a generation knowing of India as directly under the crown, a brief sketch of the then state of affairs in India is given below.<sup>1</sup> The writer proposes to add particulars of those events in the hope of making clear the unusual character of the military operation in

<sup>1</sup> History tells of Delhi as the seat of the Mogul Empire of India, and of its many vicissitudes under various conquerors, until at the beginning of the nineteenth century it came under British dominion. Situated on the River Jumna, it contained some 100,000 inhabitants, surrounded by a fortress seven miles in circuit of bastioned ramparts, kept in efficient order by the British, who placed there the chief arsenal of Upper India, and garrisoned it by native troops only. The king—descendant of the Mogul Emperors—was also kept there in regal state and with princely endowments. Thus on the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857 it offered itself an admirable centre and stronghold for the project of uprooting British rule, and offering the throne of India to the Mogul King; and thither accordingly the rebel army flocked in immense numbers, after massacring every British man, woman, and child they could lay hands on. British rule thus partially extinct threatened to be totally subverted unless possession of that fortress could be regained and the uprising of the whole country prevented; and this necessarily became the one paramount object—little as the handful of British troops in all India could duly cope with the overwhelming force and means of the enemy.



1911

question, and the engineering work essential to its success; offering a humble tribute of honour to gallant officers to whom historians have done scant justice.

In support of his observations—especially as touching the officer mentioned in the above heading, Captain, now General Sir Alexander Taylor, G.C.B.—the writer submits that he is the senior of the surviving Engineer officers who served under that officer throughout the Siege of Delhi, was director of the right attack, and in command of the Sappers, some of whom were the Cashmir gate explosion party; also in the advance on and the taking of the position before Delhi; as also with the Captain at the Siege of Lucknow and the Siege of Mooltan in 1848-9; and that he is therefore cognisant of his skill, character, and method of procedure.

All-important as was the capture of Delhi to the saving of British rule and of the lives of the many British in Upper India, and much stress as has been laid on the Engineer project, the most striking feature, the real character of the siege operations, seems never to have been noticed or fully understood; and it is the writer's object to explain or account for this remarkable omission or misconception.

The words—above quoted—of a renowned General who took a prominent part in the capture of Delhi,<sup>2</sup> and was necessarily cognisant of all appertaining thereto, are very remarkable—especially are the words '*if I live the world shall know*' strange enough to invite more consideration than has ever been given to them, implying as they do in plain English that 'the world' did not know. For surely it would seem most strange if any and all serving at the siege did not know all about the work of a well-known officer, which they believed to have greatly or mainly contributed to the success they were so elated at!

Nevertheless such was the case—no allusion to the special character of this work occurred in any of the despatches or discussions at the time, nor is to be found in any of the histories or narratives of the event. Such omission of a feature so essential to the success could not possibly have been intentional; it could only have been simply owing to ignorance 'the world' was not aware of it, and there was no one living to tell it! It might have been partly due to minds being too elated with the reaction, the novel feeling of elation at the glorious success, to give special thought to an episode they had not actually participated in, occupied as they were in the strenuous work before them as they were quietly led into their posts; but more certainly to ignorance of

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 8th of October 1857 from Lord Lawrence to Captain Taylor, 'I take it that you and Nicholson, poor fellow, are the real captors of Delhi.' *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 251.



what the Engineer himself never alluded to, and had ever carefully guarded from notice. Narrators of the event seem to have assumed, perhaps naturally enough, that all such details were the work of those who officially reported on the success of the siege. Briefly, it was due to the unprecedented nature of the operation and the secrecy necessarily observed, as a due consideration of the circumstances may show.

The position before Delhi won by the little British Army, in the vain hope of speedily quelling the revolt, at once became one to defend against the constant attacks of an overwhelming and ever-increasing force, with such losses that only an assured hope of succour enabled them to hold on to it. It extended along a ridge about a mile in length and a quarter of a mile across, its right within easy range of the fort artillery, and touching an extensive suburb occupied by the enemy, and therefore requiring guns in position and defensive earthworks—the attacks being invariably upon that part of the position. Its left was thrown back at a great angle, some three-quarters of a right angle from the opposite three-quarters of a mile of ramparts, having between it and the extreme or river end of that line of ramparts an area from a quarter of a mile from camp for a length of three-quarters of a mile up to the glacis, and some quarter of a mile in width, covered with extensive buildings, garden-walls, tree-copse, &c., under close fire command of the fortress, only partially occupied by the enemy under the threatened pressure of the British right, but open to his occupying it in force at any moment. The advantages offered by this site as so covered and as the best position for breaching the ramparts plainly indicated its possession to be essential to a successful siege attack. The intention therefore was to seize it, while covering the movement by a threatening attack from the right as soon as expected reinforcements should enable it.

The burning months of June and July passed on with weary and vain hopes of speedy succour, with ceaseless attacks and loss—cholera and other sickness and heavy rains filling the hospitals, and seeing reinforcements pouring into the fortress. Until, at long last, hope began to revive, reinforcements to pour in from the Punjab with the glad assurance of a rapid offensive. When, however, all possible succour had arrived, it was not sufficient for an effective seizure of the site; the commotion in forcing through the many obstacles would inevitably bring out the enemy in great force, involving a loss that might cripple the whole force; and the heavy gun ammunition was barely enough to effect tolerably practicable breaches, and if expended without the capture of the place, events would be much in the hands of a powerful and resourceful enemy.

The importance of the capture of Delhi was, however, too



1911

paramount to admit of a delay that might be as disastrous as a failure; a dash on the fortress was imperative: the responsibility on the General, the anxiety harassing in the extreme—only by an effective surprise could he count on success. Although sanctioning the Engineer procedure, he could not deem it effective, or hazard placing the breaching battery but a stone-throw from the ramparts. The attack therefore pended until, with the fuller explanation and confident assurance of the Chief Engineer and of General Nicholson, he satisfied himself of the essential efficacy of the project, and finally launched forth his little army; under cover of a powerful battery on his right he seized the site by surprise, and in seven days of roaring artillery, after three months of patient waiting, Delhi fell and India was saved.

The success of the siege, the nature of the operations or the fate of India entirely depended on what Lord Lawrence, Governor of Upper India, could send without losing hold of the Punjab and neighbouring Sikh provinces, ever on the balance watching events. It was knowing the exceptional ability of Captain Taylor, his experience in the siege of Mooltan, and the need of such an officer in the Delhi force, that he sent him there early in the course of the campaign. That officer, finding the whole Engineer duties devolving on him, owing to the nominal Chief Engineer's incapacity, from bodily infirmity, to undertake any active personal exertion, set himself closely to reconnoitre the whole position for the contemplated siege attack. Aware of the reinforcement likely to be sent, and given a free hand, he foresaw the advantage a careful study of the site might afford to the seizing it by surprise, and this study time allowed of his undertaking. It was a work of great labour and danger only possible to one of his physical capacity and resolute and adventurous spirit, involving days and nights of perilous scoutings and hairbreadth escapes, and the utmost caution and secrecy to avoid alarming the enemy. His object was to select and mark the positions for the breaching batteries and the covering force, and the way to get to them through the many obstacles by night without delay or commotion—in fact, to lay out in the ground a complete survey of the site to be submitted to the General in Command. General Nicholson was the only officer of higher rank who visited this work, for it was not advisable, under the secrecy necessarily observed, with the knowledge of spies being in or about camp, for officers to be seen passing between camp and the site. He threw himself into a work which gave such promise of the speedy action he was bent on; appreciating and aiding the scheme as it gradually evolved, under the Captain's scoutings, as 'the way into Delhi'; and he partook also of his hair-breadth escapes. The plan so devised was only completed in the marking of the chief breaching battery hardly a



stone-throw from the rampart, and they feared that the very audacity of this proposal might cause the General to hesitate from so hazardous a procedure. This would fully account for his implying that others, 'the world,' could not know or testify of this work as he would had he lived, for he knew Taylor to be the last man to refer to it as reflecting any personal credit on himself for what he counted but as his duty. It was in storming the fortress through the 'door' he saw thus being opened that he generously ascribed the honour to his gallant friend Taylor, and his untimely death left 'the world' unaware of it! Yes, that was all—a mere duty, one of those mere duties on which may hang the fate of an Empire!

Otherwise the writer's recollections, his conversations with officers who were there, and all histories or narratives endorse the same absence of any notice of this work, nor need one go far to account for it. The Engineers necessarily were those most aware of the Engineer procedure, some of them being used by Captain Taylor in measuring, marking, &c., especially one who lived on the site at the outbreak of the mutiny: they simply followed his directions without fully apprehending the plan on which he worked or the labour and danger it entailed. Much less could others, whose duties did not require or enable them to visit the site, have been fully aware of it; nor was it necessary or desirable for those in higher command openly to frequent the site, fully informed as they were kept by the officer so employed and fully confiding in his exceptional capacity. The secrecy observed until the General in Command approved of the scheme, and the reticence on his own doings natural to the Captain, sufficiently explains the misconception or ignorance existing then and since. The writer, though having ample evidence of all he writes, dared not acquaint General Taylor of what he was doing, in so writing, for he would certainly have objected.

It was not, in fact, until Delhi fell that it was in any measure realised how absolutely essential had been the engineer work in question—a complete survey plan laid out on the ground: how only by marking the positions of the batteries and the occupying force, &c., and the way to get them through the obstacles, had it been possible to seize the site without alarming the enemy, and consequent severe loss. The attacking force was led so promptly and quietly to the pre-arranged posts, that, intent on the strenuous duties before them, they were hardly, if at all, aware of the labour and danger of the work that had enabled them so to seize the site. Such preliminary plan, however, was not of forethought nor any part of the original project, nor was a surprise necessarily involved in that project; and it is highly improbable that such work would ever have been done or even thought of. but



for Captain Taylor and his daring conception. What might otherwise have occurred, of loss or disaster, it would be useless to attempt to say !

There is no intention of magnifying the engineer details beyond stating what they really were, and by whom actually devised, for they were but one of the essentials to the success of the military operation, and in themselves not remarkable beyond what all the Engineers were adepts in. Their importance was in the transcendent issue at stake, their intrinsic value in their being deliberately effected on the very ground and under the close fire command of a powerful enemy. The credit and honour for this—hitherto never rightly apportioned—was due to the resolute daring of Captain Taylor, the scheme evolved by him alone through days and nights of hazardous scoutings, so cautiously that few were aware of his labours and hair-breadth escapes ; a scheme impossible to have delineated in detail—as some have imagined—before it had so evolved itself under his scoutings.<sup>3</sup> Such ascription to this gallant officer, however, is in no derogation of the honour justly due to his nominal chief, for it was with his sanction, and greatly due to his counsel, that the General approved of the plan as essential to the success of his scheme of attack.

In fact, the whole campaign, from the outburst of the storm of revolt to the advance, the seizure of the position before Delhi, the three or four months of constant fighting, to the crowning action of storming the fortress, was entirely a military operation. Each arm took its equally essential part—the pioneering and finding the way into Delhi that of the Engineer ; the breaching of the rampart and the storming of the place that of the artillery and gallant soldiery. All combined under the direction of the General in Command. The daring and audacity throughout was just British indomitable resolute gallantry against immense odds, actuating all from the General to the youngest soldier, of which the Engineer lauded by Nicholson was a notable but unpretentious instance. Note also Tombs with his horse artillery, the 9th Lancers and Guide cavalry, Hodson too—calmly sitting mounted, suffering under a deadly fire, to draw the enemy's attention and fire from the storming column ; note also the little Ghoorkas coming out of hospital to share in the struggle.

These considerations will, it is trusted, sufficiently dispose of and explain the misconceptions and omissions, touching the

<sup>3</sup> As to the mention by some writers that the works as effected were marked on a plan of Delhi at Roorkee by the Chief Engineer, Col. B. Smith, before going to Delhi, the writer can affirm that all such plans were in his office at Roorkee, and that the plan of Delhi showed nothing of the maze of trees and buildings on the siege site. The works could not possibly have been sketched on it beforehand.



character of the operations resulting in the capture of Delhi, evinced by the many narrators of that event—natural enough in the absence of a full knowledge of the circumstances. But their accounts of the siege contain reflections upon the General in Command in which they cannot be credited with mere misconception. They go to detract from the honour justly ascribed to that gallant officer by her gracious Majesty, by reflections on his character and acts, seemingly derived from private letters, or words incautiously dropped in moments of great anxiety, and better kept private; this calls for animadversion as altogether unfair and unjustifiable.

The General, Sir Archdale Wilson, was a distinguished officer of the Bengal Artillery—a renowned regiment not given to quail before difficulties, however great or seemingly insuperable—as fully aware of the Engineer details of a siege as the Engineers, and more so of the power and efficacy of the artillery essentials.

On him was laid by the highest authority the whole responsibility for the capture of Delhi<sup>4</sup>—the one and all important object to be attained at all hazards—the existence of British rule, and the lives of thousands of his countrymen depending on it, and to him alone it belonged to judge and decide on the course to adopt. He had decided against a project urged on him to attempt an escalade, and rightly, as reinforcements had not all arrived, and it would have been fatal. When all had arrived, and it was imperative on him to act promptly, the project he adopted—it may be said forced on him in view of the site offering itself as the best and only possible one with the means available—has been already described, namely, to hold the enemy strongly by a threatening attack with his right, while seizing the position on his left with his main force—if possible by surprise, but at all hazards—and thereafter to construct breaching batteries, and carry the place by storm. The issue at stake was too great to attempt this without due and careful consideration, but when satisfied of the efficiency of the Engineer project, enabling him completely to surprise the enemy, he launched his gallant little force upon them, with stirring words of encouragement, and achieved the success which saved India.

Not to have been anxious under so great a responsibility, with so transcendent an issue at stake—and a greater was never laid on a soldier—would indeed have been strange. Who would not? Who did not feel anxious and elated at the success? Who else would have been arraigned had there been a disastrous failure?

<sup>4</sup>General Sir H. Norman, Adjutant-General, in the *Fortnightly Review*, April 1883, writes :—‘It is doubtful if there was any officer before Delhi in 1857, though there were many there who possessed high qualities, who could have captured Delhi except Wilson.’



1911

Was the saving of India and the thousands of British lives of less importance or a matter of less anxiety than the saving of British rule in South Africa, for instance? Three officers in chief command had died or succumbed under the anxiety; least of all was it possible for him to succumb, short of death, after suffering a great share of that anxiety and on the eve of a promising success, aided by his able staff, one of whom was subsequently nominated Viceroy of India, and the wise counsels of General Nicholson and the Chief Engineer. The scheme rightly decided on and effected by him was that bound to be adopted irrespective of the opinions and advice of his counsellors; and it would necessarily have been adopted by his successor had he succumbed. He fully responded to the great onus laid upon him, and to him was justly due the honour of success.

Some particulars of the events summarised above as centring on Delhi may not be out of place. It was in a time of profound peace that in May 1857—the hottest time of the year—the native army burst out in revolt, with a startling suddenness and cruel massacres of their officers and of every British man, woman, or child that could be found, under a quasi religious and racial madness of fanaticism. All communications, postal, telegraph or other, were stopped—railways not existing; tidings could only be passed by officers riding at the peril of their lives through a country in active sympathy with the rebels. There had been premonitory symptoms of mutinous discontent, but with no suggestion of the widespread terrible character it would take. Doubtless it was premeditated, and precipitated by a stringent court martial resulting in the imprisonment in chains of a troop of cavalry which had refused to use the service ammunition.

The rebels were flocking to Delhi by regiments and brigades to offer allegiance to the descendant of the Mogul Emperor, residing there with regal honours and endowments in the celebrated palace. For Delhi with its 100,000 inhabitants, and surrounded by a fortress seven miles in circuit, kept with an arsenal in good order, and only a native garrison, was a splendid stronghold which providence or British blindness seemed to offer for the subversion of British dominion.

Far and wide the whole continent seemed hostile, no news could be obtained from Lower India or the Supreme Government, except of disaster. Fort Agra besieged, Lucknow beleaguered, the trained armies of native princes in open hostility. The whole British force in India was but a handful to oppose to an army ten times greater, trained under British officers; and as the British were cantoned in stations hundreds of miles apart—thousands living spread over the country in hourly peril of their lives—the circumstances, as may well be conceived, were appalling.



All that could be done was to collect all available British soldiers with a view to a dash on Delhi ere the enemy attempted further destruction. But it took time to collect troops by long marches through a country where all means of transport and supplies were hidden away. The Commander-in-Chief, Anson, died under the unwonted excitement and exertion, and it was nigh a month before an advance in any force could be made, leaving some protection for the people and stores left behind, and for the communications.

The little army then pressed on through the scorching heat, defeating the enemy in a strong post a few miles from Delhi, and taking up a good position in front of the fortress, partly under command of its artillery. More could not be done against an enemy of vastly superior force and means, occupying the whole extensive environs and country except the narrow slip held for communications and supplies. The force was thus on the defensive against an enemy ever increasing in strength; yet bound to hold on like grim death, in the hope that Lord Lawrence might both maintain hold of the Punjab and the Cis-Sutlej Sikh State of Patiala, and send such succour as might turn the defence into attack. He had, in the Punjab, British soldiers in number about equal to the Delhi force, with three times the number of native troops, some only of which, Sikhs and Punjaubis, could be counted on; the rest he had promptly disarmed. The Sikhs had a traditional enmity with Delhi.

Everything depended on the capture of Delhi, urgent pressure was coming from all sides to make a dash on Delhi, by persons little aware of the existing and increasing strength of the enemy, of the weakness of the British, of the difficulties of holding their position against the daily and hourly attacks of an enemy encouraged by daily arrivals of the insurgent army, whole brigades of which could be seen marching in with bands playing. Severe losses occurred from these attacks, losses also from cholera and other sickness, from the excessive heat and from heavy rains; all tidings were but of disaster with no near hope of succour; the whole country ready to rise on the least appearance of repulse or retrograde movement.

The little army saw the burning days pass with no gladdening news to encourage them in maintaining the little grasp they held on Delhi, on which the fate of the British hold in India and the lives of their countrymen hung.

Nigh two anxious months thus elapsed ere at last hope began to revive as one or two regiments came down from Lawrence after a march of 580 miles in twenty-two days, arriving to join at once in repelling an attack the enemy were making. Then another anxious pause, until with almost undue elation regiment



1911

after regiment was welcomed, bringing such means of artillery and ammunition as could be obtained from the Ferozepore arsenal rescued from the enemy. General Nicholson, 'the lion of the Punjab,' who brought the chief reinforcement, was a host in himself—his renown and aspect inspired all with an assurance of victory. He arrived in time to lead a force against a strong body of the enemy attempting to attack the artillery en route, defeating and taking their guns.

Still, such reinforcements made but little difference in the relative power of the opposing forces; they only brought into notice the superior strength of an enemy well enough aware of their extent, for they were limited to what could be spared from maintaining hold on the Punjab and neighbouring provinces, ever on the balance of events. All had depended and continued to depend on the power and means of Lord Lawrence, the able Governor of the Punjab or Upper India; for any hope of succour from the south or from England in time to affect the issue had long been seen to be vain.<sup>5</sup>

Three anxious burning months thus elapsed ere all possible reinforcements arrived, and after all they were found totally inadequate for anything like a regular siege, the heavy gun ammunition being hardly sufficient to effect tolerably practicable breaches in the rampart.

It has been related above how at this juncture the General was relieved from anxiety, and enabled to carry out the attack successfully on the engineering scheme devised by Captain Taylor, who, in assiduously carrying on the duties devolved on him, had intuitively perceived the importance of a careful detailed plan of the site, marked out on the ground. A scheme which time, knowledge of the means, and his experience on a former siege (Mooltan) enabled him to complete so quietly and unpretentiously that few, if any, were aware of the extent and labour of the work so accomplished, a work embracing the inexorable conditions of success if carried out.

Under this scheme a powerful battery on the right was destroying the Mori bastion, the flank guns of which commanded the site of the chief or left attack; while leading the enemy to take the whole or chief attack to be from the right, and so drawing off his attention from the left. The writer can bear witness to

<sup>5</sup> In fact it was over six months after the fall of Delhi that the force from England captured Lucknow, and that with the aid of a brigade from Delhi which had relieved Fort Agra beleaguered by the enemy; and many a long day would elapse ere help could arrive to Upper India, when, perhaps, few would remain to be rescued! The part taken by the Delhi force in the salvation of India by the capture of Delhi, and in the capture of Lucknow, &c., was never acknowledged at the time; all thoughts were on the great force arrived from England and its able chief, Lord Clyde; nevertheless it was the fall of Delhi that retained British dominion.



this, as he traced that battery and witnessed the enemy's desperate efforts to frustrate its fire. This enabled the General to establish his main force on the site with little or no loss, and rapidly to construct the batteries and siege work. Thus in seven days from the opening of the first, or right battery, he was enabled to press on the assault, as the breaches, though not very complete, were reported practicable. The British gunners after days and nights of an incessant cannonade were well-nigh exhausted, and had severely suffered, and the enemy was developing a strong resistance or counter attack. At dawn on that day, the 14th of September, after three months of patient and anxious waiting, the little army was launched against the foe: the storming column drawn up by General Nicholson awaiting the signal, the explosion of the Cashmir gate by the gallant party of Sappers, then dashed out through a withering fire, with ringing British cheers, the breaches were won, the fortress captured, and India was saved!

The timely act of Lord Lawrence in appointing Captain Taylor, and its great import on the siege, has been mentioned—perhaps too cursorily—for it involved an anomalous or false position in the relative duties of the Chief Engineer, Colonel B. Smith, and his second in command, Captain Taylor, which, seeing the stress laid on the action of the Chief Engineer, to whom it fell to report officially on the operations, requires some explanation.

Undoubtedly that officer incurred a great responsibility in retaining a nominal post from which, in his painful infirmity and the restriction to quarters it entailed, he might well have claimed relief by devolving the official, as he did the virtual, functions on his nominal second. It was an oversight of due military organisation, to the loss of the detailed report on the engineering work which should otherwise have been made by the officer actually conducting it. It only merged in the entire devotion to, and in the accord in which all united in, the great object before them. Happily it suited the circumstances, for the captain was far the most competent for the special work, and it gave him the more complete freedom to devote all his energies to that work, and, as happily, allowed his Chief to devote himself unselfishly to services he was better able to fulfil from his experience and abilities. Indeed, without his support the Captain could hardly have studied and carried out the scheme of attack as he did.

The exact nature of the Chief Engineer's services was but little known generally; their immediate effect was to be seen in the work so mainly conducing to the success. Gifted with exceptional powers of speech and pen, his services were on a higher



1911

plane than the mere engineering detail of his second in command. His restriction to quarters enabled the General—himself a convalescent from severe illness—to avail himself of counsels invaluable in a time of extreme anxiety, both in higher matters and in fully satisfying him of the procedure on the works. The stress here laid on the work of the officer actually conducting them is in no derogation of the honour ascribed to his nominal Chief. There is no room for any invidious discrimination between their important services; their merits lay in the initiation which their freedom from restrictions enabled them to exercise under the supreme direction of the General in Command, and in the transcendent issue at stake.

So much has been said of General Nicholson that some words on him seem called for. He was known to fame for his invariable success in war; commanding in stature and aspect, sternly reserved though impetuous, he was the embodiment of what one might look for in a great soldier and man. A warlike tribe is said to have started a religion of which he was the quasi deity. On him Lord Lawrence had chiefly laid the disarming of the revolting regiments in the Punjab, only one strong body of which had managed to start for Delhi after massacring their officers; he overtook and destroyed them. Arrived at Delhi with reinforcements, he led a force against the enemy attempting to attack the siege train en route, defeating them, and taking their guns. Examining the position before Delhi he at once grasped the whole scope of the project Captain Taylor was so quietly evolving, and warmly associated himself with him in his perilous scoutings. Different in character as were these two officers, they fully understood each other; the modest assurance of the Engineer, backed by the strong assurance of the general, whose aspect implied victory, overcame the scruples of the general in command as to the hazard of a battery but a stone's throw from the ramparts; its very audacity was just what charmed Nicholson. He was the only officer of higher rank who visited this work and was fully aware of its great import.

Taylor was his *deus ex machinâ*, he thought nothing too great to say of him, and it was in the hour of victory that he nobly uttered his dying words: 'Taylor took Delhi, and if I live through this, the world shall know it.'

It will be seen that this paper, except in testifying to certain misconceptions in historians of the siege, and implications against the worthy and gallant General in Command, in no way traverses the very interesting narratives of the event, or the honours justly ascribed to the many gallant officers who took part in the siege.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It may also explain why this operation is so emphasised here as unprecedented in the annals of warfare ; a battlefield previously completely surveyed, every post of every gun and of the attacking force, and the way to get to them, distinctly marked on the ground under the very eyes and fire of a watchful enemy ; and the operation carried out exactly as so pre-designed.

F. R. MAUNSELL,  
*General and Colonel Commandant, R.E.*



## WHY INDIA LAGS BEHIND

SHE sang sonorously and played her own accompaniment. As her left hand pressed the bellows, the white-bone keys of her old-fashioned, much-battered harmonium, deftly touched by her practised fingers, sent out a steady stream of mellow music which swelled the strains of the sweet melodies flowing from her lips. She squatted on the floor, her long, thick, black tresses, uncombed since the previous afternoon, falling in gay unconcern of all *coiffeur's* canons over her back, covered by a loosely fitting, grey flannel dressing-gown. As she thus sat cross-legged she seemed like a bronze goddess—only she was a dirty-faced goddess, and the corners of her eyes needed cleaning. But she threw her whole soul into her lays, and as passionately patriotic poetry poured from her lips, her brown countenance would glow, and her intense eyes would flash fire.

There was one song that she sang uncommonly well. Its words were horribly coarse : but as she sharply struck the keys to add strength to the fervid, rustic tune, they arrested attention. Since the stanzas fairly reeked with the Briton's blood, it seemed that they would interest the English public, and I asked her if she would permit me to jot them down, with a view to printing them in England. She said she had not the slightest objection, provided her name was not made public. She did not know who was the author. The jubilant tone of the words and music had appealed to her, and she had asked a woman who had sung it at a *purdah* party to dictate it to her. She graciously read the lines while I wrote them down. But before I had completely finished copying them a factor arose to condemn my labour to the flames. Near by sat the husband of the singer, and next to him two trusted friends of his. While I was busy writing, the three men were talking excitedly. I could not catch all they said, as they spoke in low tones, but I heard one whisper : ' This certainly is a dangerous business,' and, much to my surprise and disgust, the husband gruffly requested me to destroy what I had put down, as he said the poem was extremely seditious, and he was afraid to have me publish it, lest inquiries might be made as to where I heard it, and he and his wife would thus be involved. With



frenzied brusqueness he snatched the book from his wife's hand, and, brushing aside her plaint that it was her property, hastily pulled out the pages on which the stanzas were written and tore them into tiny shreds, not resting satisfied until he had burned the fragments.

It was not the man's rudeness to the woman, nor her taking it so mildly, that struck me most forcibly—born and bred, as I was, in the country, and knowing, as I did, the Indian woman's status to be low, although apologists would have us believe otherwise; but the mortal terror of being spied upon, which his undignified action betrayed, amazed me. This astonishment grew as I closely studied him, until, at the end of several weeks, it appeared that his fear of espionage had cast a sinister shadow over his entire life, preying upon his mind night and day. He discerned a detective in every man who passed his residence. He saw a spy in every person with whom he talked.

The strangest feature of it all was that while he thus apparently lived in a perpetual spasm of mental agony, more than one of his friends and co-workers solemnly assured me that he really was a secret agent of the Government. They said, singly or sometimes several in a combined burst of confidence, that though he professed to belong to a society which is not in the good books of the British bureaucracy, and he occasionally made speeches strongly smelling of sedition, still the sly wretch was a spy; and they warned me to be careful of him. His religious and patriotic protestations, they said, were merely a part of his equipment as a secret service man—they were his crowbars to prise open the strong steel doors of other people's trustfulness and learn incriminating facts which the cunning rascal communicated to the authorities. Whenever I would shake my head in distrust or disapproval at such insinuations, my attention was called to certain facts which were considered to be incontrovertible proofs of his guilt. These were: that other people were punished for fulminations far more innocent than he uttered, while he invariably escaped, no matter how rebelliously he might have spoken or written; he often called upon the head of the British Administration of his district; and his wife associated with the women-folk belonging to the families of English officials, and even went to the length of occasionally dining with them—the latter a supreme sin.

Whether this indictment was correct, and the bronze goddess and her husband were spies, or whether they themselves were the victims of espionage, was a point difficult to decide. The charges were made to sound convincing. But if he was a real spy, why did he compel me to tear up the revolutionary song, why did he pull out the leaf in his wife's note-book containing it,



1911

and why was he always afraid of being watched? His friends offered the explanation that he was such a cunning spy that he needed to be spied upon.

It later transpired that this was by no means a *sui generis* couple; nor was it typical of just one city or province. Wherever I went in India, in the course of a long stay in the country of my birth during the last and present year, I was surrounded by identically the same sort of people, who made a great show of dreading detectives, and were themselves considered to be secret agents. The air was murky with them, as if it were swarming with locusts when the pests are preparing the way for a dire famine. Whether I was in the Punjab, or in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, or in the Bombay Presidency, whether I met leaders from the two Bengals, the Central Province, or Madras, did not appear to matter at all. The shadow of espionage seemed to hang like a pall over all of them. Important personages in and from various cities of Hindostan, one and all, would talk of secret agents. Some of them would make light of the affair, and declare that they deemed it a great compliment to themselves to be thus attended by emissaries of the Government. But their laughs sounded so hollow as to betray their bravado. Others of a less courageous frame of mind or of a less phlegmatic temperament would grow restless and nervous over the thing and express more or less chagrin and impotent rage over it. One prominent Indian leader came to my room when I was stopping at a fashionable summer resort, and alternately raved at the condition of affairs, and actually trembled with fear, stopping in the middle of a sentence, starting suddenly and looking around to see if anyone was near to listen to what he was saying, acting as if he had some terrible crime on his conscience. One day he met me on a deserted road, far off from any human habitation. He began to talk confidentially. Then, with a shudder and a sudden glance over his shoulder, as if a ghôst had touched him, he abruptly changed the subject and began to find fault with the monsoon, which was holding everybody a prisoner indoors. His condition was pitiable. Just to serve as a contrast, once in a while I met people who actually boasted of being watched, and displayed genuine pleasure at being spied upon. It almost seemed that the desire to be considered of sufficient importance to be shadowed was father to the statement. But whether they laughed or raved, whether they did or did not pour out a tirade against the myrmidons of the Criminal Intelligence Department, they always made bitter remarks about the men who professed to belong to their own fold, but who, they alleged, secretly played the same rôles as the goddess and her husband were accused of enacting. The curious feature of the whole situation was that not a single person



uttered such denunciations who was not designated by some one else as a spy.

Said a great social reformer to me not long ago :

I know not which of my friends to trust and which to distrust. Although my work is strictly social, and I take part in no movement which has the slightest political tinge to it, yet I find that some people go and tell the Governor that mine is a deeply laid plot which, on the surface, looks innocent enough, but which really is calculated to do incalculable harm to the existing peace and order. Some of those who say to my face that I am doing a grand work, assure the authorities that I am the slyest seditionist alive; that, under the guise of eradicating social disorders, I am introducing the leaven of political discontent where absolutely none exists to-day, and into a portion of the community which can be perverted only by a crafty schemer like myself. In this circumstance, who should and who should not have my confidence is a question I do not know how to decide, and in the meantime the shadow of the friendly spy is haunting my soul, robbing it of all peace and happiness, and needlessly interfering with my work.

What this social reformer in southern India said, another engaged in similar propaganda in the north-western part of the Peninsula openly set forth in public print. Indeed, this man was so hounded by the unpaid detectives among his friends that he was unable to bear it, and abandoned his province and country to seek peace and rest abroad. Although he was man enough recently to return to his native city to take up his constructive work once more, yet he still feels that the burden of espionage makes his life miserable, and renders it almost impossible for him to achieve anything of practical value.

Another man, from another corner of Hindostan, who is looked upon all over the country by a small minority of educated Indians as a political leader, fled from his station and for several years has lived in the Occident, because he could not bear the strain of suspecting that every man who became associated with him was a spy who sought his undoing. He has settled down in a foreign land until India becomes the promised Utopia, rather than face the fire at home, feeling fairly secure so long as he is off the soil of his beloved homeland. But his hands are shackled. His tongue is tied. His pen has lost its point. So far as being of material use in the uplift of India, he might as well be dead, or in the Andamans, which he seems to dread worse than death, since his countrymen have justly commenced to look upon him as a coward, and pay no heed to his words. What surprised me most was that while he himself is under serious suspicion as a man who has fomented unrest in his land, he suggested to me that an Indian upon whom the whole world looks as the father of the Indian terrorist movement, and who was openly accused of having been the instigator of a nihilistic tragedy, is really a spy. The



1911

self-banished man whispered into my ear that he even suspects him of being an *agent provocateur*. Of course, he had no proof to show that he was the latter; but he declared he had positive knowledge that he was a spy, since the pseudo-anarchist actually sent an emissary to watch over his movements. She—the emissary was a woman—the exile declared, came to his house pleading with him to teach her Indian philosophy, in which she claimed to be intensely interested. After a lesson or two she wanted to make arrangements to live permanently and constantly in his home. He explained to her that it was out of the question for a woman to live in a bachelor's apartments, even if she was a devotee of his. There was something in this persistence which roused his suspicions, and from the address that she gave and the long talks that he had with her, he argued, to his perfect satisfaction, that she had been sent to spy on him by the *agent provocateur*—and it was with great difficulty that he was able to put her out of his house, finally being compelled to resort practically to force in order to get rid of her.

This voluntarily expatriated person was once present at a reception. Ordinarily his immobile face wears an expression which the Westerners call 'inscrutable'; but as he shook hands with a newcomer I saw his lips slightly twitch. Did the stranger prick his hand with a pin when he clasped it—or did he sting it poisonously and painfully? I asked him. He muttered an Indian oath, and then said that the fellow was a spy of the deepest dye, but he had to be decent to him because he was in a place where he was obliged to practise the gentle amenities of society. A few months later I learned that the suspected Indian was so steeped in Occidental radicalism that he makes it a regular practice not to drink the King's health, and that he belongs to a regular socialistic organisation; yet not a few of his countrymen, like the exile, look upon him as a spy, and say that his socialism is just as much a ruse on his part as are the seditious songs of the bronze goddess.

The young Indians abroad seem to have imbibed this same unfortunate trait of suspicioning one another. It is most comical to hear the students in England, the United States, or Japan, hurl epithets at various members of their body. You will hear a young fellow whisper: 'Oh! be careful how you talk'; then utter an Indian imprecation and add that So-and-so is a spy. The ludicrous part of it is that those who are thus charged are always sure to feel in their heart of hearts that their accusers—whom they do not always know to have traduced them—are spies. This, to be sure, is not a pose with them, nor a mere retributive sally. The mistrust is *bona fide*, and that is what gives a great complexity to the situation.

An incident may be mentioned which occurred in London



itself some time ago, illustrating how the most innocent happenings are misconstrued by suspicious Indians. A young student from Hindostan assaulted a well-known Englishman as he was coming out of his club. The assailant was arrested and taken into court; but the man he had struck took pity on him and refused to prosecute him. Several Indians assured me, with all solemnity, that the young man was merely a spy, and that the whole affair must have been a carefully prearranged farce, otherwise, they argued, he would have been convicted instead of being set free unpunished.

I once spent several weeks with a group of Indians, some of whom were commissioned officers in British regiments. These officials told me that many among their circle of friends persisted in thinking that, on account of their positions, they must be spies *per se*. They were very wroth at it—and their wrath seemed to me to be just. I could not have impugned them as secret agents. But among the very group that surrounded me at the time there were those who avowed that no Indian could hold a governmental post and not have to make 'reports' about their friends. I should have liked to tell these self-righteous people that some among them were suspected by the officers to be watching their movements. But why should the Government desire to set spies on its own commissioned men? one of the officials was asked. He did not answer the question directly, but simply said that it was pretty bad when an administration felt that its own army officers needed surveillance.

It is possible almost indefinitely to enlarge on this aspect of the present Indian situation, but enough has been said to draw attention to the spirit of suspicion which just now is universally present in Hindostan, and among the natives of that country sojourning abroad. The genesis of this feeling and its consequences remain to be elucidated.

## II

In view of the new political development in India culminating in the rise of the terrorist, it is not to be wondered at that the Government has greatly strengthened the Criminal Investigation Department, and put a premium upon spying. Bearing in mind the fact that the most progressive administration in the Occident has not yet been able to do without its secret service, it is easy to perceive that, until the millennium arrives, a handful of aliens governing teeming millions of a widely different civilisation from theirs cannot dispense with such an underground avenue of gathering information, and that these subterranean channels should almost exclusively be used to collect news about political



1911

plots rather than merely for the purpose of detecting general crime, as is the case in well-regulated democracies, which invariably insist that the spies, instead of menacing society, shall actually work to protect it. The general complaint in India is not so much against the existence of the secret service as against the bad operation of the system. The leaders grumble about being dogged by detectives, and the native newspapers are constantly raising their voice against the practice. Several Englishmen with strong Indian sympathies who have recently visited Hindostan offer the same criticism. Not long ago a Briton who had just returned from India pointed out an Indian at a London reception who, he alleged, had been detailed, when he was in Calcutta, to watch his movements. It is quite apparent that where the detective is detected he fails to be useful as a secret agent, and only becomes an irritating element in society; and these persistent murmurings call attention to a grave defect in the police organisation of Hindostan. There is not the least doubt that a very great deal of the suspicion prevalent in India to-day is due to the crude work of the sleuths engaged in tracking down sedition and terrorism. There have been altogether too many searchings of the dwellings of respectable Indians who could not be proved guilty of political crimes; there have been altogether too many men charged with intent to wage war on the King-Emperor who could neither be sent to the gallows nor to gaol or to the Andamans; there has been altogether too much shadowing of well-meaning, inoffensive Hindu men and women, to permit a quiet feeling in the public mind. The most unfortunate part of it all is that, while the frenzied actions of the police which have been at the bottom of this miscarriage of their duties continue, the nervousness of the Indians who are associated with any movement of the day must be at a high pitch.

When these charges are brought to the attention of the British Administration, it frankly admits that a great deal of friction and uneasiness is caused by the defective agency of the detective department. The English official declares that all the dirty work of fabricating evidence involving people in conspiracies which never existed, and inflicting tortures of the most diabolical description upon innocent men and women to make them 'confess' in order to bolster up the case for the prosecution, is done by Indians, and that the annoyance caused by conspicuous shadowing is due to the fact that the native does not possess the intelligence to do better spying. These charges more or less exonerate the foreign domination, and, in the last instance, reflect more badly upon the people of the land than upon Government. However, retorts of this kind are quite plausibly answered by the counter-argument that the constable is ill-paid and badly



educated, or, more often than not, absolutely illiterate; that he comes from a low stratum of society; that his is not considered by his people to be a high calling; and that he cannot afford to risk the loss of his position by failing to provide evidence which will please his superior British officers by making it possible for them to win their case. Higher pay and the recruitment of police officials from the better classes is urged as a panacea for this evil, and this the Government has started to administer in homœopathic doses. Since it is not possible to rectify a structural defect like this in a short time, and since, in the state of affairs existing in India, no foreign domination could dream of relaxing its police vigilance, it is inevitable that, with the best of intentions, the Government, for some time to come, will not be able to regulate its spy system so that the annoying features will be eliminated from its workings.

Moreover, during recent months, the Government more than once has proved to Indians that its judiciary possesses abundant ability, as well as the integrity, to check any miscarriage of justice which the police, through misguided zeal to suppress anarchism, or actuated by more culpable motives, may be likely to foist upon innocent natives. In all cases where men charged with waging war against the King-Emperor have been tried, the evidence has been painstakingly sifted, the defence given every opportunity to disprove the allegations of the prosecution, and every possible benefit of doubt given to the suspects. This policy mainly is responsible for the fact that in several instances people accused of heinous political crimes have not been convicted, while in some cases the police have figured so ignominiously before the higher tribunals that all, or some, of those they were prosecuting have been set free, their innocence absolutely established. So staunchly honest has the judiciary shown itself that, a few weeks since, the High Court at Calcutta awarded damages to a Hindu against a British magistrate, who was adjudged to have pinned too much faith to the findings of two police officers. This case not only has proved to India that the British judges do not propose to lend their position to the executive to help them crush anarchism by indiscriminately awarding drastic punishment to anyone who may be charged with terrorism, but also that they may be relied upon to defend Indians against the mistakes of the constabulary and magistrates—whether British or native. While some Englishmen object to this decision on the ground that it will hurt the 'prestige' of the Administration, the majority of them, as well as most Indians, are agreed that it is bound to increase the faith of the people of India in British integrity, and, by so doing, cut the ground from under the feet of the anarchists. Opinions may differ as to the finding in this particular instance, but there is no doubt whatever that the judges of at least the



1911

higher courts in India serve the useful purpose of shielding the people from police persecution.

While it is possible thus to find extenuation for the Government, and exonerate it from some of the blame for permitting detectives to inspire fear in the hearts of native politicians and reformers, what is to be said of respectable Indians who are accused of being spies by their equally reputable countrymen who, in their turn, are described as secret agents by those whom they charge? Such suspicions and recriminations make an already irritating situation altogether unbearable. We can excuse the bungling methods of the police on the pleas offered; but how are we to justify superior people taking up the rôles that are ascribed to them? They neither are poorly-paid ignoramuses, nor can they be styled base-born. They lay claim to respectability and invariably are looked up to by their fellow-men. In addition, it is conceded by those who accuse them that, as a rule, they do not make money by thus descending to the level of the police-constable, and hence they are not prostituting themselves for mere monetary gain. To be sure, Dame Rumour has it that they sometimes receive a title to their name as compensation for betraying their friends, but this is a contention one not in possession of official secrets can neither affirm nor deny, and the officers themselves preserve a discreet silence when this subject is broached, or promptly discredit the statement—while the people, in their turn, refuse to admit it. However, be this as it may, this kind of spy has nothing substantial to gain, and self-respect to lose, and the secret spring of his action must be found in something other than personal profit.

No authorised explanation is forthcoming as to what this motive power is. The British themselves do not understand this trait in the Indians with whom they come in contact, for many Englishmen have desired to know why so many of the natives of Hindostan make a practice of gratuitously telling damaging tales about their reputed friends. Before the atmosphere became charged with political electricity, many a Briton in private conversation denounced this back-biting disposition. Of late years, one is given to understand, the officials do not discourage, but in many instances actually encourage this weakness in the people they govern. Of necessity it would be difficult to verify such a statement; but even if, from an administrative point of view, the frailty may prove a useful tool in the Englishman's hand, in his heart he is bound to despise it. The wonder is that any educated Indian could be guilty of such a base practice when there is so little to gain by it.

Most Indians and Englishmen with whom this point has been discussed have been inclined to take the view that the native of



India has more than the usual allowance of envy in his nature, which incites him, consciously or unconsciously, to injure his competitors by telling damaging tales about them to the authorities. This jealous disposition has been engendered by the wrangles of race and creed which constantly have raged in India through the centuries that have passed. Schisms within schisms, splits within splits, the interminable tendency towards division which is observable in all departments of life in Hindostan, in political, religious, social and intellectual activities, all are explained on the basis of undue and uncontrollable jealousy among the Indian leaders. When, during the early stages of the Indian National Congress the Mohammedans, under Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, seceded from the movement, the Hindus made no secret of their interpreting this split as having been actuated by the envy of Sir Sayed Ahmed and his lieutenants, who, it was boldly pointed out, desired more leaderships than a single organisation, even though large, could offer. A few years ago, when the Mussulmans made up their minds to form their own political machine, this was still more emphatically charged. The Muslims have not been slow to retort that the Hindu reform movements, such as the Arya and Brahmo Samajes, have been rent into several divisions on account of the ungovernable envy and jealousy existing among the workers, some of whom have chosen to general small sections rather than content themselves with less prominent positions in a larger association. The same charges have been flung at social movements, which have bifurcated again and again because of the weakness in Indians that prompts them to covet the centre of the stage instead of being contented to work quietly in the background. When the principles of the various schisms of a single organisation are carefully analysed, one seldom comes across any cardinal differences. For instance, a religious body in the Punjab divided into two sections because its members disagreed in the trivial matter of eating flesh, or a purely vegetarian regimen, although they were united on all other points. In regard to the recent cleavage in the Congress, it is pointed out that the dividing line is artificial, since both the Extremists and Moderates believe that the Government, as at present constituted, is not suited to Indian requirements, and that it should be transformed into a popular administration without the use of bombs, firearms, or force. The only difference in the two camps is that the Extremist believes that the human mind is capable of conceiving that the time may come, in the dim and distant future, when Hindostan may cease to be bound up with Great Britain, while the Moderate considers that since this eventuality does not touch practical politics, it is just as well not to emphasise it. The differences between these points of view being so small.



1911

the inability to strike a working balance between the two sections can only be explained on the theory of the presence of petty personal jealousies between the leaders of the opposite camps. This is an elucidation which, on its face, appears convincing, and has the advantage of being offered by the people themselves to whom it applies. Where the jealous nature is so strong that it does not hesitate to strike hard at the roots of co-operation and union, where the opponents try to injure one another by means of back-biting, what wonder that it is exerting a disintegrating influence upon the whole body politic? At any rate, it is an open secret, and admitted to be universally true in India, that many of the stories that find their way to official ears can be proved to have been actuated by the envious spirit of the man who carries them there.

But an explanation on this basis is only partial. Any official who has had experience in this direction—and even the most junior official in British India or the Native States is well acquainted with this condition—will bear evidence that, while most of the mischievous tales may be accounted for on this theory, there is a certain percentage which cannot be attributed to pure jealousy. If these stories did damage to the person against whom they were told, the narrator would neither gain anything personally, nor would he be particularly happy at the discomfiture of the other fellow. In this event, a pure flaw of nature born of the servile conditions in which the Indian has abided for ages must be considered the parent of this dereliction. Nothing else will explain it. No other interpretation can be or is offered.

The present form of government, which, instead of being of the people and by the people, is superimposed from the outside, doubtless has had the effect of strengthening these failings. Their ugliest features have come into prominence only during the recent years of political strain and stress, when, as the world knows, the administration, in sheer self-defence, has had to strengthen its spy system. The present British policy of depending to a great extent upon secret reports undoubtedly is developing this weakness, and there is no knowing just when and where the consequent degeneration will stop.

But the back-biting trait is not half so strong in the Indian nature as that of suspicioning others. If there were any means of scientifically detecting how many of these charges and counter-charges of spying hurled by Indians upon each other are justifiable, and how many of them are the vapourings of vivid imaginations disordered by a morbidly distrustful nature, there is no doubt whatever that the analysis would disclose the fact that the educated native of India possesses a cheerful sense of irresponsibility which finds expression in maligning other people's characters



without making sure of the facts. Judging from remarks dropped by English officials, while without doubt there are many otherwise respectable Indians who constitute themselves spies, and, judging from indictments, doubtless several otherwise reputable Indians who permit themselves to serve as such, yet a large number of trustworthy people who are suspected of being secret agents have done nothing to earn such an accusation, except possibly associating socially with the rulers instead of leaving them absolutely alone. However, whereas back-biting, while loathsome, is not, in itself, capable of doing serious mischief, for the average British official worthy of the name does not place implicit trust in the information gratuitously supplied him, or which he diplomatically worms out from an Indian, without personally investigating it and corroborating it in the light of correlated facts, the suspicious nature really conjures up trouble for the men who harbour the suspicions, and very often for those who are suspected.

Bluntly to summarise the wretched situation existing in India to-day, it may be said to have been created by three factors :

(1) The imperfect operation of the official spy system, which, in its frenzied ambition to throttle anarchism in the country, has trumped up conspiracies which did not exist anywhere else than in the brains of the police, and has harassed inoffensive people.

(2) The proneness of the Indian nature to back-bite, which, under the political conditions prevalent during the past few years, has received an unusual stimulus.

(3) The suspicious temperament of the people of the Peninsula, which has given prodigious proportions to a restricted evil. The sum total of the operation of all these causes has been the creation of a situation in every sense absolutely artificial, but certainly distressing to all who take part in any progressive movement, and most detrimental to the people's evolution.

In moments of levity you may be inclined to laugh when you hear Indians at home and abroad casting aspersions of spying at one another. But in moments of seriousness you revolt at the evident moral torpidity which makes it possible for them to do such a thing without serious investigation, and gathering unimpeachable and sufficient evidence. In judicial moments you feel pity for these deluded traducers. Recollect what has been set down about the husband of the bronze goddess, and about the politician in the mountain resort, and then try to laugh over their pitiable frames of mind. A singular hard-heartedness is needed to enable you to make merry over such a state of affairs. When you realise that espionage hangs like the sword of Damocles above the necks of so many Indians who really are innocent of



1911

wrong-doing, you somehow do not feel like jesting about the matter, for though so much of it is extremely silly on its very face, it does not take a great stretch of the imagination to recognise that those who live and breathe in this foul atmosphere of distrust must lead a most miserable existence. The charges and counter-charges of spying cannot be good for their consciences, and they are unable to enjoy personal happiness while their souls are thus burdened. Indeed, a suspicious nature is the reverse of a happy one; and since suspicion has reigned supreme during the past few years in India it has made public life intolerable, stifling, unhappy in the extreme. Mention already has been made of some of the leaders who found it best to desert their posts and go abroad to escape this atmosphere, so thick with mistrust that you can almost cut it with a knife. But what of the large majority whom circumstances compel to stay at home? One cannot fancy lives much more bereft of equanimity than theirs.

Probably the most tragic manifestation of this suspicious spirit that came under my observation was that of a married couple whom it separated. Some years ago this husband and wife, both highly educated and public spirited, were living peacefully in a holy city in India. The last time I made inquiries from the man as to how his spouse was getting along, he wrote me that he had completely put her out of his life, as he believed she was informing the officials of his most secret plans. Now he lives in his old bachelor quarters, while the unfortunate woman has betaken herself to another city, where she is engaged in educational work. Their home is broken up: the prospects and happiness of each are blighted.

But personal discomfort is not the greatest evil engendered by this spirit of distrust which to-day is universally present in India. While the foul conditions are making individuals miserable, they are veritably throttling public life, and having a most pernicious effect upon the evolution of the country. How can there be any fellow-feeling and co-operation between workers when, as the Bombay social reformer put it, no one knows who is and who is not a spy in his immediate circle of friends? How can there be any organisation, any whole-hearted, sustained effort for progress? One sees the effect of this noxious influence in every progressive movement in India. Political activity—by which is not meant the mischievous propaganda—so strong only a few years ago, at present seems stifled. Inasmuch as the Acts passed during the Minto-Morley regime to control the press and the platform, denounced by some as repressive and by others as not coercive enough, have merely regulated writers and speakers, preventing them from spreading revolution, they could not have been calculated to have, nor can they be said by a fair critic to



have had a prejudicial effect upon the legitimate aspirations of the people. But the dread of the paid and unpaid spy, and the atmosphere surcharged with suspicion, really have stifled political life, until to-day it cannot be described in any other way than as being completely stagnated. The same strangling effect is observable among social, religious, and intellectual workers and institutions. The zeal of all the prime movers and their lieutenants is at a low ebb. Some propagandists have left their posts, gone out of the province, or retired into seclusion, or a semi-secluded life. Others take only a half-dead, half-alive interest in their chosen avocations. You cannot really blame the men. When, in place of the ozone of co-operation and trustfulness, the atmosphere is laden with the deadly carbonic-acid gas of suspicion, one cannot wonder that the stoutest of hearts are registering very poor pulse-beats. The result is stagnation all round. The 'unrest' about which the world heard so much during the past few years has died down—though nihilism, judging from recent tragedies in Bengal and Madras, is still alive. In place of the 'unrest,' one finds *nirvana* reigning supreme in India. For the fear of spies sets a seal on every man's lips, compels him to bottle up his emotions, lest they be misconstrued if he expresses them. Now free elimination is as necessary for a well-balanced mental condition as it is for physical health; and if you stop up all outlets the mind is bound to become clogged and sluggish, the conscience congested. This is what has happened in India to-day. The national brain is gorged with sentiments which, if the dross could be thrown off, would be innocuous, but which, in the present circumstances, are liable to become poisoned through auto-intoxication as a result of the choking up of the avenues of elimination. As a natural sequence of all this, India is lagging behind in the 'Marathon' of nations—a prey to arrested growth brought on by asphyxiation.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.



## ‘GLORIOUS ROBERT BROWNING’

‘BROWNING is coming every day more and more to his own. One can scarcely hear a sermon or a speech from a really thoughtful preacher or speaker that does not show his influence, either in direct quotation, or in the saying of what is plainly due to that influence.’ This was said a short time ago by a man of large and intimate acquaintance with Browning’s work and also a large and intimate acquaintance with pulpits and platforms of various kinds. It is not a very uncommon thing to hear cultured men and women say ‘Browning is the only poet I care for’; and possibly many people are as familiar with his thought without being able to ‘place’ it, as a gentleman who, brought up in an atmosphere of Carlylese thought, found nothing new when he came to read Carlyle for himself.

‘Glorious Robert Browning’ he was called at an early stage of his career; and it was true of him that ‘his sunrise well warranted faith in his full noon.’

It was during my first visit to Browning, the day on which he was told by Dr. Furnivall of our wish and intention to found the Browning Society—an announcement received by him with genial laughter, and no word of that objection the expression of which would have prevented my taking any share in the enterprise—that he told a story, told it as Browning could tell it, *à propos* of the unwillingness of the public to buy his works.

A certain old gentleman went into Moxon’s, with whom the works of Lord Houghton, then known as Monckton Milnes, had been issued. ‘I believe,’ he said, ‘that you publish the poems of Richard Monckton Milnes, Esquire?’ ‘We do,’ was the answer. ‘I have a very great respect for Richard Monckton Milnes, Esquire, and I wish to buy his poems. What is the price?’ A list was made out. Browning touched his fingers in succession as he named the books, with their price. The total was a sum the exact amount of which I am not sure of, but I think it was about two pounds fifteen shillings and tenpence.

‘Two pounds fifteen shillings and tenpence!’ exclaimed the self-supposed would-be purchaser. ‘I have the greatest respect for Richard Monckton Milnes, Esquire, but I’ll be d——d if I give two pounds fifteen shillings and tenpence for his poems!’

Browning had doubtless recognised that there were many who



felt about him and his books as the old gentleman felt about Monckton Milnes and his. The story certainly may have a pretty wide application elsewhere also. At that time (1881) there was no cheap English edition of Browning's work. Since then Messrs. Smith and Elder have issued a shilling volume of selections from the poems. A complete edition of Browning, or at least of the greater part of his work, at a popular price, is still a desideratum, and we must look forward hopefully to its issue from the right quarter, Waterloo Place.

Owing to the lapse of copyright, much of Browning's poetry has been published in a cheap form within the last few years. If this has given to a larger number of readers the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the work, there has yet been a certain disadvantage alongside of the benefit. It is only the earlier editions that can thus be reproduced, and consequently the buyers of these non-copyright books must read the poems without those alterations or additions made in the later issues by Browning himself. As a small though not unimportant instance, I may say that the line in the poem of *Saul* which, non-copyright, appears as,

Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst thou, so wouldst thou,  
has been, by the deeper insight that gave the truer expression, changed to,

Would I suffer for him that I love? So wouldst thou—so wilt thou!

We have cause to be thankful that our two greatest poets since Shakespeare, Tennyson and Browning, were saved by happy circumstance from that forcing of faculty into alien channels, or into what has at least some resemblance to this, that obligation to do hackwork, or mere pot-boiling, which is sometimes fatal to the poet, and usually inimical to him; saved also from the sacrifice involved in having to express themselves on a lower artistic plane, however conscientious and, in its way, good that expression may be; or, at the very least, saved from 'that haste which mars the dignity of every act.'<sup>1</sup> In Browning's case his salvation from pot-boiling was due to his father's fine belief in his artistic vocation.

Browning is not, and never wished to be, a poet to be taken up for a few moments' recreation by people tired out by strenuous work or unstrenuous idleness. He has given us, it is true, certain poems which make their appeal straightway. If we lay down the canon that poetry should at once make its appeal to the ear, and deepen that appeal and increase the volume of it more and more as time goes on, we must grant that Browning sometimes fails, for we cannot always catch his music at once, and often cannot be sure of his thought. Yet, when the music is caught, how fine it is; and when the thought is captured, how worthful!

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* iii. 10, 11.



1911

There are and will always be babes among the readers of poetry, as well as adolescents and adults. It is to be feared that even the production of a 'Browning without Tears' would not help them. The issue of such a book was, indeed, once jokingly planned by two members of the Browning Society, who began to render the story of *Ivan Ivanovitch* in words of one and two syllables!

After all,

So we are made, such difference in minds,  
Such difference, too, in eyes that see the minds!<sup>2</sup>

Must we not acknowledge the existence of a rudimentary sense of beauty, even though most of us would shrink from confessing its abode in their own mental constitution? This is quite apart from the debt of gratitude which many owe to the gods for not having made them poetical. As in music, many care for simple forms only, such as ballads and light dance-music, 'something with a tune in it,' so in poetry and in plastic art often the merely commonplace is preferred. A strong preference for the lower forms of art is also frequently, if not generally, accompanied by a mighty impatience of the claims of the higher. The lovers of pictures of 'Sherry, Sir?' type may think the lovers of Turner affected; the admirers of popular tunes hear only noise in Beethoven. Many people do not care for poetry, and some have the grace to say so. Others like easy narrative and commonplace rime, unable to understand a great poet's music: Something pretty, something restful, something—*nice*!

This they ask for, and Browning will not give it to them—unless, indeed, we say that the deepest and sweetest rest comes after work. Browning demands work, demands our vital energy to meet his, insists on our strength to bear the impact of his own.

What do ordinary readers of pretty verses know of Browning? They will say, 'I know *The Pied Piper*,' or, perhaps, '*How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*.' Admirable as these poems are in their way, they are only to a small extent representative. Yet it may be noted that in both of these we find the quality of the making of the expression by its subject, in the easy, half-colloquial narrative of the former, and the movement of the latter, which is so indicative of the beat of a horse's hoofs at full gallop. (I have known a fit of asthma brought on in a listener to the breathless course of the poem.) And here I may quote also one of the fine instances of the way in which the soul of the verse, its very form, has made its body, in that great passage of *Sordello*, which addresses Dante:

... pacer of the shore  
Where glutton hell disgorgeth filthiest gloom,

<sup>2</sup> *The Pope: Ring and Book.*



Unbitten by its whirring sulphur-spume;  
Or whence the grieved and obscure waters slope  
Into a darkness quieted by hope;  
Plucker of amaranths grown beneath God's eye  
In gracious twilights where His chosen lie.

It is no fancy that hears, in the lines describing hell, the horror itself of its—not outpouring but—disgorging, not gloom alone, but gloom the most sordid, with the whirl of the sulphur-spume by which Dante remains unbitten; and in the next lines passing from that filthiest gloom, not into the great light of heaven, but into the darkness quieted by hope. A quiet darkness this, and more, a darkness that hope has made quiet, suggesting a contrast with that outer darkness more horrible than even the Egyptian darkness that could be felt, this being heard. Then into the gracious twilights<sup>3</sup> where God's chosen lie and lie waiting. In twilights like these the amaranths 'grow beneath God's eye.'

Browning's obscurity comes sometimes from his excessive condensation of expression; from his more than sparing use of connectives. It is also true that what to some of us is obscurity is simply so because the thought which it carries is unfamiliar to us. Many years ago, the late James Cotter Morison said: 'He constantly deals with subjects the most arduous, subtle, and intricate ever chosen by a poet, and in treating them he consults with his own genius, his own vision of the thought to be rendered.'

There is a great saying of Roden Noel's, himself a treater in verse of non-familiar things: 'There are two kinds of obscurity; one is of the lightless void, another of the peopled deep.'

Surely Browning's deep was a peopled one.

In connexion with the subject of Browning's obscurity, should we not give thanks to Professor Griffin and Mr. Minchin that in the latest biography of the poet we have nothing of the widely circulated story about an attempt to read *Sordello*, fathered on Douglas Jerrold and always denied by him; nor of the hoary joke, wrongly attributed to Tennyson, concerning the absence of intelligibility from every part of that poem except its first and last lines, and the absence of truth from these?

Browning's roughness sometimes comes, I think, from his dislike to let manner override matter, form to emasculate substance.

Grand rough old Martin Luther  
Bloomed fables—flowers on furze,  
The better the uncouth—  
Do roses stick like burs?

<sup>3</sup> Probably the poet, in speaking of 'gracious twilights,' is alluding to the fair resting-place (*bel soggiorno*) to which Dante and Virgil come in the twilight, seeing there the souls who are seated on grass and flowers of wonderful hues.—*Purg.* vii.



1911

But surely the 'roughness' is often the very medium he wants. I say this with all acknowledgment that at times the harshness seems unnecessary. But who, of nineteenth-century poets, can give a sweeter music, a richer setting, a grander cadence than he has done?

Out of four songs in *Paracelsus* one specially illustrates the fondness of Browning for heavy consonantal endings, one of the 'roughnesses' complained of. These are sometimes used with fine musical effect, as when in Caponsacchi's last words we have the short, clipped sound of the first part of the line, and the rush of the latter four-syllabled word, with the full vowel-ending of the last :

O great, just, good God! Miserable me!

Of the second of these songs, *Paracelsus* says, 'the verse halts like the best of Luther's psalms.' It has ninety-six words, of which six only have a vowel-ending, and six are compound words.

With this we may compare the lovely 'Thus the Mayne glideth,' which has something of the music of the Elizabethan lyric.

What *Lippo Lippi* says of painting is true also of poetry, using the word in its widest sense :

We're made so that we love

First when we see them painted, things we have passed

Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;

And so they are better painted—better to us,

Which is the same thing. Art was given for that;

God uses us to help each other so,

Lending our minds out!

May this not be even more deeply true of poetry than of painting, because, while painting makes its appeal through the eye alone, poetry makes its appeal not alone through the ear, but also to the eye through the ear, and to more than these?

What's poetry except a power that makes?

And, speaking to one sense, inspires the rest,

Pressing them all into its service.

So says Browning's Balaustion. The power of inducing visualisation has, like so many other good things, been the innocent cause of that which is undesirable. I am thinking of the efforts of reciters to dramatise verse narrative, and, alas, even lyrical, by needless gesture and the imitation of sound and appearance told of therein, which efforts are grotesque from being entirely out of place. Browning's own reading of his poetry was, as far as I knew it, quietly impressive, and not at all dramatic. His voice was not musical, but his



intonation was careful and distinct. Here I digress to note how that voice of his quite changed as he spoke of his wife: then it dropped and grew softer. I remember how this impressed me as he showed me her handwriting, fine and clear. In one book, I remember, 'Elizabeth Barrett' had first been written; then 'Browning' had been added, and underneath were the words, 'and Robert Browning.' 'She always did that,' he said; 'she never would have anything to herself.' In showing a little classic of hers he said: 'She liked little books; she was such a little thing herself.'

Great as is the debt of the audience to the poet, it is to be remembered that there is also a debt on the other side, for the poet must owe much to his audience—at first, it may be, but a small one, men and women who would not suffer their faith to be strangled, or even imprisoned in silence, through fear of being accused of endeavouring to propagate a new cult; later on, a wider and a wider one. The lovers of a poet have always won fresh love for him, and larger and keener sympathy. They have delighted to show the unfolding of his thought; they have gained for him that ears unaccustomed to such music as his should listen, and at least try to understand new melodies with new intervals, and harmonies which they do not know, but sounding as false to the unknowing as did those wonderful Eastern songs lately given by an Armenian singer. We must come forth to meet and to greet our poets. This has been done for one whom we account the greatest among English makers, and whom we number among the world-poets: and we may fairly ask whether Shakespeare would now be to us what he is, whether we should know him even as we do know him, if it had not been for the labours of students and scholars, poets and actors, and readers, men and women of all sorts and conditions of mind and state, from the seer to the patient toiler at what is symbolised by 'the doctrine of the enclitic *de*.'

Over and over again we read, and the more we read and ponder, depending rather on meditation than on explanation, the more we see; and the more we see, the more we love. We are such old friends, by right and by inheritance, Shakespeare and we: we greet him as one we are familiar with, and we love him as our dear comrade, and we revere him as our teacher. But there are others to whom we surely owe much, others who are high in their greatness, lavish in their givings, wide in their embrace of man and his heritage; and among their highest is Robert Browning.

The lovers of Shakespeare may, some of them, have erred by reason of over-anxiety to 'see two points in Hamlet's soul. Unseized by the Germans yet'; they may have subtilised the



1911

simple, and perhaps darkened counsel by much commentary. Some of the lovers of Browning also may have striven too hard to 'catch a wheel within a wheel, See more in a truth than the truth's simple self,' and—'Confuse themselves.' Notwithstanding, they are lovers, and who shall despise their love, a love that, in some fashion or other, may have much availed?

Browning held strongly the theory of the mission of the poet, though he would not have expressed it in the same fashion as did his wife. It is with him, distinctly, not that of amusing or even supplying a gracious atmosphere of rest. To him the poet-kings are not they 'who simply say the most heart-easing things.' The function of a king is a larger thing than to give ease. The 'one poet' whom Browning describes in 'How it Strikes a Contemporary' is one who, 'Scenting the world, looking it full in face,' takes 'cognisance of men and things'; he is one who sees and has to report what he sees, and to report them to—his Lord the King.

Certainly [says Browning in his Preface to the (pseudo-) Shelley Letters], in the face of any conspicuous achievement of genius, philosophy, no less than sympathetic instinct, warrants our belief in a great moral purpose having mainly inspired even where it does not visibly look out of the same. Greatness in a work suggests an adequate instrumentality.<sup>4</sup>

Sir Philip Sidney, himself a poet, has said that the office of poetry is to teach and delight. Has there ever been a better definition of the poet's mission? Teaching does not involve didacticism, nor does delighting involve unwholesomeness. We do find in Browning what we cannot but find in our great poets, this teaching and delighting—the teaching by showing us how to see, in the moral and spiritual world as well as in the natural, and the delighting with a delight wide and deep and high. No one knew better than he that what is sometimes presented as 'realistic' is far indeed away from that reality which goes deeper than the plummet of the realistic writer has ever sounded.

We rejoice in his faith in God, and in man the work of God; his whole-hearted delight in life, and the good things of life, with no forgetting or ignoring or neglecting of the things still better; the declaration that even in the low and the mean and the base there is yet the spirit of life and truth; the glad acceptance as from God's hand of whatever is fair and strong; and the willingness to face the darker side of things ('Trust God, see all, nor be afraid!') and know that it has a meaning and a meaning greater than we can apprehend. We learn, too, from the whole-hearted belief that all tends to victory and triumph, that all will one day be well. Even for Guido, that 'main criminal,' that

<sup>4</sup> This Preface has been reprinted as one of Mr. Tutin's Hull Booklets, price twopence.



horror of meanness and cruelty and sophistry, even for him we are given the poet's hope, in the old Pope's grand utterance, after he has passed sentence of death :

For the main criminal I have no hope  
Except in such a suddenness of fate.  
I stood at Naples once, a night so dark  
I could have scarce conjectured there was earth  
Anywhere, sky or sea or world at all :  
But the night's black was burst through by a blaze—  
Thunder struck blow on blow, earth groaned and bore,  
Through her whole length of mountain visible :  
There lay the city thick and plain with spires,  
And, like a ghost disshrouded, white the sea.  
So may the truth be flashed out by one blow,  
And Guido see, one instant, and be saved.<sup>5</sup>

Because we assert that Browning's teaching, direct or indirect, is, taken on the whole, of a lofty kind, and makes for righteousness, it is all the more necessary to acknowledge that now and then his vigorous onslaught on a vice, or what he holds as a false convention blocking the way of virtue, is made with the choice of a situation more than merely non-moral. Thus, in *The Statue and the Bust*, he illustrates the indisputable fact that the non-committing of sin through mere slothfulness does not count as goodness by making the 'should have been' the seizing by the Duke and the Riccardi bride of the opportunity to break the marriage vow. This may sound harsh, but it is indisputably true. Have we not here the spirit of Luther's *Pecca fortiter*? A strong sinning would, it seems here, have been better than a weak abstinence from it. It is true that the man who commits what is called 'a splendid sin' may, indeed, have that in him which commands an admiration withheld from one kept outwardly virtuous by a sheer lack of vitality, or one for whom indolence is the only barrier against crime : it is true that a man full-bloodedly erring may stand higher far than he who is anæmically or slothfully keeping straight outwardly, and the crime unaccomplished through sloth may be even deeper than one committed with all the prestige of high daring and courage. Yet, granting all this, it were heartily to be wished that here 'a crime' had not been used 'to serve for a test,' and that the situation had not been such that the sin imputed 'to each frustrate ghost,' the sin of 'the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin,' was the leaving undone through sloth that of which the poet says 'the end was a vice.' Mrs. Orr calls the poem 'a warning against infirmity of purpose,' and the phrase at once throws us back upon the great scene in *Macbeth* where the hesitant in crime is driven on by the lash of 'Infirm of purpose, give me the daggers.'

<sup>5</sup> Actually, Guido died penitent, with the Holy Name on his lips.



1911

When all is done, let us remember the lesson in the closing lines :

You of the virtue (we issue join) how strive you? *De te fabula!*

Again, his hatred of merely conventional 'good behaviour,' his deep insight into the need that may arise for the throwing away of hindering circumstances in order to attain true development, has led Browning apparently to favour the theory that the needs of the individual have a call so supreme that it must be hearkened to and obeyed, irrespectively of all that would seem to forbid that hearkening to and that obedience. This is notably to be found in *The Flight of the Duchess*, that story so charmingly told, wherein the unpleasant husband is left in the midst of his unpleasant surroundings, and the wife goes off to the freedom of gypsydom. Is it not a pity, and more than a pity, that a poet, and so great a poet, should lightly touch that commandment on which all family and social life is founded? This utterance may, doubtless, seem to some of the readers of the poem in question to be an attempt to break a butterfly. Nevertheless, with all feeling for the delicate beauty and charm of *The Flight of the Duchess*, I cannot but wish that the lady had been unfettered by the bond she was so lightly to cast aside.

But as a rule Browning lays stress not on the breaking of any part of law for the sake of attempting to fulfil another part, but on rising to the truest obedience to law through impulse and passion; through the nobility of that impulse and the glory of that passion. His heart is with 'the chivalry of God, the soldier-saints who, row on row, burn upward, each to his point of bliss,' burn upward through the probation-world to the high glory beyond it.

Poet of action Browning certainly is. With him one moment's action may fulfil a whole life's meaning. I have in a former article<sup>\*</sup> called him poet of assertion, and this assertion includes and largely includes action. But in action motive is, I think, always involved; more than involved, for it seems an inseparable part of it. It is 'the seed of act' that is the important thing: hence David in *Saul* can think lightly of his impuissance to save his king and friend, because he knows that the will to save him is his, and that ' 'Tis not what man does that exalts him, but what man would do.' 'What I aspire to be and was not, comforts me.' Action he loves and proclaims; action, however mixed with fault, so that its seed be true. So it is that next to Pompilia of the soul perfect in whiteness, the rose he gathers for the breast of God, the Pope sets Caponsacchi, in whom he finds much that is

<sup>\*</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1910.  
VOL. LXX—No. 416



blameworthy, yet in whom he recognises that living splendour of purpose and deed which makes the hero.

With action the thought of progress is inevitably bound up. The terrible thing is to be content with any degree of attainment, and to rest without endeavouring after further progress, to live a 'ghastly smooth life, dead at heart, Tame in earth's paddock as her prize.'

Browning's teaching does not invariably run on simple lines. It is not always the choice between right and wrong, though that we do get, but the choice between good and better, between better and best. Sometimes, even, we have the sacrifice of good for what seems hardly to be a gain upon that good. In *A Grammarian's Funeral* we have the assertion of our right to limit our field of vision and our grasp of life : but this is simply in view of the shortness of the *Now*, which fades into nothingness besides that *Forever* which is the property of man. And the poem sets a seal of hallowing on the giving of a lifetime to the close study of what uncomprehending minds might take at first sight to be trifles, or even fads, and later on despise as entirely unworthy of a life's devotion.

Absolute belief—or, I suppose, I should rather say a system of absolute belief—this poet could not understand. He thought that doubt must be lurking somewhere ; just as a child, obsessed by the thought of the bogey-man, might think he saw him in broad daylight. This non-understanding of perfect systematic belief accounts in part for his Blougram. Yet belief was to Browning a greater thing than doubt. 'What's midnight doubt before the dayspring's faith?'

If such a saying as this seem inconsistent with the oft-repeated assertion and implication that doubt is an absolute necessity, shall we not remember that a poet's eyes see different sides at different times, even seeing these in a different way? After all, there are inconsistencies we have to be thankful for.

I suppose a passion for doubt goes with a passion for individualism : and Browning was strongly individual and 'intellectually self-centred.' Each one, he thought, must work out, not merely his scheme of life, but his scheme of belief for himself, and in working out his scheme of belief he must take doubt as the principal factor. So, at least, I understand his teaching. Not to doubt is to belong to the low kinds that exist without it, so he thinks. Is it not possible that he, to some extent at least, confuses the element of doubt with the element of difficulty, and fails to see that, while the acknowledgment of difficulty may exist to the end, the doctrine of the necessity of doubt at once sweeps away the foundation of a Church, and makes each man impossible as a member of a spiritual society? But I think the conception of



1911

a Church was neither familiar nor cognate to Robert Browning's mind.

There is a great and fine side to the passion for struggle, the lust of conquest. And yet there may be, truly, a sorrowful amount of waste for the one who insists on attempting to conquer what is already his by inheritance, instead of claiming it as his right and due; and he who spends power and will in striving to acquire for himself, rather than in striving to increase for the general good, needlessly limits his possession, that possession which it has cost so much to gain.

It is well for a man that he give to his rightful heritage of knowledge and wisdom that high spiritual usury which makes of the one talent ten, and merits the rulership of the city tenfold great.

I should like to add here a few words to what I said in my former article<sup>7</sup> as to Browning's attitude toward the Catholic Church. I cannot help thinking that here he was influenced by his vivid realisation of the ugly side of the Renaissance in Italy. We remember the passage in *Modern Painters*<sup>8</sup> in which Ruskin points out how Browning had seized the Renaissance spirit. But was he not obsessed by that side of it which clashed so painfully with his ethical and even with his human thought? His keen imagination saw the horror which he set forth in *The Bishop orders his tomb at St. Praxed's*, and the yet deeper horror, because of its absolutely inhuman and therefore monstrous aspect, which he crystallised in *My Last Duchess*. Under a kind of obsession of hatred and disgust, he may, I think, to some extent have confounded the religion of Italy with the worse than licence of a namelessly painful phase through which so many—but not all, not nearly all—were to pass. It is hard indeed for us to realise how men felt to whom there came the sudden and overpowering revelation of the splendid humanistic possessions which had been banned and shut away for so long; harder for some of us than for others to realise how the passion of sheer natural delight leaped upon men and seized them, furiously fain to make of Christians the bastards of paganism.

In that former paper I expressed also an opinion that Browning was not a mystic. No one could deny him a place, and a high place, among the seers. It seems to me that there is a frequently made confusion between the seer and the mystic. To attempt a definition is a perilous thing, especially where the difference is one rather to be felt than defined: still, there are one or two suggestions that may be offered. Are not the eyes of a seer those of one possessing a fulness of spiritual sight which to those who are

<sup>7</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, December 1910.

<sup>8</sup> iv. 377-9.



myopic naturally, or through having habitually limited the scope of their vision to a very short distance, is difficult to conceive, or perhaps even to credit? Is it not like in quality, though not in degree, to the difference between the sight of a seaman and that of a bookman?

Mysticism would seem to go above and below and beyond this and see, not only the things themselves, but their meaning and connection and place : the thousand-fold, myriad-fold meaning, not only, as Emerson says, of every sensuous fact, but also of every spiritual fact; the unbreakable connection of one thing with another thing and with all other things (this is yet more than to be 'one who sees the infinite in things'); also the proportion that all bear to one another, and to the great unconceivable whole, and their place, their situation, as parts of that whole. Of such illumination as this there must be degrees, as there are degrees of seership. The mysticism of the Saints is the highest of all, meaning the being caught out of self and into the seeing of God. This St. Paul tells of in the passage<sup>9</sup> describing his having been caught up, whether in the body or out of the body he cannot tell—caught up into Paradise and hearing secret, unspeakable (R.V.) words (*arcana verba*) not lawful for a man to utter, but which yet he could have uttered if he might. Browning was surely a seer; and I think that in the great Epilogue to *Saul* he almost, if not quite, passes the line of division between the seer and the mystic. Compare the revelation there of the passion of the universe with the revelation of the function of man, in *Paracelsus*, saturated as it is with the pathetic fallacy, rained down in words of extreme beauty, and see if the two come from the same source in the poet's mind.

In the earlier poem

Man . . . imprints for ever

His presence on all lifeless things: the winds  
Are henceforth voices, wailing or a shout,  
A querulous mutter or a quick gay laugh, . . .  
The herded pines commune and have deep thoughts:  
. . . the peerless cup afloat  
Of the lake-lily is an urn, some nymph  
Swims bearing high above her head: no bird  
Whistles unseen, but through the gaps above  
That let light in upon the gloomy woods,  
A shape peers from the breezy forest top,  
Arch with small puckered mouth and mocking eye.  
The morn has enterprise, deep quiet droops  
With evening, triumph takes the sunset hour,  
Voluptuous transport rises with the corn  
Beneath a warm moon like a happy face.



1911

In the later *Saul* the revelation of God Incarnate penetrates all creation, and what is vocal to David's ear is vocal as a part of God's scheme, not as a reflex of the feeling and aspiration of man. The earlier is subjective, the later a glorious objectivity.

The seer may see that love is the greatest of all, as the inclusion of all : but it is the mystic who knows its 'intolerable beatitude.'

Browning has that 'manly relish of life' which Lamb ascribed to Fielding.

How good is man's life, the mere living ; how fit to employ  
All the heart and the soul and the senses for ever in joy.

He sees 'the value and significance of flesh' ; he knows that flesh may help soul, though his utterance that the help of flesh to soul is no less than the help of soul to flesh, when compared with other sayings of the poet, is seen to be only a sort of hyperbole. In *Saul* we have the joy of physical life, not marring or lessening the joy of the spirit, but blending with it, and with it making an exquisite whole.

How good is man's life, the mere living ; how fit to employ  
All the heart and the soul and the senses for ever in joy.

But Browning knew that the victory of the spirit in the conditions of time has had to be gained, and will over and over again have to be gained, at the expense of the flesh. To dwell in sense and the things of sense, 'the world,' is with him its own punishment, shutting out of the heaven of spirit, as he memorably puts it in the passage from *Easter Day* already quoted. The Supreme Judge is made by the poet to pass sentence on the man, to whom he says :

Thy choice was earth ; thou didst attest  
'T was fitter spirit should subserve  
The flesh, than flesh refine to nerve  
Beneath the spirit's play.

The perfect being is perfect all round, body and soul ; and this is the high 'grace of the Resurrection.'

Browning himself gave the impression of perfect healthiness. He once told me that he could not remember to have ever passed a day in bed, except as a child when he had measles. As we know, he had in some ways a certain delicacy, but a delicate person may be a perfectly healthy one, and a large vitality such as Browning's can stand the drawing on it of attacks like those he sometimes suffered from. He had inherited a fine constitution from his father, of whom M. Milsand said, 'Il n'a jamais été vieux.' His movements were brisk, and his whole appearance was that of a man who did well in body and mind. He was, like Tennyson, short-sighted, though not nearly to the same extent, and, also like him, never wore glasses.



An outdoor life is surely conducive to healthiness of thought as well as to healthiness of body, and that Browning loved outdoor life is well known. As an instance, we may recall the gallop on his horse, 'York,' to which we owe *How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*.

His love of animals is also familiar to us. We remember his child-request to have a toad caught for him, and we remember his late-in-life account of the 'most engaging of little vixens,' the captive baby fox that dug herself a hole and pounced thereout upon a turkey. We think, too, of his whistling for the lizards to come to him : all these instances bearing out what we find in his poetry. There is a beautiful touch in the description of the forest creatures flying from Paracelsus when the passion for unloving knowledge has gripped him, which goes with

God made all the creatures, and gave them our love and our fear,  
To give sign we and they are His children, one family here.

He loved flowers, and all the beauty and prettiness of things great and small brought forth by 'the brown old earth.' I remember his real enjoyment of some 'fairy cups,' the dainty scarlet fungus *Peziza coccinea*, which were on my table. He asked if I knew any other folk-name for them, and gave me another, far less pretty and euphonious than the one I had used. He then made some impromptu comic rimes, prefaced by 'How would this sound?'

It is curious that he does not seem to have cared much for children. I have sometimes wondered whether Shakespeare did, absolutely as he understood the passion of parenthood ; for nearly all the children in his plays are keen-witted, sharp-tongued little folk, hardly showing the most beautiful side of childhood. The notable exception is Arthur in *King John*.

Browning's treatment of the theme of failure gives much food for thought. The cause of failure may be external or in oneself, or partaking of both. A merely external failure is, as we so well know, often equivalent to the highest success. So with *The Patriot*, led with bound hands and bleeding brow to the foot of the scaffold. A year ago on this very day, this day of his ignominy and shame, myrtle and roses had been strewn in his path, and there had been the pealing of the bells, and there had been nothing that heart or hand could have refused him. But now, in his humiliation, pelted and hissed, now, in this hour of what looks like a supreme failure, he is quiet and blest, in the keeping of God. 'I am safer so.' And this failure too is for Caponsacchi. All he has done seems of no avail : he has not saved Pompilia from the murderous notched edge of Guido's knife. But he has saved her



1911

from the loss of faith in man, which to many is often the way to loss of faith in God, being the ignoring or the breaking of the communion of saints : and his own soul has risen to a height it never knew before, and in this seeming failure he stands in a triumph of which for the time he is ignorant or uncomprehending. For, as we know, it is the struggle that is worthful, whatever the attainment may be ; it is the attempt that counts, however imperfect be the execution ; for the glory is in the strenuous will of man, baffled though he may be in his deed. Well for those to whom it is a cardinal article of belief that with God there is no waste ; that all right effort, all holy aim, is being spent for Him, used for Him, and never wasted, although for the time being it may seem to have been spent in vain. This we find in the teaching of Browning.

In *Paracelsus*, too, we have the story of intense aspiration, and of error and failure, and the bitter realisation of failure, and the coming so close to great despair ; but we have the light shining in on the soul at the last, and we know that Paracelsus sees.

What has our poet to say of the cause of failure in oneself ; of the will that might have willed aright, and would not ; of the arm that was meant to be used in its strength, and was suffered to fall slack ?

The deliberate choice of a lower life is that which bears in itself the punishment of the gradual loss of ability to rise beyond it.

Thou art shut  
Out of the heaven of spirit ; glut  
Thy sense upon the world ; 't is thine  
For ever—take it.

There is the failure that comes from the hugging of some one sin, at first, perhaps, thought of in the guise of a fancy or a whim, and later as a weakness ; but growing from venial to deadly, a mortal cancer of the spiritual being. So, in *Gold Hair: a Story of Pornic*, the maiden whom all had thought of as a very saint, dies a victim to the deadly sin of avarice. 'Leave me my poor gold hair,' she has cried, in what seemed a mere moment of pardonable girlish vanity, and it has been left.

. . . curled around her brow, like a crown,  
And coiled beside her cheek, like a cap,  
And calmed about her neck—ay, down  
To her breast, pressed flat, without a gap  
I' the gold, it reached her gown.

And the face, 'like a silver wedge Mid the yellow wealth,' lay there, and the crucifix was planted on the girl's breast 'twixt edge and edge' of all that gold. Many and many a year after, the secret was horribly revealed, when the girl's skull



was found wedged among a heap of gold coins, which had been hidden by the 'wonder of flix and floss.' And the poet, who sees reasons and reasons, as he says, to suppose that the Christian faith is true, gives as the first of them :

'T is the faith that launched point-blank her dart  
At the head of a lie—taught original sin,  
The corruption of man's heart.

Perhaps the most painful case of failure recorded by Browning, and this because it has come through the transgression of elemental law, 'the straight outflow of law,' 'the fount fresh from God's footstool,' is that of Louscha, the mother who suffers the wolves to tear her children from her, and can come home to tell her story, and finish by speaking of the good that tears do, and of the sweetness of life.

Thamuris fails through pride. How grandly he marches that morning which has the mastery over all the pomps of nature, whereof :

Each, with a glory and a rapture twined  
About it, joined the rush of air and light  
And force : the world was of one joyous mind.

Thamuris, marching, let no fancy slip  
Born of the fiery transport ; lyre and song  
Were his, to smite with hand and launch from lip—

Peerless recorder, since the list grew long  
Of poets (saith Homeros) free to stand  
Pedestalled 'mid the Muses' temple-throng,

A statued service, laurelled, lyre in hand,  
(Ay, for we see them)—Thamuris of Thrace  
Predominating foremost of the band.

Therefore the morn-ray that enriched his face,  
If it gave lambent chill, took flame again  
From flush of pride ; he saw, he knew the place.

He is sure of victory, and—waits.

Which wins—Earth's poet or the Heavenly Muse. . . .

And Browning's Aristophanes himself, who has sung of Thamuris marching, fails as one who has frittered spiritual strength instead of bringing it to bear on one great purpose.

In *Martin Relph* also there is the great failure, here the failure that came of the one instant ungrasped, the one opportunity let go. These are great tragedies, and much to be pondered on.

We know that Browning's education (using the word in its narrower sense) was almost, if not entirely, on the literary and artistic side. Mrs. Orr draws attention to the deficiency of his training in logic and mathematics, and believes that had



1911

he studied the subjects 'which train, even coerce, the thinking powers,' he might not, as a poet, have fallen into 'the involutions and overlapping of thought and phrase so often occurring in his work.' But surely a perfectly clear form of expression is quite possible to a non-mathematician, and to one who has made no formal study of logic, and the result of the studies which Mrs. Orr laments the absence of would possibly have only been seen in the increase of the argumentative mass of verse, so large a part of which the lovers of the poet feel might well be spared.

It is idle to speculate on the might-have-been, and yet it is not easy to suppress one's wonder as to what effect ordinary public school life and 'varsity training might have had on Robert Browning. At first sight there seems something almost abnormal in his hatred of that school life which most healthy boys get to love, and, as a matter of course, take a pride in. He had also, in his youth, a dislike of university teaching; he left London University in his second term. We may, however, remember that he had no experience of the life of a great public school, and that in London he had no opportunity of taking part in that social life which highly cultivated scholars have spoken of as the most valuable part of their university career. If Oxford or Cambridge had done nothing else for him, one of them would have saved him from the undertaking and accomplishing of the extraordinary bit of preparation for literary work in the reading of Johnson's Dictionary right through. (Mrs. Orr says he 'digested' it!) I found in this labour of his a possible explanation of Browning's odd idea that 'dare' and 'need,' when used in the third person (not=challenges or lacks) are vulgarisms. Johnson gives 'needs' only, for the third person. Such a usage sounds odd in:

And, for my own sake, why needs struggle be?"

Yet Browning had no objection to splitting his infinitive!

Where the narrowness of his education is chiefly seen is, as it seems to some of us, in his want of sympathy with the great scientific movements synchronous with the later part of his life. As Walt Whitman well says, 'Exact science and its practical movements are no check on the greatest poet, but always his encouragement.'<sup>11</sup> Surely Tennyson's poetry was ennobled and greatened by this ennobling and greatening sympathy. Those who have spoken of Browning as 'out of date' may have had this in mind which I have spoken of as narrowness in his education. though probably the want of sympathy with that which opens up new worlds of wonder and delight and reverence and love may have been from the cast of his mind, or even from the

<sup>10</sup> *Ring and Book*: Guido.

<sup>11</sup> *Leaves of Grass*: Preface.



clinging to the old and absurd fancy that science and religion are warring powers. Otherwise to talk of one of the greatest poets as being 'out of date' were an absurdity, for a great poet at his greatest has nothing to do with time. I say at his greatest because when he then deals with truths, emotions, problems, they are those that are universal, not the phasal difficulties and the one-sided developments that are perpetually coming up.

If, with every allowance for the personality of his poems as well as for the personality in them, it be held that he claims indulgence, let it be granted him freely, but by no means as to one whose wing may now and then flag after great and noble flight; for there is in him no flagging of purpose and power, but, as I believe, a deliberate choice of another level. True, he may sometimes afflict our ears with the thud of trampling consonants; present us with prose for philosophic poetry; set cleverness in the wrong place; more than once or twice be guilty of sins against good taste; perhaps, even, now and then miss the centre he is essaying to find. But, with all these things allowed, he has assuredly made the greatest poetic offering set in the nineteenth century before God and man. Let us study him with the loving study of those who aim rather to be finders than to be hailed as discoverers. Let us go often in his company, for it is delitable truly, and listen to his music with open ears, and therefor be thankful.

EMILY HICKEY.



1911

## THE REVIVAL OF BOXING

DURING the last few years boxing has regained much of its lost popularity in England, and there is really no reason why we should join certain Puritanical moralists in deploring the fact. In its modern form pugilism is the finest of all personal pastimes; regarded as an exercise, it clears the eye and cleanses the physique at a minimum expenditure of time and money; and as a moral discipline it has very few rivals, seeing that no man can excel in the ring who loses his temper or even his temperament in adversity. Now and again some Nonconformist divine takes up his parable against the sport, denouncing its renaissance as a proof that we are reverting to methods of barbarism. Thus the Rev. F. B. Meyer, while omitting to rebuke the hooligans of his political party for their thousand brutalities during the Railway Strike, thought 'there ought to be enough Christianity in this country' to prevent the contest between Johnson and Wells for the World's Heavy-weight Championship (which was arranged for the 2nd inst.) from being held in London. He was afraid it would infect every boys' school in the land with a craze for boxing. But why not? If the art of self-defence were as keenly cultivated in the national schools as it is in certain public schools, the number of hooligans who prefer kicking and belt-slinging and bottle-throwing to the use of their fists would rapidly decrease, for, as the East End curates, muscular Christians for the most part, very well know, the lad who learns how to box invariably becomes a law-abiding person and, if he *must* fight, will always fight like a gentleman. Another specific example of these absurd attacks on a sport which has long since been purged from unnecessary brutality, and is not more dangerous than Rugby football or playing fast bowling on a sportive wicket, is the assertion that a desire 'to deface God's image as shown forth in one another' is the *raison d'être* of boxing. Such a charge could only have been made by one who had never seen a contest under modern rules. Even the boxer who is severely punished in a long-distance glove-fight is never battered out of recognition (as sometimes happened when the naked fists were used), and since he is in hard condition his bruises invariably disappear in a day or two. Those who refrain



from taking exercise regularly, or live too luxuriously, thus accumulating *Sitzfleisch* and losing that austerity of outline which is part and parcel of the modern conception of beauty (a plump Venus is almost unthinkable nowadays), certainly deface the human form divine to a much greater extent than any hard-hitting pugilist. After all, these are but isolated and ineffectual voices, which cannot prevail as long as we admit that physical courage is a noble thing and necessary to the salvation of the most civilised nations. Until the advance of science and the coolness of the earth reduce us to the condition of the Martians invented by Mr. H. G. Wells, mere crawling brains inhabiting vast and weirdly adroit machines, no combination of intellectual power with moral courage will be altogether sufficient for all critical emergencies.

In America, where the Puritanical method of making war against the symbol rather than against the idea symbolised is more prevalent than in this country, a so-called 'crusade' against boxing has been successful to a certain extent. In many of the cities and large towns exhibitions of boxing are illegal under the municipal by-laws, and several of the States have legislated against such spectacles. But the observer who looks below the surface is not convinced that the standard of public morality has been raised as a result of calling in the assistance of the law-maker. The American public is more eager than ever to see boxers at their fell work; they will go anywhere and pay anything to see their self-advertised gladiators, and for that purpose cheerfully enrol themselves in the ranks of the law-breakers. It is the old story: laws that are made in advance of public opinion add only to the sum of a nation's lawlessness, the most ruinous form of national hypocrisy. Moreover, by depriving a popular sport of the countenance of many respectable persons and of many more who wish to be thought respectable, the American reformers have done much to brutalise it and demoralise its followers. In America boxing was never part of a gentleman's education as in the England of Byron's day; the American of good family settled his disputes with the help of a bowie-knife or its successor, the six-shooter—never with the weapons provided by nature. Fighting with the naked fists for prize-money was introduced by the Irish-American element in the immigration of the 'thirties and 'forties, and to this day the transplanted Celts—saloon keepers and ward-politicians and bookmakers and shell-game men and what-not—are the Transatlantic pugilist's chief patrons. When the Queensberry code finally superseded the old inclusive 'London rules' the American sportsman properly so called took an interest in the game for a time, and something was done to lift it above the plane of the all-in scrummages of Donnybrook Fair. But the



1911

attempt to civilise American boxing was a failure chiefly, no doubt because those who were anxious to reform their fellow-citizens did not see that good results might be achieved by reforming a sport of ever-increasing popularity. Later on they tried this plan, but, not understanding the nature of the problem to be solved, made a sad mess of it. Thus they succeeded in persuading a number of municipalities to forbid the naming of the winner on points in a public contest, the idea being to diminish the severity of the struggle for victory. But, as might have been foreseen, the opposite result was actually achieved; for the boxer engaged in a 'no decision' contest could only add a big 'W' to his record (thus increasing his value as a popular entertainer) by a knock-out or by so damaging the other man that he could not go on fighting. In England, the professional glove-fighter who has the upper hand knows he can win on points and always spares a beaten antagonist. In America, thanks to the interference of the well-meaning moralist, such a measure of pugilistic chivalry is so unprofitable that no boxer who wishes to rise in his profession can afford it. It is true, no doubt, that the 'no decision' contest has helped to increase the effectiveness of the American style. Since it is nine points in such a game to show oneself the winner, the American boxer is always ready—readier far than the average English practitioner—to see and seize the opportunity for a decisive stroke. But this improvement in technique was not the object the moralist had in mind when he interfered with a game which he did not understand. The humorous common-sense of Englishmen should prevent the perpetration of such idiotic 'reforms' on this side of the Atlantic. Our object should be not to suppress public boxing contests, attendance at which is part of the amateur's education, but to keep the professional game in this country free from the foul and brutal methods of the Transatlantic practitioner.

Not only should these methods be vigorously tabooed, but the presence of the American expert himself—unless he happens to be a clean and sportsmanlike boxer of the McFarland type—should be vigorously discouraged. Seeing that he seldom has more than a drop or two, if so much, of English blood in his veins, it is not surprising that the said expert lacks his English rival's innate sense of fair play. He was not born to sportsmanship, neither has it been thrust on him by contact with his social superiors; nor is he likely to achieve it until the lower-class American learns that it is better to lose honestly than to win by foul tactics. It is interesting to trace the historical steps by which the cosmopolitan rough has attained his present position in the American ring, where, unfortunately, the successful fighter makes a vast deal more money than an English champion. (There must be at least fifty American boxers who earn 1000*l.* a year and



upwards.) Time was when pugilism was accounted one of the Englishman's natural prerogatives; even Irishmen and Scotchmen were thought to be racially incapable of acquiring more than the rudiments of the art. The first successful appearance of a Jew in the old Prize-Ring was supposed at the time to be a kind of left-handed miracle; with unconscious humour a ring-side critic attributed his surprising victory to the bewilderment of an opponent unable to make anything of a fellow who 'did not fight like a Christian in the judgment of many gentlemen who paid in their guineas to see him beat.' In after years Mendoza and many others of his cosmopolitan race became famous as pugilists; though the suspicion that they were lacking in 'bottom spirit' (the old-fashioned phrase for nervous stamina) long survived, and is not yet quite extinct, the members of 'the Fancy' were compelled to admit that the Jew could learn how to use his fists, and for that reason to accept him as a species of honorary Englishman. Later on the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* (the *Scoti* of the familiar tag were, of course, Irishmen) asserted itself in the ring in the persons of a succession of hurricane fighters with little or no skill, but a white-hot zeal which, as Heenan's achievements proved, no amount of punishment could extinguish.

It was the Irish immigrant, as I have pointed out, who took our fine old national pastime to the United States. The sport suffered in the process of transition; the Celtic missionaries of boxing were unscientific in their methods, and little more than pavement artists at the best—at all events until the advent of the famous John L. Sullivan, who had his eccentricities, but was unquestionably brief and businesslike in his method of disposing of a weaker opponent. His special gifts included a malevolent glare, the power of hypnotising referees into allowing him to stand over a fallen opponent and smash him as he rose, as much speed as any heavy-weight ever possessed, and a very solid and accurate punch to the point of the chin. He had his faults as a boxer, but never indulged in butting, elbow-thrusting, groin-hitting, and ju-jitsu tricks in the clinches, after the fashion of the latest brood of his successors. As long as he stood majestic and magniloquent in the limelight of victory it was generally believed that nobody could hope to succeed in the American ring who did not possess a Celtic surname. Those who had not received this priceless boon from their parents had to choose between accepting an Irish *nom-de-guerre* or being sedulously ignored by the managers of boxing entertainments.

Then, in the early 'nineties the negro came to his own. Even in England, in the days of the old Prize-Ring, coloured fighters had distinguished themselves (Molyneux, a true artist, was the best of these pioneers), but it was not until the arrival of Peter



1911

Jackson, George Dixon, Joe Gans, and other negro boxers of genius that the white professionals of the United States realised the existence of a 'Black Peril,' and attempted to evade it by drawing the colour-line in championship contests. Peter Jackson was the dominant figure at the beginning of this era of negro supremacy which has not yet passed by. No swifter, or more graceful, or more effective heavy-weight ever entered the four-square arena in our day. I have never seen his equal among the 'big fellows' as a judge of distance, and his panther-like glide into position or just out of danger was the very poetry of motion. Gans, a light-weight who never minded giving away a stone or two in a contest for stakes, was not inferior to Jackson in point of effortless artistry. But Jackson was not only a great boxer, but also a great-hearted sportsman; you could not talk to him for five minutes without feeling that he was a nephew of Uncle Remus, so to speak, and utterly incapable of taking a mean advantage in the ring or even speaking ungenerously of a rival. I met him at the Grasmere Sports, a centre of English sportsmanship, where one sees nature and man and beast all at their best, and the stout North Country wrestlers, Steadman and Lowden and the rest, were all of opinion that the negro champion was a 'complete chap' with no trick about him, except, of course, the Ethiopian weakness for many-jointed words. Both Jackson and Gans, who was also a modest and amiable person, died prematurely of consumption, but they were succeeded by other formidable negro boxers. Indeed, at the present moment four coloured heavy-weights—Johnson, Macvea, Jeannette, and Sam Langford—are in a class by themselves, and manifestly superior both in skill and in physique to the best of the so-called 'white hopes' who wish to avenge the defeat of Jeffries. By the way, the 'blue' savage introduced as Cashel Byron's opponent in Mr. Bernard Shaw's famous story is quite unknown in the modern ring. All the successful coloured boxers, without exception, have white man's blood in their veins. Johnson, for example, is a mulatto or thereabouts, and Jeannette is a quadroon at least, perhaps an octoroon. And there can be no denying that these copper-coloured boxers have a higher standard of sportsmanship than the white expert, whatever his racial origin, who is manufactured in the United States.

More recently, the American citizen of European ancestry has made his name in the ring. Among German-American boxers, for example, the most prominent to-day are Attell, Adolf Wolgast, Harry Lewis, and Papke, all of whom claim the world's championship in their respective classes with more or less show of reason. To give a racial definition of the Transatlantic boxing champion would as often as not involve the invention of a formula



as complex as any of those used in organic chemistry. Burns, who certainly mixed brains with his boxing, is a case in point. His real name is Noah Brusso; his father was a Corsican, his mother a German Pole, and there are traces in his composition of the Ethiopian blood which to some extent has tarred all the island races of the Mediterranean. America, the melting-pot of old-world peoples, is prolific in the production of these complex types. As yet the Oriental *pur sang*, who has shown himself such a skilful wrestler, and is also good at the more humane games, has not thrown his turban into the roped arena. But he may arrive at any moment.

Meanwhile, almost every European country is producing capable pugilists. France, for example, possesses in Moreau and Carpentier two boxers who are absolutely first-rate; indeed, the latter, who is still in his 'teens, should train on into a world's champion, provided, of course, he is not overworked by the greedy persons who are running him as a species of infant phenomenon. For the last two years Paris has been the centre of a boxing craze, and when the gigantic and grotesque Sam Macvea (next to Johnson the best of the coloured heavy-weights) or some home-made celebrity has been engaged in a contest, the occasion has been made a social function, the best seats at the ring-side being monopolised by fashionable ladies almost as lightly clad as the boxers themselves. Some of the French professionals have been much petted by these fair decadents, and one at least of them—a curly-haired lad with an Egyptian profile—possesses a notable collection of love-letters, not all of which are emanations from the fractional worlds of the great pleasure-city. Fortunately, there are signs that the craze is at last exhausted which caused the wearer of an historic name (a misfit, but what of that?) to address him as *cher petit monstre* (as if he had been her toy-dog), and to send him a lock of hair to be worn as an amulet in the ring, forgetting how scanty is the accommodation provided for love-gifts in a professional boxer's uniform. No doubt such excesses of hero-worship are deplorable; many of the Parisian wits have deplored them. But it is so much to the good, surely, that *le boxe* is killing *la savate* in France, and that even the Apache, the worst of the world's hooligans by far, is now learning to use his fists.

Italy also is beginning to produce boxers, and I see no reason why the latent athletic ability of the Latin races, which are not given to overeating or drunkenness, should not excel in this strenuous game. The Frenchman and the Italian have a great fund of constitutional stamina (their recent achievements on the running-path and in Marathon races prove as much), find it easier to undergo the self-denial of hard training than the Englishman.



1911

and are capable of every form of manual dexterity. Such patriotic rhymes as

One Frenchman beat two from Italy,  
And big jolly Englishman beat all three,

are not likely to be justified by the history of the modern prize-ring. In Scandinavia, again, boxing is becoming a popular pastime; Sweden, a nation of gymnasts, has some very fair amateurs, and in Battling Nelson, who succeeded Gans as the light-weight champion of America, Denmark produced a cast-iron pugilist whose capacity of standing punishment has never been equalled.

Thus it will be seen that boxing is now a cosmopolitan game, and that England must be content to be *prima inter parès* as a nursery of boxing champions, and, what is much more important, to set a standard of sportsmanship to the whole world. It may be that we shall presently lose the pride of place to the Americans, who are already ahead of us in the production of successful middle-weights and heavy-weights. But the loss of a few world's championship fights is a small price to pay for maintaining the decencies of the English ring. The American method of producing a 'world-beater' (the theme occurs *ad nauseam* in Transatlantic sporting papers) differs considerably from that which is customary in England, where the all-round athlete is wisely preferred to the cut-and-dried specialist. In England the professional boxer is left to discover himself; when he has acquired a fair amount of skill, and shown himself willing and able to endure a pounding, he asks for a trial at the National Sporting Club, and gets it if his record warrants an appearance at headquarters. To begin with, he was an all-round athlete, and you will generally find that he is a clean-built, wholesome-looking lad, obviously an Englishman, who likes the vigour and the rigour of the game, but has a hearty contempt for infringements of the spirit and letter of the code. He may or may not attain high honours; boxing is a profession in which many are called but few chosen. But whether he wins a Lonsdale belt or remains a third-rater, it is very long odds that he continues to be a decent, well-conducted citizen, who has intellectual interests outside his profession. The age of the glorified navvy or gipsy has gone, never to return; no man can attain a high place in the modern ring if he does not possess a brain in sound working order as well as the necessary physical attributes, of which speed and dexterity are now the most important. Without exception, the six present holders of Lonsdale belts (each of which carries with it the Championship of England in its class) are well-mannered men who would not



think of squandering their stamina in riotous living, and are quite as amiable and respectable as any well-known professional cricketer. In one or two cases a certain charm of personality adds to a popularity which is certainly not undeserved. Bombardier Wells, for example, the long-limbed, modest, good-looking youth who should some day win the heavy-weight championship of the world, is as pleasant a person to meet as almost any famous University athlete. The simplicity, often amounting to guilelessness, which is a constant characteristic of the fighting-man in all ages, still distinguishes the boxer from his fellow-men; so does that quaint, careful gentleness which is born of the consciousness of great strength. It is true that the tough character, the fellow in whom the tiger or the bear is dominant, is still to be met with in the English ring. But he never attains the highest honours, and if he cannot control his elemental passions soon ceases to obtain engagements, and is reduced to the status of the unskilled labourer from which he ought never to have been allowed to emerge. There is no place in the swift, strenuous, nerve-taxing, mind-perplexing game of to-day, the chess of athletics, for the athlete who lacks either brain-power or the capacity of self-discipline.

In cosmopolitan America, however, where boxing is not in any sense a national game (as it is in all our great cities—for the simple and sufficient reason that it is the most economical of pastimes), the public entertainer who specialises in boxing must search the polyglot slums for the raw material for champion-making. And he much prefers the rough of abnormal physique to the wholesome athletic youth who does not look as if he had escaped from gaol or a museum of freaks. The investigator's plans and specifications include a round cast-iron head with no chin, ribs that almost meet across the stomach, the ape's curved, convulsive clutch, and a low nervous organisation indifferent to pain. And if his new discovery has a punch in addition to the physical peculiarities which enable him to stand a vast amount of hammering, then he feels that he has really unearthed a dollar-making mechanism of flesh and blood. I have visited the 'camps' in which these prodigies are taught to make the most of their unnatural gifts, and have been more amazed than amused at the queer faces and grotesque forms of the pupils. 'Wa-al!' the impressario would say when gently chaffed, 'it ain't no beauty show, sure; but you could hit most of them boys with a sledge-hammer and they'd never feel it, and some of them kin hit back considerable. And they'll put it over some of your lady-like English boxers when the time comes. Your English boys don't learn to *fight*, sir; the referees are too strict to let them get experience and ring-craft.'



1911

If the methods of these flesh-and-blood fighting machines (who may be compared with the unseaworthy skimming-dishes called yachts by the defenders of the America Cup) were ever to become usual in this country, I should give up going to see boxing matches. American ring-craft begins long before the possessor of it enters the ring. He has been known to have a telegram sent to his opponent a few minutes before the contest was to start, announcing the death of his ailing child, in order to profit by the mental shock of an unexpected sorrow. One of the chief preliminary points is to 'get the goat' of his opponent; by interpretation, so to jar his feelings that his mind will not be altogether in his work when the gong sounds for hostilities to begin. A disgusting taunt, a contemptuous smile, a refusal to shake hands, a preposterous bet, an elaborate wasting of time—these are some of the tricks employed by the would-be goat-getter. Nothing is neglected that will make for an opponent's discomfort. For example, the master of American ring-craft fights with two or three days' growth of beard on his chaps (you can seldom accuse him of possessing a chin), knowing that the prickles will prove irritating in the close clinches.

But it is when the contest actually begins that the true inwardness of the American 'rough-house style' (as it is significantly called) becomes manifest to all beholders. Obvious fouls are not perpetrated; even the most complaisant referee (and the complaisance of the American referee is at times amazing) would be compelled to disqualify the man who used his knee or struck an opponent when he was on his knees. But groin-hitting (when the other fellow's opaque back is turned to the referee), elbow-thrusting in the ribs, hitting with the wrist or heel of the hand, fixing the head under the opponent's chin and then jerking it up, grabbing an arm when straightened out so as to injure the elbow-joint—all these and other more insidious devices, not to be explained without diagrams, are commonplace practices in the American ring. There have been in the United States championship contests that were veritable orgies of foul play, which would have been stopped in a few minutes by an English referee. The American science of clinching, in which both men manoeuvre to get one hand free for hitting, is full of the refinements of unfairness; it is necessarily unknown to English boxers who have been brought up on the 'clean break,' which is the only sportsmanlike way out of the inevitable tangles which arise out of a rush to get inside. It must be admitted, however, that the American style is—apart from the foulness that pervades it—in one all-important respect superior to the classic English style. The English boxer is too much given to relying on shots to the head; he is apt to forget that a severe body-blow, or two or three comparatively light ones addressed to



the same spot, do more to slow down an opponent than a number of blows in the upper plane that do not reach the chin-point, a small and elusive mark. The American boxer, on the other hand, attacks in both planes, and, if he has a preference, would sooner land in the lower regions. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*; our men would do better against the cosmopolitan experts if they paid more attention to the attack in the middle line and the methods of covering up against body-blows, which are the staff of in-fighting.

Every lover of boxing for boxing's sake was sorry to hear that Johnson was to meet Wells in the days of his novitiate. It would have been far better to have given the latter, a most promising young boxer, time to attain his full strength, and add to his experience and knowledge of ring-craft by disposing of the other claimants to the English Championship—of whom Curran, Chase, Moir, and the South African champion, Storbeck, are the most formidable. But for the fact that the opposition to the contest originated in the camp of those who would have us believe that boxing—like horse-racing or the theatre—is an un-Christian business, I should not have been sorry to see the contest stopped. It was not a sportsmanlike match, as Lord Lonsdale has pointed out: it was arranged merely to put money into the pockets of a syndicate of promoters. But it would be foolish to concede a point to the Puritanical remnant of these latter days, successors of those who put down bear-baiting not because it hurt the bear but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. We cannot always be sitting in the chapels of these people and listening to their political sermons. In their preachments on the Johnson-Wells match they were very unfair to both boxers, who are nothing if not scientific. Wells, not having yet had time to come to his full strength, depends entirely on his pace and dexterity and 'straight left,' a beautiful weapon against the man who tries to rush him. Johnson, if his methods in the clinches are not above criticism, is naturally a clean boxer; certainly there is no ferocity in his methods. With an English referee the struggle for supremacy could never degenerate into a chaotic fight, and it is a rule of the English ring that a contest shall be stopped the moment one of the boxers is manifestly out-matched. The fact that the match was a gate-money speculation, and the possibility that, like the parody of pugilism at Reno, it might arouse racial animosities in the parti-coloured populations of the Empire, are arguments of much more consequence than the outcry against impossible brutalities raised by men who boast that they have never seen a boxing bout, exalting their anæmia into one of the deadly virtues.

Boxing is a necessity for those who live penned in the poverty-stricken quarters of our vast cities. It is impossible to provide



1911

one-tenth of the accommodation required to make cricket and football our stock remedies against the physical degeneracy of the masses. But wherever a fair-sized room and two pairs of boxing-gloves can be provided, the elements of the 'noble art of self-defence' (let us not forget the good old phrase) may be taught and something done to diminish the sum-total of the hooliganism which, as Mr. Arthur Morrison once reminded us, is largely a disease of the nerves in an undeveloped and unhealthy body. The object of reformers should be, not to arrest the growing popularity of boxing and diminish the supply of professional teachers, but to prevent the degradation of the game itself by the intrusion of un-English methods. As long as sportsmen of the Lonsdale type take a personal interest in the control of professional boxing, as long as we have referees (such as Messrs. Eugene Corri, J. H. Douglas, A. F. Bettinson, and many others) who will not allow the laws of the ring to be evaded, as long as all ranks of society are represented at the ring-side, there is no reason to fear that our oldest national sport will become Americanised. If American fighters refuse—as one has refused—to appear in an English ring because an English referee would not 'stand for' their peculiar methods, so much the better; their room is preferable to their company. But the time is not far distant when American boxing will be Anglicised, under the pressure of a more enlightened opinion on the less civilised side of the Atlantic as to the characteristics of a true manly sport.

E. B. OSBORN.



## OUR MOSLEM SISTERS

At the present moment when the affairs of Turkey are occupying a prominent place in the public mind, it might not be uninteresting to bring before the English public some account of the thoughts and feelings of the Turkish woman, who, surely, as well as her countryman, deserves a measure of consideration. Having lived in Egypt for more than a quarter of a century and having had opportunities there of forming acquaintance with many Turkish ladies, I feel that I must bring to the notice of the women readers of this Review my experience relating to their position. Now, when the feminist movement is making headway here, it seems to be a peculiarly appropriate occasion to ask the women of Great Britain to support the efforts of their Moslem sisters, efforts which are going on, slowly and silently, behind the closed *mushrabeyehs* of the Turkish harems; and when I have laid the case before them, I feel confident that it will enlist the sympathy of all sections of British women, both those who think the feminist champions here at home have done enough for their cause, and those whose desire it is to urge it on still further.

It is the duty of Englishwomen to recognise the moral and intellectual needs of their Eastern sisters. Perhaps their seeming lack of sympathy may be due to ignorance of the actual state of affairs. They may not realise that there are cultivated ladies, who, though brought up in strict seclusion, cherish sentiments which are pure and high, and who, under the greatest possible difficulties, are trying to effect a change in their midst which may raise them and their co-religionists from their sadly fallen position and set them once more, as they were many centuries ago, by the side of their husbands and male relatives as companions and helps in private and social life. In this matter I do not wish to put forward my own arguments, but simply to give an inside opinion, a voice which should appeal with double eloquence coming, as it does, from within the walls of one of those very harems where the veiled leaders of their sex's cause live a life of ineffectual idleness. The letter from which I propose to quote



1911

freely in this paper is a touching appeal addressed by a Turkish Princess, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making during my stay in the East, to her compatriots and co-religionists. Originally written in Turkish, she translated it into French for my benefit, and the examination of the chief lines of argument will be the best way to convey to Englishwomen a sense of the necessity that exists for them to stretch forth a hand in sympathy to these cultured ladies who are striving to regain their former position of dignity and social usefulness. The fact that the pleas for the removal of the restrictions that now lie heavy upon them are not based on any example that may have come to them across the seas from England or America, but are founded on the very principles and laws of their own religion, proves that the movement is sincere, that it is one sprung from the hearts of those who dwell within the harems, and is not an extraneous growth of artificially grafted Western sentiment. On the contrary, the Princess throughout lays stress on the necessity of avoiding any servile copying of Occidental customs. Here her opinion tallies completely with that of a great English authority, the Earl of Cromer, whose experience has taught him the danger of introducing a European education unreservedly among Eastern people. 'A Europeanised Egyptian man usually becomes an Agnostic, and often assimilates many of the least worthy portions of European civilisation. Is there any reason why European education should not produce the same effect on the Europeanised Egyptian woman? I know of none.'<sup>1</sup> But while thus uncertain of its results, he despairs entirely of a civilisation equal to the European standard making any progress in Mahometan countries unless the condition of their women is improved.

It may be asked [he says] whether anyone can conceive the existence of true European civilisation on the assumption that the position which women occupy in Europe is abstracted from the general plan? As well can a man blind from his birth be made to conceive the existence of colour. Change the position of women, and one of the main pillars, not only of European civilisation, but at all events of the moral code based on the Christian religion, if not of Christianity itself, falls to the ground. The position of women in Egypt, and in Mahometan countries generally, is therefore a fatal obstacle to the attainment of that elevation of thought and character which should accompany the introduction of European civilisation, if that civilisation is to produce its full measure of beneficial effect. The obvious remedy would appear to be to educate the women.<sup>2</sup>

He rejoices also that the new movement in favour of female education is commencing to take root among the masculine population of Egypt. 'The younger generation are beginning to

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Egypt*, by the Earl of Cromer, vol. ii. p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 538.



demand that their wives should possess some qualifications other than those which can be secured in the exclusion of the harem."

So, with this preliminary testimony from the Earl of Cromer as to the need for and the awakening interest in female education among Mahometans, I will pass on to an account of the present state of affairs among Mahometan ladies, as seen and experienced by one of themselves.

The first point emphasised by the Princess is the great difference in the present position of Moslem women compared with that formerly held by them in the early days of Islam. The change has been a retrograde, not a progressive, one. The student of history knows that long ago a Moslem lady was capable of fulfilling the natural avocations of her sex, and also enjoyed the necessary liberty to engage in social work suited to her rank. On many occasions she achieved notable heights of culture and even of political influence. Nor did her male compatriots object to her thus entering upon the field of active duties. In those bygone days women were held in the deepest respect. The ordinances of their religion upheld them in their rights, and especially during the second century of the Hegira, that brilliant era of Arab civilisation, they were free to render important service to their country and worked on an equal footing with men to further the cause of civilisation and progress. 'Reigning sovereigns, preachers, magistrates, directors of religious bodies, and professors of theology can be cited amongst the remarkable women of that time,' says the Princess. 'Some held the posts of governors of important towns, while some even commanded strongholds, and accompanied their husbands when charging the enemy. I could name a score of these celebrated women as examples, but it will suffice for my argument to mention a few of those who have stood out more prominently in history than the rest.' The Princess then quotes a number of Moslem ladies who reigned as sovereigns in their own right at different periods of Turkish and Arabian history—Pâdicha Hatoume, Turkané Hatoume, Seyida Chadjar Hamatsu, Garize Lalé. As military commanders she mentions Bilomé, wife of the Sultan Orkané, who was entrusted with the command of the important fortress of Ismik, and Taffi Hatoume, wife of the Emir Ala-el-dine, who held a similar position at Thaisserie (formerly Cesarea of Cappadocia). There were, moreover, she asserts, brilliant exponents of law and theology among Moslem women—Oûmon Issa, daughter of the Imaum, Ibrahim el Harbi, whose judgments have been acknowledged as valuable by erudite doctors of law, and Hamda, who lived in the fourth century of the Hegira, whose pupil was the famous Ibni Semâni. Later, in the eighth century of the Hegira, there were Sittel Fenkala, who numbered many cele-

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Egypt*, by the Earl of Cromer, vol. ii. p. 540.



1911

brated men among her audience, and Sendala Halba, a famous lady teacher of theology and jurisprudence at Aleppo. Fatma-bint-Abbas, born in Egypt in the eighth century of the Hegira, is also mentioned by the Princess as a doctor of the canonical law, mother-superior of a religious community, and so renowned for her learning, eloquence, and powers of debate that she proved superior in controversy to the greatest savants of her day. Zeymildar-Waghin, whose husband was a magistrate in Andalusia, presided at the tribunal alongside of him, and her decisions were quite as much respected as those of her husband. In the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I., Selma gave lessons in the mosques and public schools to students of both sexes, for at that period the co-education of boys and girls was an accepted system.

The enthusiasm and courage of the Moslem women in time of war is a matter of history. The Princess in support of this quotes the instance of the battle fought in the year 641 A.D. between the Khalif Omar and Heraclius, where the women, besides helping in the fight, also acted as guardian angels in tending the fallen, carrying water to the thirsty, binding up their wounds, and all the while exhorting the combatants to renewed efforts. Thus encouraged by their intrepid womenfolk, the soldiers dared not turn their backs on the enemy.

So we find Moslem women in early days preparing themselves for work in all domains of learning and administration, and occupying a position even more exalted than women hold in modern society. What, then, are the causes which led to their repression and which have closed every outlet to their energy and ambition?

The Princess gives the reason in a few words. 'The decadence of our women can be traced from the moment when the Mahometan world itself fell into degenerate habits, and began to imitate the nefarious customs of other nations, whilst it tried to stifle its conscience by giving false interpretations to the laws of the Koran.' Towards the end of the dynasty of the Abbasid Khalifs, the Moslem woman first found herself sinking from her high place of honour. Luxury and debauchery took possession of the Court; woman became a mere chattel, the instrument of her lord and master's vicious pleasure. The conquest of Constantinople gave the finishing stroke to the liberties of Moslem women, and from that day the sensuous, indulgent life of the harem, with its soft divans and silken cushions, its jewels and voluptuous pleasures, has gradually sapped the intellectual and moral strength of its denizens. The daughter of the famous Turkish historian Fatma Alija thus writes, says the Princess, of the fair sex at Byzantium :

The Moslem women are accustomed to luxurious palaces full of soft divans, which seem to invite one to lead a life of inaction and repose. They breathe a poisonous atmosphere of sensual pleasure, and in so subtle



a form of indulgence that by its prodigality the intellect becomes weakened, while the physical powers become equally relaxed. Like all Byzantine women, they acquire an inordinate love of jewellery and dress, and give heed only to the poetry of the senses, which appeals to passion rather than to true affection, and to an exaggerated adulation of their mere personal charms. They seem bewitched by the melodious sounds of a lullaby, which soothes their higher nature into dangerous somnolence. Awaking from this lethargy they open their eyes day by day to a repetition of this idle luxury, and have no moral strength to withstand the fatal dead weight of ignorance, which little by little has reduced these incarcerated voluptuaries to a state of imbecility which renders them an easy prey to its deadening properties. These mere puppets of humanity, whose foreheads are encircled by precious stones, their necks laden with heavy pendants, and wrists weighed down with bracelets, do not care any longer to preserve those greater gifts, the treasures of the mind, which lie unused behind the gewgaws which ornament their silken tresses.

Their arms, which at one time were able to withstand the onslaught of the foe, and whose fingers could use the pen with such ability, now lie idle, whilst they listen to songs extolling the beauty of their slender forms, their carmine complexions, and arched eyebrows, sung by their fawning minstrels. Not one of these vecuous beings would care to listen to an ode to their courage, talents, or merit, which would appear far too dull a theme. They like to hear of thousands of lives sacrificed for the sake of a woman's glance from behind the window of a harem, or of fortunes wasted to obtain the smile of another. Confused, dazzled and misled, these unfortunate women imagine themselves to be at the very apogee of happiness, whereas they are daily consenting to their own degradation by losing every scrap of individuality as well as the actual rights of their sex.

These are the women to whom the care of the next generation is entrusted! English readers may judge for themselves whether women brought up among the vice and idle luxury of the Turkish harems thus described are likely to exercise a purifying, uplifting influence upon their sons and daughters.

The Princess then proceeds to emphasise the fact that her countrywomen, while desirous to combat this love of luxury, pleasure, and license, must avoid the danger of running into the opposite extreme and following the example of Western women who are struggling for liberties of a kind foreign to the Eastern woman's nature. 'It is in our best interest to seize on and make use of those liberties already granted to us Moslem women by our own religious laws.'

An erroneous impression still prevails among Western nations that the seclusion of the harem was part of Mahomet's rule of life for women. No statement could be more misleading, for neither in theory nor in practice did the Prophet enjoin strict seclusion upon the female sex. The Koran does not order it, and Mahomet's own womenfolk were permitted great freedom from restraint. Ayesha, daughter of Abu Bakr, whom he married after the death of his first wife Khadija, took an active and distinguished part in



1911

the celebrated 'Battle of the Camel.' Khadija, his first wife, was his devoted comrade during the twenty-five years of their wedded life. Fatima, his daughter, called by her ardent adherents 'the Lady of Paradise' and 'Our Lady of Light,' was permitted to take public share in political debate. Zainab, his granddaughter, was a woman of noted intrepidity both in public and private life. The seclusion of the harem was, therefore, only intended as a salutary precaution in a lawless country, not as a rule which admitted of no relaxation.

Modern critics of Moslem customs are even now apt to confuse the feelings towards women which were prevalent before the sway of Islam, when such sayings as 'Women are the whips of Satan,' and 'What has a woman to do with the councils of a nation?' passed into proverbs in Arabia. But if further proof be required that this was not the attitude of the Moslem religious leader, I may quote a few passages from the Koran which emphatically teach that believers of both sexes are equal before God. One is found in the Chapter of the Confederates, Surah xxxiii. 35 :

Verily men resigned and women resigned,  
And believing men and believing women,  
And devout men and devout women,  
And truthful men and truthful women,  
And patient men and patient women,  
And humble men and humble women,  
And almsgiving men and almsgiving women,  
And fasting men and fasting women,  
And chaste men and chaste women,  
And men who remember God much, and women who remember Him,—  
God has prepared for them forgiveness and a mighty hire.<sup>4</sup>

Again, in the Chapter of Women, Surah iv. 1, the Koran enjoins respect for women :

O ye folk, fear your Lord, whō created you from one soul, and created therefrom its mate, and diffused from them twain many men and women. And fear God, in whose name ye beg of one another, and the wombs (mothers); verily God over you doth watch.<sup>5</sup>

Nor was knowledge intended to be to them 'a fountain sealed.' 'The search after knowledge,' says the Prophet, 'is a duty for every Moslem man or woman.'

Thus we find respect for women inculcated by Mahomet, and moreover the privilege was granted them of perfect equality with men in the exercise of legal functions. The laws of divorce were re-modelled by him, the husband's power to divorce was restricted,

<sup>4</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller, vol. ix. p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 71..



women could obtain a separation, irrevocable divorce was rendered rarer by the enactment that a woman thus rejected could not return to her husband unless she were first married and divorced by another, and four eye-witnesses were required before a wife could be convicted of unfaithfulness. A woman had a legal right over her own fortune and could dispose of it as she pleased. She could introduce into the marriage contract certain conditions to protect her interests in case of divorce; she had the right to vote and take part in theological and legal debates. What is even more important is that these privileges were not merely nominal. They were freely used by Moslem women centuries ago.

At the present day under Mahometan law the women possess privileges which compare very favourably with those enjoyed by their sex in other countries. An unmarried woman until she is of age is under parental control. After that, she is entitled to similar property rights with men. She shares with her brothers in the inheritance of her parents' property, in different but relative proportions; she cannot be married without her consent; a marriage settlement by the husband upon the wife is demanded and enforced by law; the husband is compelled to support his wife; he has no right to her goods and property, nor may he appropriate her earnings, or ill-treat her. If the legal condition of Turkish women be considered in conjunction with that of their sex in several European lands, it will readily be seen that technically it need not fear scrutiny. In France, for example, a woman is a minor in the eyes of the law. A married woman there cannot undertake any employment or appear before a court of justice unless her husband has first granted his consent. It is only since 1907 that she has been legally entitled to dispose of her own earnings. In Germany a husband can, if he wish, forbid his wife to engage in any business. In Italy a married woman cannot sign or draw a cheque on her own account for her own money; her testimony alone is not accepted in a court of law; she cannot engage in trade or dispose of her own property without her husband's consent; he has full power over her earnings, and she cannot plead in a court of law without his permission.

The Turkish woman, then, has the letter of the law on her own side. But with these apparent provisions in her favour, why have her old rights of social and civic freedom been pushed aside? Why does the practice differ so totally from the theory? Why has she been forced into an inferior position for so long that, except to the more enlightened, the idea of entering upon a useful social career presents but few attractions?

The reasons why her privileges so sadly fell into abeyance sprang from the change in her surroundings, which necessitated the privacy of women; the misinterpretations of the law by the



1911

Fathers of the Church, Sultans, and Khalifs, who for their own pleasure or profit opposed the emancipation of women; and the general lack of culture among the rank and file of the Mahometan people to-day.

What is the remedy? Here, again, we revert once more to the Turkish Princess's appeal to her countrywomen.

Unfortunately [she says] the vast majority of Moslem women are in total ignorance of the history and laws of Islam, and it is just this very ignorance that has been the great stumbling-block which prevents them from climbing up again into the position of our celebrated ancestresses. Our former rights having fallen into desuetude renders our position impotent at the present time, but it rests entirely in the hands of all Moslem women who have sufficient self-respect to readjust the position they have lost and show plainly that they have at heart a really honest desire to fulfil all their duties in life. They must aid both by intellectual ability and by material support, and prove that they intend to regain possession of their civic and moral rights. These means are all clearly pointed out, and within the reach of all who are earnestly determined to succeed. The study of the Sheriah (the Moslem religious code) will give us the most solid support . . . will arm us with the most cogent arguments in our favour, and will also guide our first steps in the struggle to regain our legal rights and lost liberty of action.

This Moslem lady is fully aware of the necessity for caution in such schemes of reform. She is resolved to value her privileges, once regained, so highly as to make the same good use of them as did her talented forbears, who seldom abused their liberties but kept within the bounds of freedom granted them by their civil and religious codes. Unless her countrywomen are prepared to use their privileges by filling their lives with useful work and social service, she sees nothing but a source of danger in opening fresh callings to them. She feels the need to advance cautiously at this critical period in their history, lest exaggerated action might do more harm than good to their cause.

It is remarkable how this lady, speaking on behalf of her fellow-countrywomen in their seclusion, reflects the opinion of the moderate party in England at the present moment, those who feel glad that women's scope for action in the world is widening, but sometimes fear the result of over-enthusiasm. Scientists hold the same view. Sir Oliver Lodge declares that 'to rush blindly on without regard to past history and racial experience, and heedless of dangers ahead, is fanatical rather than heroic; it is to imitate the activity of the runaway horse which brings itself and all connected with it to destruction.'<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the adjustment of relations between men and women, the Princess gives a wise admonition to Mahometan mothers to train their children from their earliest days in mutual

<sup>6</sup> *The Position of Woman, Actual and Ideal.*  
VOL. LXX—No. 416



help, mutual surrender, mutual consideration, according to their respective natures which God has given them. The division of duties between the sexes should begin almost from the cradle. 'Accustom them,' she says, 'to look upon each other as comrades who in a reciprocal spirit of justice recognise the rights due to each.' In this the Princess sees the mother's great importance to the future welfare of her country, and she urges her to realise fully her responsibilities for the education of the next generation, emphasising the paramount rôle which the Mahometan religion assigns to maternal influence by quoting the saying of the Prophet, that 'One finds Paradise at the feet of his mother,' and also, 'If all your relations call upon you at the same moment, your first answer must be to your mother.'

Her recognition of the fundamental differences between the sexes suggests that the Princess as leader of her countrywomen's evolution would proceed along the lines laid down by modern scientists. The constitutional disparities between the normal man and woman are considered by biologists to be so clearly marked and so deeply rooted in nature, that any attempt to interfere with them would surely prove unsuccessful. What women should aim at is to seek out an education and an occupation which will make the most of the natural differences in her physical and mental constitution. This is the rule which prudent men observe in fitting themselves for a useful career. A man who is fond of manual occupation does not deliberately immure himself in a city office. If he does, it is a coercive measure, and the result to the State is a less efficient citizen. In the same way, a woman in trying to accomplish what a man can do better than herself is running contrary to nature and wasting her own peculiar talents. What she requires is not an identical occupation, but equal opportunity with men. Her best interest will be served not by rivalling man in his own fields and becoming, most likely, at best but a poor imitation of man, but by making the most of her own innate differences to advance her along paths in which there is no question of biological inefficiency. The world requires the peculiar excellences of both man and woman to help it onward towards 'that one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves.' The work of the one is as indispensable as that of the other.

So the Eastern woman on her entry into the world of public life finds herself at once confronted with one of the greatest modern problems of the West, the apparent difficulty of reconciling the domestic life with a professional career for women. In both extremes, an exclusively domestic, maternal education, or an exclusively professional training, there would seem to be danger ahead alike for East and West. 'We cannot countenance



1911

theory,' says Professor J. Arthur Thomson, 'which deliberately leaves maternity to the less intellectual. . . . The idea of leaving maternity to a docile and domesticated type of cow-like placidity, while the intellectuals run the world, is curiously non-biological.'<sup>7</sup> With this view the Princess is in perfect harmony, for she shows that she would decisively taboo any profession or calling having as its tendency the weakening of the maternal instinct. Her theories are in cordial agreement with Dr. T. S. Clouston's dictum that 'psychologically, physiologically, and racially this [the maternal instinct] is the most unique, the most wonderful, and the most important thing in the world.'<sup>8</sup> Therefore the Eastern woman must be taught from the outset that the domestic life is fully on a par with the economically independent life outside the home.

Yet another most useful and essential piece of advice does the Princess bestow upon her countrywomen—that they should endeavour to train themselves and others in all practical ways, which will enable them to meet the vicissitudes of life and the caprice of fortune with undaunted mien. This practical training, she hopes, will be a preparation for life, to help her sisters to face troubles or difficulties with courage and resourcefulness. Here again the Princess puts forward what is a psychological fact attested by modern scientists—viz., the control of the emotions which the modern standard of practical education confers upon woman. There is no doubt that such mastery of the feelings and their expression will give woman an immense advantage which she has hitherto lacked in her contact with the world. A woman prepared by a sound, practical education is less liable to sudden impulse and unreasoning action, less prone to the dangerous play of emotions. So self-control, that great virtue of the East, is added also to the list of her qualities. Here also we see signs that the Princess would be the last to foster an unpractical, over-literary education, which, though exercising a refining, uplifting effect, is often by no means the best adapted to fit a woman to buffet with the world. An education, to be successful, must prepare its students for the life which they will be called upon to follow. If it does not achieve this end, it must be dubbed a failure.

The Princess describes the attitude of her countrymen and women towards the movement which she has at heart, and again the reader is struck by the similarity between East and West.

Among the ardent leaders of this reform [she writes] there is an *élite* who work calmly within the limits of the possible, and without making any

<sup>7</sup> *The Position of Woman, Actual and Ideal*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.



remarkable manifestations in aid of our cause, are smoothing the way towards the eventual recovery of our rights. These leaders have to struggle in two opposite directions. On the one hand, they must try to subdue the tactless enthusiasm of the majority of those who are co-operating with them, while on the other side they must fight against the nervous dread of some who fear the result of any great change, and who throw cold water on the aspirations of the ardent supporters of reform. . . . The effect of this nervousness is trying, and rather paralyses the efforts made by those who are thoroughly cognisant of the true meaning of liberty, and wish to realise its application, in the first instance, by raising the condition of their women-kind. The leading spirits of the movement are fully aware that the best wisdom is to be found in going by degrees. *Festina lente*. To get rid of customs and ideas long-rooted amongst us, we must prove by deeds, not words, that we believe these changes to be absolutely necessary, and therefore that they ought to be granted to us.

This holding back on the part of a section of the Turkish women is not surprising. Students of history will recall how some of the American slaves when granted emancipation did not care for the boon so long withheld. When Stein's legislation abolished serfdom after 1807, the Prussian peasants petitioned that they might be allowed to remain as they were, 'for who should care for them when they were sick and old?'

In conclusion, the Princess once more points out the need to guard against a slavish imitation of Western ideas. The Oriental woman must show that she can pick out from Western customs those which are most suitable to Eastern environment, but she must borrow nothing that would tend in any way to lead her away from the laws of her own religion or to efface her own racial personality. By becoming a mere reflection of the Occidental woman she would lose more than she would gain.

That wide, free charity which is the greatest of all the virtues is present in every page of the Princess's appeal.

Those amongst us [she says] who, are placed by birth or fortune in more advantageous circumstances in life should make the best use of our good gifts, and instead of spending them on selfish pleasures, extend by their means a helping hand to those less well endowed, for, in the saying of the Prophet, 'that man who is most considerate to his kind is the favourite of God.' Not by material aid alone can we aid others, but by attempting from our more varied knowledge and experience to imbue the women who have not had these educational advantages with loftier ideals and to create in them a desire to advance along the same road of learning by dint of patient and assiduous study. All of us, of, course, ought to give from our purse, but there are many ways besides that of charity in which we women can aid the nation.

That they may prove the best possible mothers of their

° Bebel : *Woman, Past, Present, Future*. Translation by Walther. P. 35.



1911

children, the Princess urges her countrywomen to acquire knowledge. In this

there is no time to lose. Every moment spent in gaining instruction is a step in advance, and is therefore a stride in the direction of progress. Let us all study the history of Islam, and particularly that portion of its laws which refers to women. The laws of our country will be the greatest help to us in attaining even a superficial grasp of what ought to regulate and influence every act of our lives.

Nowadays, when respect for religion and authority seems to be weakening in so many quarters, this firm resolve of the Princess to keep within the bounds of what is permitted her by Divine and human ordinance must surely awaken admiration. None the less striking is her display of public spirit, and of that *camaraderie* with her sex which the latter has so often been accused of lacking.

The Princess, therefore, would thoroughly sympathise with a free educational policy for Turkish ladies, provided it does not offend against the rules of her religion, which she shows to be actually most favourable to her countrywomen, though centuries of misinterpretation have made her Eastern sisters forget the broad, noble sphere which the founder of their faith fully intended them to enjoy. She encourages her compatriots by mentioning the names of two Moslem ladies who have so far leapt 'the rotten pale of prejudice' as to study medicine and take their doctor's degree at St. Petersburg. These two enterprising contemporaries are Gulsome Hanem and Abramana Hanem, whose energy and perseverance, it is hoped, will spur their more apathetic countrywomen to shake off dull sloth, lay aside cramping conceptions, and fit themselves to undertake honourable careers. Such labour on the part of women students will, she maintains, both procure them a life of self-respecting independence, and also enable them to be of some assistance to their fellow-beings.

One grieves to reflect upon the talents that have hitherto been wasted, the good brains stultified through lack of cultivation, and the progress arrested for centuries through ignorance, want of opportunity, and the dead weight of a hopeless inertia. And to think of all this continuing in the twentieth century, when other people are beginning to fly upward into space, while our women scarcely know how to place their feet on *terra firma*!

Thus this brave lady adjures her more lethargic sisters to abandon their inactive *dolce far niente* and come forth from their Cimmerian darkness into the realms of day. But she would not have them as feeble moths, dazzled by the bright beams of an alluring dangerous light. Rather they are to keep that light as a beacon before them, to illumine the rough places of the unknown



pathway which many will, if but a little help and sympathy be granted them, so gladly and fearlessly follow.

Throughout this article I have endeavoured to make no general statements of my own, but have purposely confined myself to giving the views and arguments of authorities upon several aspects of the evolution that is quietly taking place amid the harems of the Turkish ladies. I have supported the Princess's points by quotations from the Mahometan religious code, and from contemporary men of note in science and administration. I must now leave the women of England to judge whether the cause be worthy of their friendly aid, and whether they are willing to stretch forth a hand in loving sympathy and friendly interest to their veiled sisters in the East.

ROSAMUND S. BLOMFIELD.



1911

## *SOME STRATEGICAL QUESTIONS, BRITISH AND FOREIGN*

FREQUENTLY during the past month it has appeared quite possible that a great European conflict, as general as that which raged almost continuously from 1792 until 1815, might break out before these remarks of mine could appear, and that we might therefore very shortly be endeavouring to predict the consequences of facts actually accomplished instead of venturing conjectures that are themselves based only upon assumptions. The immediate prospect has latterly become decidedly favourable, yet time now devoted to the consideration of questions so important as those which so numerous present themselves in this highly critical epoch of European history will be by no means wasted; for even though war may have been temporarily averted the respite can scarcely be of long duration, unless Germany is permitted to gain by dint of 'peaceful persuasion' the ends she has so long and so determinedly kept in view.

There is indeed no reason whatever to suppose that the German Government, or still less the German people, desires war with any other nation, not even with England, the subject of so much recent vituperation; but Germany has grown exceedingly great in population and in wealth, and her ardent desire to become a World Power of proportionate consequence is therefore natural. Certainly, least of all nations, have we any right to condemn, as indicative of mere wanton aggressiveness, the perfectly legitimate ambition of Germany to acquire great overseas dominions where German settlers may multiply and grow rich in 'White Man's Country,' under the flag of their own Fatherland. Germany has, however, but lately entered the field as a colonising Power, and in whatever direction she may turn, the territories or the 'interests' of other Powers block her way. Indeed, there is scarcely a locality in all the world, really worth having, which has not already been appropriated, or included in some 'sphere of influence.'

Incidentally the Germans are disposed to regard themselves as the most worthy and the most natural heirs of the 'sick man,' John Bull, and certes the wholesale appropriation of a ready-made



Empire would seem more attractive than the necessarily laborious task of building up a new one. Nevertheless, the overthrow of the British Empire would obviously involve so great a disturbance of the 'balance of power' and of trade, that Britannia is unlikely to be left without the aid of allies in her hour of trial. Nations, however, like individuals, are often short-sighted in their conduct, and the British Lion must therefore put his trust chiefly in the sharpness of his own teeth and claws.

Germany remembers always that 'it is excellent to have a giant's strength,' but, rather conveniently for herself, she is apt to forget that it is nevertheless 'tyrannous to use it as a giant,' and thus it is that her diplomatists negotiate in 'shining armour,' and humanity is frequently startled by sudden thumps of the 'mailed fist.' The foreign policy of Germany enjoys, moreover, the enormous advantage of being always based upon definite objects, and her every purpose, while 'fixed as fate,' is kept carefully concealed until the opportune moment has arrived for carrying it into effect. France having committed herself in Morocco, the *Panther* cast anchor in the Bay of Agadir. The hint was indeed unmistakable, but the exact motive was not forthwith to be manifested. Three probable explanations, however, seemed instantly to suggest themselves :

(1) A mere commonplace desire for territorial 'compensation' in North-Western Africa, as the price of non-interference with French action in Morocco.

(2) A *ballon d'essai* flown with the object of testing the reliability of the *entente cordiale*, and inflated with hope that discreditable weakness on the part of the United Kingdom might be evinced, to the destruction of that *entente*.

(3) A deliberate intention to provoke immediate war.

Whatever the ruling motive, we may feel sure that the second of those suggested above was not absent. The first has a value by no means inconsiderable, as affording a course 'to fall back upon, with great apparent earnestness, in case disappointment in respect of the second (as actually experienced) should for the time be accepted as sufficient reason against the adoption of extreme measures—contemplated but not finally decided upon.

As regards the third suggestion, there is this to be said: Germany is not now so strong at sea as she will be in 1913, but upon the other hand Russia is not now so strong on land (as well at sea) as she will then be, and it is on land that the finally decisive operations of the war must necessarily take place. If army reforms in Russia progress according to anticipations, the Muscovite forces will in two or three years' time be capable not only of undertaking strong measures against Austria, but also of simultaneously



1911

attacking the German rear. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the actual course of events has not accorded with an initial intention to provoke a war without loss of time.

Meanwhile the virulent abuse of England indulged in by the German Press, including open threats uttered in the sense of *Delenda est Carthago*, affords to us ample cause for reflection upon the various factors of the vital problem of our national preservation. It may be that before the crucial test has actually been applied to us the millennium will have commenced, or that, nationally realising our danger, we shall have manfully prepared against it. But such anticipations may be set aside as involving improbabilities, and it seems sufficient to consider the question on the assumption that the outbreak of war finds us militarily situated much as we now are. Let us then examine first the outside influences, good and evil, by which our survival or downfall seem likely to be affected, afterwards turning to the question of our own particular potentialities. To begin, then, on the line indicated, we must obviously commence by taking stock of the danger itself by which we appear to be threatened.

The fact that the British Empire stands in the way of German expansion overseas has already been noted, and now or later war may result from this. Were the British Empire to be overthrown, France would find herself in a worse position, in face of a subsequent quarrel with Germany, than if assisted by a British army, however small. Therefore, so long as France remains unwilling to submit herself to German authority, it seems reasonable to assume that if Germany attacks England, France will for her own sake espouse the cause of the latter. For similar reasons England would dangerously imperil her own future were she to deny her aid to France. Consequently it may be predicated that if Germany attacks either England or France, she will have to deal with both together, and that the decision of the quarrel will be reached on European soil. Germany, enjoying as she does a considerable numerical superiority, may be expected to open the war with an attempt to invade France. There is not space on the Franco-German frontier for the deployment of the Teutonic forces, and that frontier is, moreover, strongly fortified. In order that she may be enabled to use the numbers at her disposal, and also in order to turn the French lines of frontier defence, Germany will be compelled, willingly or unwillingly, to extend the flank or flanks of her host into adjacent territory. An attempt to turn the French right by way of Switzerland would meet with desperate resistance from the Swiss, and by the time that the rear of Belfort had been gained by such an operation much time and very many thousands of lives would have been lost.



Possibly the Swiss might be 'bought,' but this is most unlikely. There remains, however, on the opposite flank a more favourable line of advance through Belgium, crossing also, perhaps, on the extreme right the salient tongue of Dutch territory on which stands the city of Maestricht. If the construction of twenty sidings, with troop-platforms, at the little roadside station which takes its name from the very unimportant village of Dalheim (between Gladbach and Roermond, and about twelve miles from the Dutch frontier) has not been purposeless, it would seem to indicate an intention to operate from this direction.

In a word, it seems justifiable to assume that in case of war with France a portion at least of the German right wing will traverse Belgium, and probably a part of Holland, with or without the consent of the Governments concerned. Moreover, in all the circumstances consent is unlikely to be wanting—but of this more anon.

Writers in the August and September numbers of other Reviews<sup>1</sup> have expressed conviction that in traversing Belgium the Germans will cross the Meuse south of Namur, and thence advance through the rugged and thickly wooded Ardennes. Until comparatively recently the present writer was of the same opinion, but after examining carefully, on the spot, the line of the Meuse from Namur to Mézières, he realised the practical impossibility of such an enterprise being successfully accomplished by a large army with the needful rapidity. The Meuse runs not between banks, but between *precipices*; there are but two points that afford useful opportunities for crossing, and even assuming the actual passage itself to have been effected, the railways beyond the river do not readily lend themselves to the movement or supply of a great army. Single lines, numerous tunnels, erratic direction—all these things are serious impediments, actual or potential. The railways of the Ardennes were constructed for local convenience, not with a view to through traffic. The line from Givet to Hirzon is an exception as regards directness, but damage sufficient to render it useless for many weeks could and would be easily effected by the French.

Why, at any rate, should the Germans deliberately face the difficulties, great or small, involved by crossing the Meuse in the district of the Ardennes, while an easy country with admirable railways is at their disposal further north? But it may be said, 'The fortresses of Liège and Namur block the way.' This is to some extent true, on paper; but there are plenty of lines which are blocked by neither place, and in actual fact it is extremely unlikely that either would be seriously defended, if at all—for reasons that will presently be stated. Even, however,

<sup>1</sup> The *National Review* and the *Fortnightly Review*.



1911

assuming both Liège and Namur to be held against the invaders, the fact remains that neither is in a condition to resist a determined attack for more than a few days. The forts surrounding Liège and Namur are quite up-to-date in themselves, but the 'clearances' needful to give a useful field of fire are wanting. Either place would furnish a strong pivot for the operations of an active defending army, but neither could long hold out as a besieged place in the ordinary sense. Supposing the entire strength of the Belgian army to be devoted to the defence of Liège and Namur, I am of opinion that both places, if attacked, would fall within a fortnight, or could be effectually masked by forces no stronger than the garrisons.

In the opinion of a very distinguished French General, communicated by him verbally to the present writer, the German right wing will cross the Meuse about and north of Liège, and on the twenty-first or twenty-second day after mobilisation will be deployed on the French frontier in the neighbourhood of Lille. But it is probable enough that a moderate-sized detached force, say two army corps, may cross the Meuse about Dinant and Givet, and having traversed the Ardennes, be afterwards disposable to assist the right wing, or, wheeling to its left, to take part in operations against the French defenders of the line Verdun-Toul, who would meanwhile be violently assailed in front by other troops. Even, however, for a comparatively small force, the passage of the Meuse is no light matter. The only favourable feature of such an operation is that the bridge at Givet is a very massive stone structure, which, after having been blown up by the French, would furnish a useful breakwater to protect a temporary bridge erected by the Germans. The river is about a hundred yards wide, and comparatively rapid.

Finally, assuming the Germans to enter Belgian territory at all, surely it is reasonable to assume further that they will scorn half-measures. The 'neutrality' of Belgium would be as plainly violated by entry upon a mere corner of the country as by marching through the centre of it. How much of Belgium is actually traversed by the Teutonic hosts will depend solely upon the convenience and advantage of the latter, and both would seem to be better consulted by a movement north of the line Liège-Namur.

The position of Belgium in reference to a Franco-German war is one of extreme difficulty. The British guarantee of Belgian neutrality is of no value whatever, because England has not an army large enough to give it useful effect. Moreover, even if the circumstances were different, the Belgians must naturally be averse from seeing their country once more furnishing the 'cock-pit of Europe.' Belgian policy may therefore be expected to



follow whatever course seems most likely to prevent Belgian territory from becoming a theatre of war; that is to say, Belgium will seek to preserve herself by diplomatic rather than by warlike methods. The most effectual method available would appear to be that stated some months ago to the present writer by a well-informed Belgian, who said: 'When the war comes, the Germans will certainly march through our country. We shall offer no resistance. We shall notify the Powers of the fact that Germany has violated our neutrality and that we are powerless to offer effectual opposition. Then we shall await events, and when we can see clearly which is the strongest side, we shall join it. Sentiment is nothing to us in such a case: we have to think only of Belgium.'

Three courses are open to Belgium:

- (1) To sit on the fence, as already suggested.
- (2) To declare in favour of Germany.
- (3) To espouse the cause of France and England.

Of these the last would certainly be fraught with the greatest perils, for if the Anglo-French combination should be victorious Belgium would nevertheless have suffered the horrors of war, while the success of Germany would involve the extinction of Belgian independence.

The position of Belgium as an ally of France and England would resemble that of a detached force not strong enough to offer effectual resistance, and prevented by circumstances from evading disastrously decisive battle. Belgium would certainly suffer so terribly in her fruitless efforts to stem the German torrent that no imaginable recompense conferred afterwards by her victorious allies could possibly balance the original sacrifice. Therefore it seems best for Belgium that she should offer no opposition to the passage of belligerent troops through her territory, and German success would be her best safeguard. In a word, the more selfish Belgian policy the less likely is Belgium to suffer; for if she should make an unlucky choice, throwing in her lot with the losing side, she would in the one case certainly and in the other probably cease afterwards to exist as an independent State, whereas, declining to commit herself, she would probably avoid serious disaster, and might perhaps escape wholly uninjured. That the late King Leopold had agreed with the Kaiser to allow free passage through Belgium to the German army is an established fact, and there is little reason to doubt that Belgium will act accordingly whenever the occasion arises. A notification to the Powers to the effect that she is yielding to *force majeure* would sufficiently absolve Belgium from a charge of having, as regards Germany, displayed 'benevolent neutrality.'



1911

The case of Holland is nearly, though not entirely, analogous to that of Belgium. The Dutch are capable of making a stouter resistance, and such resistance would have greater effect by keeping employed a considerable German army that would otherwise have been engaged in the decisive theatre. Yet the Dutch, like the Belgians, will probably prefer to 'sit tight,' ignoring the violation by the Germans of a narrow neck of Dutch soil. There remains however the by no means remote possibility, that Germany may succeed in compelling both Dutch and Belgians to render her active assistance.

With regard to France, she does not want war, for although the French would dearly love to recover their lost provinces, the risks are much too great, and the certainty of dreadful suffering, in any event, too plainly realised. Yet at present, at all events, the French nation is far too proud to bow the knee to any other, and it is felt by some that if there is to be war it had better be soon, rather than when the growing numerical superiority of the Germans has become still more pronounced. Nevertheless, there is a school of thought in France which favours an understanding with Germany, for the purpose of removing all opponents from the path of both. That France herself, after having been for the time a useful cat's-paw, would eventually be compelled to pass under the yoke seems to have been overlooked by those who recommend the alliance. M. Gaston Routier, one of the leading apostles of this school, has actually invoked the shade of Napoleon as an advocate of his views. *Le Napoléon de mes Rêves* is, however, well worth reading. A saying attributed to the shade of Napoleon is, moreover, one that may be recommended to Pacificists: 'On n'obtiendra la paix universelle que par la domination universelle.' France would as gladly as any nation welcome the advent of Universal Peace, but not at the price of submitting herself to the domination of Germany or of any other Power.

The French army is ready, its staff is very efficient, and many of the French Generals are men of great ability. The British army would serve to make good, to a considerable extent, the inferiority of numbers, unless Holland and Belgium should make common cause with Germany. At worst, the Anglo-French combination would have a good sporting chance of victory, while at best the odds seem slightly in its favour. A point to be borne in mind is that penetration of the line Verdun-Toul, or Epinal-Belfort, represents in itself a task not incomparable with the Japanese efforts against Port Arthur, and that while the French lines of defence offer tremendous obstacles to the assailant, they have been contrived so as to allow full liberty for great counter-



attacks by the defenders. The French do not by any means contemplate confining themselves to passive defence. The decisive theatre, however, is the Franco-Belgian frontier, and there must take place a great conflict of armies upon which the fate of Europe will depend. In this theatre the British army should be found, and we may trust will be. Isolated action in Belgium would be nothing short of insanity.

There is fair reason to hope that within eighteen days after the outbreak of war four Divisions of our 'Expeditionary Force' and the Cavalry Division would be able to take the field in France, and the remaining two Divisions about a fortnight later. But this, satisfactory as it would be to a certain extent, is not enough. One at least of those Divisions must be at the disposal of the French Commander-in-Chief within a week, so as to be *in time for the first battle*. It is very important, as a French General pointed out to the present writer, that the people of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, and other large cities, should be assured as soon as possible that the British are not merely *coming*, but have actually *arrived*. The Second Division at Aldershot, to which belongs the (4th) Brigade of Guards, might advantageously be despatched almost as it stands, Reservists being added merely to complete the strength, and no replacement of young soldiers being at first made. For the purposes of a single battle or of a short series of operations our young soldiers actually serving in the ranks would be far more efficient than a corresponding number of Reservists. Indeed, the present writer would prefer for battle any battalion of the Aldershot Command, standing, say, 700 strong, just as it is, to the same battalion mobilised, and then consisting of some 400 serving soldiers and 600 Reservists—always provided that the fight took place within a month of mobilisation. There is nothing the matter with the fighting value of our young soldiers, but only with their ability to endure the hardships of a campaign.

It is often stated that the British army is far more efficient at the present time than in 1899, and this, so far as regards men actually serving with the colours, is certainly true. But after mobilisation the situation will not be found equally satisfactory. Many thousands of the 'three-year men' enlisted during the Boer War went untrained to South Africa, and there served chiefly in the block-houses, eventually passing to the Reserve very imperfectly trained. These men constitute a danger to the army in the event of fighting taking place at a very early date after mobilisation. Yet we *must* take the risk. Our own fate and that of France would greatly depend upon our speedy arrival on the scene of action. Even if we should suffer 'regrettable inci-



1911

dents' owing to the imperfect assimilation of Reservists, this will be preferable to our hanging back until it is too late. Above all things, a strong advanced guard of all arms—say, one Division and one Cavalry Brigade—must be pushed off as soon as the transports are ready. The question of the Channel passage should involve no difficulty, for if our own Navy does not alone suffice to ensure safety, the French can help us. As for 'invasion,' the more promptly and the more strongly we reinforce the French the less able will the Germans be to spare troops for an attack upon our own shores. Anyhow, at least a fortnight must elapse before the country can be seriously denuded of Regular troops, and meanwhile the Territorials will have been embodied, and the National (Veteran) Reserve will have been more or less organised and armed. If there are risks of invasion, we must face them freely, sending all the troops we can mobilise for service abroad. Cowardice will serve us not at all; we must be bold, and *trust the Fleet*. Every effective soldier kept back from the front will be a hostage given to fortune. If Rome could dare send troops to Spain, though Hannibal's army was victoriously established on Italian soil, surely we can adventure our army in France while our enemy is beyond the North Sea, and our glorious Fleet forbids him to cross it.

## CONCLUSION.

When the war comes, Germany will make a general attack on France, including a turning movement, with a very great army, through Belgium.

We shall assist the French with all our might, realising that 'the defence of England is the defence of France.' Holland and Belgium may possibly throw in their lot with the Germans, but will far more probably prefer to 'sit on the fence'—if the Germans will permit.

In any case we have no business in Belgium, because our army is not strong enough for offensive action beyond or within Belgian territory. An isolated British expedition could easily be 'contained' by a force no larger than itself, if it should not happen to be convenient to the enemy to concentrate against it an army large enough to destroy it or drive it into the sea.

Our place is on the left of the French line, our army being almost unreservedly placed at the disposal of the French Commander-in-Chief.

Every available unit must go to the front, and England herself must be content to trust the Fleet as against invasion and the Territorials as against raids.

The army as a whole must be despatched as soon as can be,



and a strong advanced detachment of all arms as quickly as it is possible to embark it.

For the rest, we must trust in God and in the justice of our cause. Our national fate will be at stake.

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

P.S.—With the Italian factor of the problem I have purposely refrained from dealing, because it could not usefully be discussed unless at very considerable length, and with reference moreover to the possible action of Turkey<sup>2</sup> and of the Balkan States. There is no doubt that the attitude of Italy already causes anxiety in Germany as well as in Austria, and there is indeed reason to believe that the idea of a Franco-Italian convention is something more than a mere imagination. How great questions are involved will be readily apparent. Even a 'League of Peace' might result, with the obvious policy of compulsory disarmament. But *Quis custodiet custodes?* Universal peace would seem possible only under the auspices of one paramount *custos*.

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

<sup>2</sup> The question of Tripoli had not reached an acute stage when this article was written.

---

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*



# THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

(29)



XX

XIX

No. CCCCXVII—NOVEMBER 1911

## THE KEY OF THE EMPIRE

IMMEDIATELY behind us an Imperial Conference, of which perhaps the best that can be said is that it did no palpable mischief. Immediately ahead of us a Home Rule Bill, the lines of which cannot be forecast, but which is certain to be framed with ingenuity to give the maximum of concession to Irish Nationalists, with the minimum of offence to English Unionists.<sup>1</sup> The conjunction of events is significant.

Two great forces are, and for the last hundred years have been, contending for supremacy in world-politics; both of them, curiously enough, derived from the same ultimate idea—the complex and elusive idea of ‘nationality.’ That idea furnished, by common consent, the most potent formative factor in the politics of the nineteenth century. It is important, however,

<sup>1</sup> Since these words were written Mr. Birrell has made it clear that the former motive has inspired the new Bill rather than the latter. ‘Our scheme . . . involves the setting up in Ireland of a Parliament consisting of two chambers with an Executive—that is, a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to it . . . our object being to admit a national demand for national responsibility and to establish yet another Parliament . . . in the Empire subordinate to the Imperial Parliament.’ This statement gives, I think, additional force to the considerations urged in this paper.



to observe that this 'nationality' principle has operated in two diverse directions, and has exercised, at any rate in Europe, two contradictory influences. On the one hand it may be exhibited as the greatest of all integrating forces; on the other hand as the most powerful element of disruption. It was obviously responsible for the two outstanding constructive achievements of the nineteenth century—the making of a united Italy and the establishment of a strong federal Empire in Germany. But if the nationality principle operated as an integrating force in Italy and Germany, it operated, not less conspicuously, as a principle of disruption in the Balkan and Scandinavian Peninsulas and in the Netherlands. It has carved out of the Ottoman Empire the modern kingdoms of Roumania, Servia, Greece and Bulgaria; while both in Scandinavia and in the Low Countries it has gone far to destroy the structures so carefully but so short-sightedly erected by the diplomatists of 1815.

## II

Nowhere can the working of the nationality principle be observed to more instructive advantage than in the British Empire; nowhere have its contradictory tendencies been more conspicuously exhibited. We can see it at work, for example, to-day in the great Dominion of Canada. There it affords at any rate a partial solution of the enigma which has perplexed many political observers on this side of the water—the alliance between the Imperialists and Nationalists. Both sections of the forces which acted in co-operation during the recent crucial contest resisted with all their might an approximation towards their powerful neighbours to the South; both were opposed to any commercial arrangements which might possibly contain the germ of political assimilation. But though their immediate object was identical—the defeat of the Reciprocity Treaty—their ultimate motives were widely divergent, if not actually antagonistic. Both rallied to the cry of 'Canada for the Canadians'; but while to the Nationalists this cry represented the ultimate goal of their political ambitions, the Conservatives regarded it as a condition precedent to the fulfilment of a larger hope. Neither section was disposed to hazard, in return for any economic advantage, real or imaginary, one iota of their 'national' independence; but while the Nationalists did not look beyond a Canadian nation, the Conservatives sought to preserve their independence not merely for the satisfaction of Canadian patriotism, but not less in deference to the larger Imperial sentiment. The Nationalists, in fine, are Canadians first and Canadians last; the Conservatives cherish with equal fervour the sentiment of Canadian patriotism, without being neglectful of the part which Canada may legitimately hope to play in a more closely federated



British Empire. No better exemplification of the contradictory operation of the 'nationality' principle could be discovered or desired.

### III

We may come nearer home. In the politics of the United Kingdom we can discern the same principle in acute and self-contradictory conflict. On the one side are the 'little Nationalists'—the 'Celtic fringe'—eager to emulate the nationalism of Belgium, of Servia, of Greece, Norway and Bulgaria, and to unfurl the national flags of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. On the other side the 'larger Nationalists,' anxious to realise Pan-Britannic unity, and to weld into an organic whole the sister nations of British blood in four continents.

But apart from, or rather intermediate between, Imperialists and Home Rulers, there is in Great Britain a third party who seek, more or less consciously, to reconcile and combine the two manifestations of the nationality spirit by promoting a scheme of 'Federal' Home Rule. I cannot myself resist the conviction that their well-intentioned endeavours rest upon a basis of political amiability and intellectual confusion. But, since they appear to represent the 'compromise' or middle course so dear to the political mind of Englishmen, it may be worth while to scrutinise their argument with some attention.

The argument would seem to rest upon three main propositions :

(i.) That the Irish problem is the greatest of all impediments to the realisation of Imperial unity, and that unless and until it is permanently solved it is mere waste of energy to discuss the larger scheme for Britannic federation ;

(ii.) That the concession of Home Rule would be rapturously welcomed not only in the United States of America, where the enthusiasm evoked by it might be suspect, but in every one of the British Dominions oversea ;

(iii.) That there can be no real danger, but every advantage, in conferring upon Ireland those rights of self-government which have so conspicuously tended to smooth away friction and to strengthen ties of loyalty and affection between the Mother Country and the oversea Dominions.

The argument is specious and to some minds irresistibly attractive. The crux lies obviously in the third proposition, which demands detailed examination. For the first two a few words must suffice. In reference to the second I am not concerned to deny that in several of the great Dominions—notably in Canada—there is a large Home Rule party, as there is, of course, in England, Scotland and Wales. Whether that party has taken the trouble to come to close intellectual grips with the issues



involved is another matter, and I intend before this paper is closed to invite them to do so. For the moment I only suggest that the mere existence of such a party does not necessarily prove that they have discovered the solution of a long-standing problem, or that it is incumbent upon the majority of the electors of the United Kingdom to accept their counsel and concur in their conclusions.

In regard to the first proposition, I should be the last person in the world to question its gravity if it could be established. For a quarter of a century I have neglected no opportunity of affirming, by voice and pen, my conviction that of all strictly political issues incomparably the greatest is the political organisation of the British Empire. For the attainment of that supremely important consummation there are few sacrifices that I should not be prepared to make in regard to domestic or party politics. Were I convinced that the erection of a subordinate Legislature in Dublin would be the natural prelude to a scheme of Imperial federalism, still more if I could be brought to believe that it was an indispensable condition of such a scheme, I should certainly review my position in regard to Irish Home Rule, and should, if necessary, be prepared (as in politics one must always be prepared) to subordinate the less to the more important issue. It is because I hold that such a proposition is exactly the reverse of truth, that the erection of a Legislature in Dublin, on the Colonial model, would enormously complicate the Imperial issue and would imperil the ultimate realisation of the Pan-Britannic ideal, that the following pages have been written.

#### IV

I pass to a consideration of the third of the above propositions, containing, as it appears to me, the kernel of the argument upon which the case of the Federal Home Rulers really rests. I invite all who desire to form a sound judgment on this superficially attractive and insinuating idea to clear their minds of cant, and to come to the closest possible quarters with the terms they employ.

The contention put forward by the Federal Home Rulers is twofold: they insist that the concession of self-government has solved the Colonial problem; that it allayed dangerous discontent in the two Canadas in the first years of Queen Victoria's reign; that it sustained the loyalty of the Australian Colonies in the fifties, and that it was the most potent factor in erasing bitter memories in South Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century. May we not look for equally beneficent results from the application of the same remedy to the secular sickness of Ireland? I do not stay to emphasise the differences—obvious to the most careless observer—which vitiate a comparison between



the cases : the geographical proximity of Ireland to our own shores, and to those of our European neighbours ; the fact that Ireland, unlike the Dominions, is represented, indeed absurdly over-represented, in the Imperial Parliament, and has no difficulty whatever in making her voice heard at Westminster ; that the Imperial Legislature has incurred large and direct financial responsibilities for Ireland, and so forth. These are the common-places of political argument and need not detain us. The questions which I wish to push home are four :

(i.) What precisely are we to understand by *Federal Home Rule*? and how does it differ from Parnellite Home Rule *sans phrase*?

(ii.) Is the federal principle to be confined to Ireland or to be applied to other portions of the United Kingdom?

(iii.) If so, how is the lesser federalism of the United Kingdom to be reconciled with the larger federalism of the British Empire—the avowed goal of Federal Home Rulers?

(iv.) What are to be the ultimate units of the Britannic Federation? Is the European unit to consist of Great Britain and Ireland? Or are England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales to be regarded as separate units, and to come into the Federal Empire on the same footing as the Dominion of Canada, United South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand and Newfoundland?

It will be obvious that though separately formulated for the sake of lucidity, these questions are closely interdependent, and must be considered as a whole.

What, then, in the first place are we to understand by *Federal Home Rule*? Is Ireland to occupy the same position in relation to Great Britain as does the Dominion of Canada or New Zealand? or the position occupied by the Canadian Provinces—Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and the rest—in relation to the Dominion of Canada? This point is vital, and, so far as I am aware, it has never been satisfactorily explained. If the Colonial analogy is really to hold; if self-government is to be conceded to Ireland in 1912 as it was to Canada, under the famous memorandum of Lord Durham;—then we must frankly face the consequences which necessarily arise from the application of the principle: Ireland cannot continue to be represented in the Westminster Parliament unless and until that Parliament becomes Imperial in form as it is in name, and Ireland must be entrusted with all the privileges and responsibilities implied in 'Colonial self-government.' In particular she must provide for her own local defence; she must raise and maintain a militia and must contemplate a contribution either in money or in kind to the Imperial Navy, or alternatively must make provision for naval as well as military defence. She must have complete control



also over her fiscal policy : the right to impose Customs duties upon imports from Great Britain, as from foreign countries. She may voluntarily give a preference to the former, but she must be equally free to grant it to the latter. We must not grumble if in the exercise of her fiscal discretion she determines to conclude Reciprocity treaties with the United States, with Germany or France. I shall be accused of deliberate caricature; of setting up bogeys which have no existence outside my own imagination for the purpose of destroying them. I neither desire to set up, nor to destroy, bogeys. I merely desire, without pronouncing a judgment, to get at the precise meaning of terms, and to come face to face with possible alternatives.

But if one alternative reduces itself to an absurdity, take the other. Abandon the Colonial analogy in the foregoing sense; inform Mr. Redmond that Ireland must not look for 'self-government' on the Canadian or Australian model, lest it should involve consequences which cannot be entertained—except in nightmare. The alternative is—and perhaps this is the analogy at the back of the rather confused minds of the 'Federal' Home Rulers, to set up in Ireland a 'provincial' Government on the model of the 'provincial' Governments of Ontario, Quebec, etc., or even a 'State' Government such as is enjoyed by New South Wales, Victoria, and the other component units of the Australian Commonwealth. Between the position of Canadian 'provinces' and the Australian 'States' there is, of course, a vital constitutional distinction : to the former belong only such powers as are delegated to them by the Dominion Government; the latter possess all the rights and exercise all the functions which have not been conferred by the Constitution upon the Federal Government. Every scheme hitherto proposed, or likely to be proposed, for Irish Home Rule has assumed that the Irish Legislature is to be statutory, and is to exercise such powers only as are delegated to it in the constitutional instrument or by the subsequent action of the constituent Imperial Legislature. We must, therefore, conclude that, if Ireland is not to enjoy self-government of the 'Dominion' type, its position must be analogous to that of one of the Canadian provinces.

But if this be so, two questions arise : Can such a limited concession be expected to satisfy those 'national' aspirations upon which the whole of the Home Rule agitation is avowedly founded? <sup>2</sup> Will 'Ireland a province' be accepted in full satisfaction of the demands of those who for thirty years have rallied to the cry of 'Ireland a nation'? But another question remains. Assuming that the 'national' demand is adequately met—at any

<sup>2</sup> The object of the present Government is, according to Mr. Birrell, to 'admit a *national* demand for *national* responsibility.' (The italics are mine.)



1911

rate for the time being—by the establishment of a strictly 'provincial' Government, what place is Ireland—a province—going to occupy in a scheme of the 'Federal' Home Rulers? Will Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England be the constituent units of a federated Great Britain? Or are they to be the constituent units of a federated Greater Britain? In the former case we might find ourselves with three Parliaments on our hands in the capital of England, presuming London to remain also the capital of the United Kingdom, and the capital of the British Empire. There would be: (i) a local *provincial* Parliament of England, parallel in authority with the 'provincial' Parliaments of Ireland, Scotland and Wales; (ii) a *federal* Parliament representing the four constituent provinces of the United Kingdom; and (iii) a federal Parliament representing the constituent Dominions of the British Empire. I do not say that this is unthinkable, but I do want to know whether this is the scheme contemplated by the Federal Home Rulers?

If it is not, we are compelled to assume that their intention is that Ireland and Scotland, Wales and England are to be among the units of a federal Empire. They are to take, that is to say, their place upon the platform reserved at present for the self-governing Dominions. But in view of the fact that the local Parliaments of the United Kingdom are, *ex hypothesi*, to be merely 'provincial,' will not the Canadian 'provinces,' to say nothing of the Australian 'States,' put forward an irresistible claim to similar, or rather, identical treatment? In a word, the Federal Home Rulers must make up their minds whether they are going to put Ireland—and presumably other portions of the United Kingdom—on to the platform of Canada, or on to the platform of Alberta. In either case they will, I submit, find themselves impaled upon the horns of a dilemma which is very far from being merely logical. They must either concede to Ireland a Government which will be subordinate to the Imperial Parliament only in the same sense as the Dominion Governments are subordinate, with complete control over fiscal policy, a large responsibility for local defence, and a considerable say in foreign policy; or, on the other hand, they must be sanguine enough to suppose that they can satisfy 'national' aspirations by the erection of a 'provincial' Legislature or Legislatures in Ireland—a process which will in turn involve the transformation of the existing Parliament at Westminster into a federal Legislature. They must be sanguine indeed if they imagine that the former alternative will commend itself to England, or that the latter will be accepted in full satisfaction of all claims by the 'Nationalists' of Ireland and their confederates in the United States.



Nor can we ignore the fact that it is 'nationalism,' not 'provincialism,' which gives to the Home Rule agitation in Ireland and the United States whatever of reality and substance it possesses. The apostolic successors of Fenianism, on either side of the Atlantic, are not going to take off their coats or deplete their pockets for 'gas and water Home Rule,' for such an extension of the principle of local government as would remove all the existing absurdities and anomalies in regard to private Bill legislation and the like, such a devolution as would command the support, I imagine, of all parties in the United Kingdom. That the aims of the 'Nationalist' party are inconsistent with loyalty either to the United Kingdom or to the British Empire is a fact which it may be convenient to suppress on the eve of the production of a Home Rule Bill. Now, as always, there is one argument carefully prepared as suitable for the English and Scotch palate; there is another, a rougher and more sincere one, prepared for the less delicate digestions of sympathisers in the United States. This device may succeed with amiable 'federalists' on this side of St. George's Channel; it is estimated at its true value by those who are loyal to the British connexion on the other. Before I come to consider the position of the latter, I have a further and final word for the former.

## V

If the Federal Home Rulers are sincere federalists in the larger sense; if they really regard the concession of Home Rule to Ireland as a necessary or natural prelude to the solution of the Imperial problem, they are likely, as I have attempted to show, to land themselves in a morass of political absurdities and constitutional contradictions.

And for a simple reason. They are, I submit, on the wrong tack; they are misusing a term consecrated to a wholly different—indeed, a precisely opposite—process. Federalism implies, on the part of the related communities, not the acquisition but the surrender of rights; each unit of the federal whole is called upon to sacrifice some portion of its hitherto independent sovereignty. Federalism, therefore, is the bringing together, not the parting asunder, of related communities. It is, in a word, a centripetal, not a centrifugal, movement. 'A Federal union,' wrote the late Professor Freeman, 'to be of any value must arise by the establishment of a closer tie between elements which were before distinct, not by the division of members which have been hitherto more closely united. . . . No one could wish to cut up our United Kingdom into a Federation, to invest English counties with the rights of American States, or even to restore Scotland and Ireland



1911

to the quasi-federal position which they held before their respective unions. . . . Federalism is out of place if it attempts either to break asunder what is already more closely united, or to unite what is wholly incapable of union.'<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that Mr. Freeman's conclusion is the result of over-hasty generalisation from instances which in 1863 were less numerous than they are to-day. It is, therefore, proper to point out that a later writer, Mr. Henry Sidgwick, notices with some emphasis 'another way—distinct from union of communities previously independent—in which in modern times federality has come to be developed: namely, by the establishment of secured local liberties, mainly under the influence of the sentiment of nationality, in States that were previously of the unitary type.'<sup>4</sup> And he cites Austria-Hungary as a conspicuous instance.

Austria-Hungary was, it will be remembered, a favourite illustration in the mouth of Mr. Gladstone in the Home Rule debates of 1886; so was Sweden-Norway. The latter illustration has proved to be singularly infelicitous for those who contend that Home Rule is the prelude to closer unity and not a first step towards separation. Whether Austria-Hungary will serve them better time will show. But with all deference to the high authority of Mr. Sidgwick, I submit that neither Austria-Hungary nor Sweden-Norway affords apposite illustration. Neither Constitution possesses the essential attributes of genuine federalism. The connexion between the two countries was in both cases primarily—in the case of Sweden-Norway wholly—dynastic. It represented personal union, rather than organic federalism.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Freeman wrote before the consummation of the federal movements in Canada, Germany or Australia, but recent experience has tended to justify rather than contradict his generalisation. It may be objected, perhaps, that Canada is an exception to the rule; that the federal movement of 1867 represented a reaction against the unitary movement of 1840. As a matter of form I admit it, but even so only as between the Eastern Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. In substance, the Dominion Act of 1867 represents a forward step towards the integration of British North America, though the closer union of the whole involved a looser form of association between the two provinces so unhappily and inauspiciously united by the *Union Act* of 1840. Canada, however, represents in several respects a less perfect type of federalism than the German Empire or the Australian Commonwealth. In

<sup>3</sup> *Federal Government*, pp. 91, 90, 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Development of European Polity*, p. 438.

<sup>5</sup> I do not, of course, ignore the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867, and therefore to that extent I differentiate between Austria-Hungary and Sweden-Norway.



neither of these latest<sup>6</sup> and greatest examples is there a trace of ambiguity; both possess every attribute of federalism; both arose from a desire for closer union without unity; in both there is a dual system of law; in both the organs of government, legislative, executive and judicial, are reduplicated.

'Federal' Home Rulers are, therefore, attempting to reconcile antagonistic principles of government, and to encourage, under the cloak of terminology consecrated by all recent and successful practice to a centripetal movement, the operation of forces which can only lead to disintegration. Needless to say that I do not for an instant question the political sincerity of those who seek to promote a compromise on a baffling and perplexing question, nor even of those who find in Home Rule *sans phrase* the only practicable solution of it. Intellectually the position of the latter seems to me far more intelligible than that of the former, and essentially less dangerous, because less insidious. Only those who are prepared to maintain intact the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland can be trusted—such is the sum of my contention—to conserve the principle of Imperial unity, and for the maintenance of the Union we must look primarily to the grim determination of North-Eastern Ireland.

If the foregoing argument is valid, it is Ulster which holds, at this moment, the key not only to the unity of the United Kingdom, but to the solidarity of the British Empire.

## VI

Can Ulster be trusted to hold it safe? 'If,' said Lord Randolph Churchill in an historic letter in 1886, 'political parties and political leaders, not only parliamentary, but local, should be so utterly lost to every feeling and dictate of honour and courage as to hand over coldly, and for the sake of purchasing a short and illusory parliamentary tranquillity, the lives and liberties of the Loyalists of Ireland to their hereditary and most bitter foes, make no doubt on this point—Ulster will not be a consenting party; Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force; Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right.' Lord Randolph's distinguished son declared the other day, in a characteristic epigram, that the threat of civil war would evaporate in uncivil words. I have not personally heard the threat repeated during the present campaign; Ulster, if she follows the advice of the leaders to whom she has confided her cause, will rely on other weapons; but in any case I should not presume to decide

<sup>6</sup> The Constitution of United South Africa is not technically federal, but unitary.

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, by W. S. Churchill, ii. 65.



1911

between disputants so distinguished and so closely akin both in temper and blood. Of this, however, I have been convinced by recent personal observation on the spot, that loyalist Ulster has not the faintest intention of accepting the authority and obeying the decrees of any Legislature or any Executive which may be set up in Dublin.

Nor will it be possible for the people of Great Britain to ignore the grim and unyielding attitude which Ulster is determined to maintain. They are bound to take account of it, and it is desirable, therefore, that they should be at some pains to understand the arguments upon which the case of Ulster rests.

That case is both stronger and weaker than it was in 1886 and 1893. The British electors who in 1886 defeated the first Home Rule Bill proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and those who in 1895 ratified the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the second, were unquestionably influenced to a considerable extent by a sense of exasperation against the tactics of the Parnellite party: their violence and unseemly conduct on the floor of the House of Commons; the encouragement they gave to outrage and intimidation in Ireland. Other times, other manners. The weapon of intimidation has not, it is true, been permitted to rust altogether in Ireland, but the Home Rule party of to-day are, in the main, bent upon adherence to other tactics. They seek to cajole rather than to coerce; to win by smooth words addressed to the democracy of England rather than by hard blows struck at the aristocracy in Ireland. No less an authority than Mr. Gladstone had declared, not long before the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill, that the Irish Nationalists were 'marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the British Empire.' The British electorate believed Mr. Gladstone. The boycottings, cattle-maiming, outrages and murders; the breach of contracts, the refusal to meet legal obligations, the whole machinery of the 'plan of campaign';—all this shocked the sense of order and decency which still prevailed among the electors on this side of St. George's Channel. They shared Mr. Gladstone's whilom conviction that 'dismemberment' was the ultimate goal to which the patrons of these tactics were marching. And as they detested the means, so they repudiated the end.

But the tune is now set in another key. Constitutional persuasion is to be substituted for intimidation, while the end sought is not the 'dismemberment' but the 'consolidation' of the Empire.

The change of tactics is likely to disarm a great deal of the opposition which was aroused in 1886, and in a lesser degree in 1895. And by so much are the Irish Loyalists in a weaker position to-day than they were when the issue was last fought



out. And they are the weaker, too, by the introduction into British politics of issues which are at once new and of absorbing interest to great masses of the urban electors in this country. In 1886 there was not a constituency in Great Britain which was not profoundly moved in one direction or the other by the supreme issue presented for their decision. Men's passions were deeply stirred. On the one side Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain—the leaders till lately of various sections of the Liberal party—Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill representing old and new Toryism respectively; on the other, Mr. Gladstone, backed by the immense moral authority of Lord Spencer, whose courage and steadfastness during his recent viceroyalty gave added significance to his conversion to Home Rule; on both sides the leaders could command the most earnest attention of those to whom their respective arguments were addressed. To-day the situation is entirely different. The minds of the urban electors are preoccupied by social and economic issues, to the entire exclusion of everything else. The citadel of the legislative Union is threatened to-day not by the enthusiasm of its assailants, but by the apathy of its defenders—most of all, perhaps, by the prevailing indifference on the one side and the other. The cost of living and the rate of wages; the conditions of life and the constancy of employment; industrial methods and the economic structure of society—these are the questions upon which the minds of the great urban populations are steadily set, and I doubt whether they would be induced to give their real attention to any other, even though one rose from the dead endowed with the combined eloquence of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone. Herein lies another weakness, not in the diplomatic case, but in the strategical position of the Irish Loyalists.

There is a third. Even if the electorate could be aroused to some interest in the issue, what would it avail the cause of the Union? There may be, for aught we know, as large a majority against Home Rule in the British constituencies as there was in 1886. But not if it were twice as large could it legally prevent or even retard the enactment of a Home Rule Bill. I observe that an attempt is being made to sow dissensions in the Unionist camp, and more particularly in Ulster, by 'revelations' as to the tactics of the Unionist leaders during the autumn of 1910. It is roundly affirmed that the latter were prepared to sell Ulster and the Union lock, stock and barrel to save the House of Lords. I do not pretend to any knowledge of these matters, which is not common property, nor is a discussion of them pertinent to my present argument. But it is pertinent to point out that the failure of the Conservative party to persuade the electorate either



1911

to maintain an independent Second Chamber, or to introduce the principle of the Referendum into our constitutional machinery, may have the gravest consequences for Ulster and the Union.

But although for all these reasons and in all these ways the Unionist position is incomparably weaker than it was in 1886, there is one respect in which it is incontestably stronger. If the opposition to Home Rule has weakened in England, so also, and in far greater ratio, has the enthusiasm for it in Ireland. Twenty years ago the Unionist prescription—twenty years of firm administration combined with social reform and economic amelioration—was greeted with incredulity and opprobrium. The prescription has been applied, and, like most remedies which are neither from quack prescriptions nor advertised as panaceas, it is working quietly and effectually. There is a certain amount of grumbling among all classes in Ireland, but there is decidedly more in England. If economic unrest be a symptom of political misgovernment, it is not Ireland which demands prior attention and treatment. That discontent will ever entirely disappear in Ireland is too much to hope for. In what country of the civilised world to-day is it non-existent? If the social history of Ireland during the last quarter of a century ever comes to be written impartially there are four names which will be had in everlasting remembrance—those of Mr. Balfour, who restored social order; of Lord Ashbourne and Mr. Wyndham, whose names will be associated with an agrarian revolution of hardly less magnitude than that wrought for Prussia by Hardenberg and Stein; and, above all, that of Sir Horace Plunkett, who, though abused by all parties, has 'off his own bat' done more for the economic prosperity and social regeneration of Ireland than all the politicians since the passing of the Act of Union—and perhaps before it. On the same pedestal of fame ought also, perhaps, to be placed not a few captains of industry whose directing genius and commercial acumen have made of Belfast one of the greatest and most prosperous cities of the Empire.

It is no part of my immediate purpose to substantiate by elaborate statistics the above statements. They will not be denied by any whose judgment is combined with knowledge of the facts. It is common knowledge that the Land Purchase Acts passed by Lord Ashbourne and Mr. Wyndham have finally reversed the mistaken agrarian policy which culminated in Mr. Gladstone's ill-conceived Act of 1881; that they are putting an end to the principle of double ownership legally sanctified by that and previous Acts, and are gradually building up a new class of occupying and cultivating owners. However reluctant these may be to break openly away from earlier political connexions, they have, and can have, no real sympathy with the lawless and land-



less peasants who, in the eighties, under the stimulus of professional agitators, reduced Ireland to anarchy. Apart, however, from the progress of land-purchase, now somewhat retarded under Mr. Birrell's administration, there is no test of prosperity to which Ireland will not respond. The rate of pauperism in Belfast is exceptionally low; the deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks have trebled in the last twenty years; foreign trade is rapidly advancing. That Ireland as a whole is anything but a poor country no one would be so fatuous as to deny; money wages are in many parts miserably low, though few people in Ireland, outside a few industrial towns, live exclusively on wages. But at least it may be said that the Union has not spelt bankruptcy, and it would be exceedingly difficult to prove that a separate Legislature would or could do anything to promote economic prosperity. The root of the Irish problem has for the last two hundred years been mainly economic; since 1869 almost exclusively so. The cruel wrong done to the nascent industries of Ireland by the selfish commercial legislation of the English Parliament in the eighteenth century is a matter of history. Many of the grievances were removed by Lord North and the rest by the younger Pitt. In the nineteenth century the united Legislature proceeded from the removal of injustice to generous reparation, and during the last thirty years Ireland has become the spoiled child of the Imperial Parliament. There was indeed leeway to be made up, reparation to be offered; but no one can truthfully say that it has been offered in a niggardly spirit. If Home Rule has not actually been 'killed by kindness,' it is certain that the economic grievances which accentuated political discontent have been largely, if not entirely, amended.

Would the concession of Home Rule arrest the development now so happily in progress? It is not easy to answer that question with confidence; but this at least must be said, that, with few exceptions, the best business brains in Ireland believe that it would, and few people whose opinion is entitled to any weight venture to assert that it would not.

There would thus seem to be, at the present juncture, a twofold responsibility laid upon the loyalists of Ireland, and especially of Ulster. They are called upon to resist a movement fraught on the one hand, with grave risk to the rising economic prosperity of Ireland, and on the other with extreme danger to the political solidarity of the Empire. It is on the latter point that I have desired in this paper to insist. The case against Home Rule from the Irish and Ulster point of view is certain to be presented with vigour and skill to the British electorate during the next few months. Anxious to enlist in defence of the Union all genuine Imperialists, whatever religious creed they may profess, I have



1911

set purpose avoided all reference to one aspect of the problem which moves profoundly the people of Ulster. But the appeal which will be made by Ulster from that point of view is one to which large and influential sections of English society cannot possibly remain deaf.

Apart from that, however, the case of Ulster is overwhelmingly strong. They desire simply to be let alone. Under the Imperial Parliament they have taken an immense stride in material prosperity; with the 'national' aspirations cherished in other parts of Ireland they have no sympathy; the British connexion is to them a guarantee against ecclesiastical intolerance, and an important factor, as they believe, in their economic progress; they have not the slightest desire to see it sundered, and they have the strongest possible repugnance to a forcible transference of their political allegiance. That Great Britain should compel the most prosperous and progressive part of Ireland to sever a tie which is mutually honourable and materially advantageous is almost unthinkable. That Ulster is herself irrevocably and unshakably opposed to severance is indisputable.

But my immediate concern is rather with another aspect of the Irish problem. I am supremely anxious that no one should be deluded by ingenious word-juggling into the belief that the grant of a separate Legislature and Executive to Ireland would be in harmony with the general movement towards Colonial self-government. Home Rule may be in itself right or wrong, but it is not a step towards federalism but a surrender to the forces of disintegration.

Whether those forces are on the eve of a great triumph or a final defeat depends, firstly, on the courage and determination of Ulster herself, and, secondly, on the support which Ulster can obtain from the Imperialist party throughout the Empire.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.



## LIBERTY OF CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

### A REPLY.

IN the October number of this Review Mr. Emmet has addressed to the public and to Churchmen an argument and appeal upon the liberty of criticism within the Church of England. He has written gravely and courteously; he will carry the general reader easily along with him; and those who, like myself, come under his blame will feel that they need to consider and reconsider very carefully the bearing of what he says upon their action.

For his general thesis is this. We have learnt by painful experience that there is only one way of keeping thought upon sacred subjects wholesome and free; and that is the way of leaving it to express and develop itself without interference. We must, accordingly, discard all the forms of pronouncement by authority. All have been tried, and all have failed. We have reached the clear conclusion that this is a method outworn and wrong. We have come to this by travelling in experience a road which is strewn with the litter of failures—failures of good and wise men as well as those of mere bigots or Pharisees—all alike involved in the same error of bringing into controversy the heavy hand of authority.

Now Mr. Emmet is here on strong ground. We are all largely of his mind. We believe in liberty as we believe in love. We think that the last century or 'Victorian' period received a great gift from God in a quite new understanding of the potency that lies behind those two great names, and of their power to prevail where fear or force would fail. That 'unveiling' has altered the whole spirit of our education; has brought with it a greater and more reverent treatment of childhood and of individual life; and it has also freed the area of religious controversy of much which made its truculence a byword. Alas that so much remains!

Thus Mr. Emmet has a strong case. It is also an easy case: the Court is with him, he has plenty of obvious targets, and if he were less serious than he is, might make merrier than he does over the blunders and failures and short-sightedness of authority. Thus while he carries with him, of course, all those



whose motto is 'Live and let live,' and whose one and only bug-bear is bigotry, he will also have the support of men of deep and serious feelings who realise the depth and mystery and movement of the things of God and the inadequacy of man's rule and man's plummet; and who give to liberty that genuine tribute of a true faith, viz. the trust which will abide at her side even when to do so seems to mean indifference to, or co-operation with, error or fault.

The case is thus strong, serious, and easy. The only question about it is whether it is the whole case, or the only one. Mr. Emmet does not seem to have asked himself this question, nor except in one instance (to which I will refer again) does he deal with any other side of the matter.

He would probably defend or explain this by saying that, to him, the very point of our moral discovery is that we must trust liberty right out; that it has become the only valid claimant, and must have the field entirely to itself. This (Mr. Emmet may urge) is why we say, as in any case of faith, that we *believe* in liberty. The man is best whose faith is strongest. He will draw out all the virtue that is in his principle, because he trusts it so that he never couples or compromises it with any other.

We have reached the point where we feel the full strength and chivalry of Mr. Emmet's position; but not, I think, without a sense of doubt arising in our minds whether his facile guidance has not led us, after all, too quickly and lightly along. For after all does there not come to us repeatedly, and from the most various quarters, the suggestion that it is just not in thus following out to an end a single principle, but rather in some more difficult blending and combination of different principles, that we come nearest to wisdom, whether speculative or practical?

This is a truth very familiar to reflecting people; and its bearing on the present matter deserves to be considered. But it is general; and I pass on to what is more concrete.

Liberty (such is the thesis) is the only method, and reasonable argument the only weapon; therefore, plainly a church or religious society must be one in which everybody may speak as he likes and everyone will speak with his own authority. There can be no corporate mind; and therefore, of course, no expression of it. Anybody may teach anything; and when the plain outsider or the distressed believer insists that the Church lets this or that be taught, and even proclaimed on her high places, and that she must therefore be largely indifferent about it, their plea is to be quashed abruptly and flatly by the invocation of liberty.

That is not quite an easy position to hold; it makes corporate life, to say the least, very difficult. It seems to part company with a good deal which had been deemed to have rather deep religious



value, such as God's use of the Christian people as the organ and instrument of witness to the truth and meaning of what He has revealed.

We are in more troubled waters; the currents seem to cross, and when we look to Mr. Emmet we find that he cannot himself, after all, sail through on his single principle. In the year 1870 a man of strong and sincere conviction, still with us in a vigorous old age, the Rev. Charles Voysey, denied the Atonement and Divinity of Christ. Mr. Emmet refers to this case. He states Mr. Voysey's heresies in pretty forcible terms. He does not emphasise the appeal and challenge which Mr. Voysey made by his resistance to Archbishop Thomson's action that such teaching was legitimate in the Church of England; that the Church could only live by liberty, and so forth. He does not repeat this, or endorse it. He throws himself at once and decisively on the other side; and he considers that he has saved himself by a distinction. 'Here we have an example not of an attempt to re-state or re-interpret doctrines, but of a clear rejection of Christianity as a whole.' It would be interesting to turn to the press or literature of the time and see (1) whether the issue, stated with such convenient breadth by Mr. Emmet, appeared then quite as broad and unmistakable; and (2) whether there was not a good deal said then about episcopal tyranny and interference with liberty.

Archbishop Thomson thought the issue plain; so did the Court; and the sequel has confirmed their judgment. Mr. Voysey's defence was in the nature of a paradox. But I think that before Mr. Emmet careered past the case, he should have considered more carefully whether it did not suggest that there were more things to be considered than are dreamt of in his philosophy of pure liberty.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am as far as possible from the unfair belief or the odious suggestion that there is no difference or slight difference between the author of a recent book and Mr. Voysey. This would be grossly untrue and unfair. But the point is this, that the extreme case brings out the presence of an unconsidered factor or factors. If liberty is to be curtailed anywhere the question will be asked: 'Where?' I do not think Mr. Emmet will find that his distinction between rejecting Christian doctrine and re-interpreting it (important and fruitful as that distinction is) will bear all the stress that he lays upon it.

But as we leave this particular case, we see that it leaves us confronted with another duty which has somehow to be reconciled with liberty. Let us name it the duty of witness. To make Mr. Emmet's argument anything like complete he should have included a section on this topic. For indeed, religiously and psychologically, it does bring up some very serious difficulties.



1911

The Lord's purpose in regard to his bequest and trust of truth; the manner in which the witness of the Holy Spirit is given; the consciousness which the Church has always had of carrying a message—these are religious topics of grave importance in this matter. It will be said probably that the duty of witness will be sufficiently discharged if each Christian speaks what he thinks—and the truth is allowed to prevail. The Holy Spirit, it will be urged, exercises His power as He elicits out of the chaos a mind of the Church, witnessing to truth, and winnowing out error. But if the argument runs that way, I think it will find itself among psychological stumbling-blocks. Is a corporate witness possible which is only the after-sifting of individual opinions? Does not a corporate consciousness in every sphere seek corporate expression? But, further, is it possible to sustain in any body of men a sense of this duty if every one is shouting a different version into the ear, and there is nothing to show whether one is more right than another? As men are actually made, is it not true that a Church in which the truth of the Incarnation was denied freely, and with as much right as it was asserted, is a Church which would not be delivering a witness at all?

It is here that the matter is a little hard to discuss in an open Review. For it is just here that we come upon the difference between the pursuit of a philosophical inquiry and the witness to a truth revealed. They are not the same thing; and though there is much analogy between the consent of the wise and the teaching of the Church, they are and always have been intrinsically different; and the difference is as important as the likeness.

I am quite aware that many who would in the abstract recognise or respect this difference, which requires in some sense a limitation of liberty in the name of truth, will say that the history of the claim to authoritative witness is too sinister to allow of its being practically conceded. Orthodoxy, Catholic or Puritan, inquisition and infallibility, are words taken at random to recall all the vice, going far deeper than such outstanding cases, of any attempt to dominate by authority the liberty of belief. I do not ignore all this; I am indeed personally sensitive to it; I have always felt that no one can fairly read either the Old or New Testament, or the history of the Church, without realising that ecclesiasticism is one of the worst dangers of the world's and of the Church's life. But it is worst, only because it corrupts what is so good, so vital to the interests of a sustained life and a transmitted truth. There is a place for 'Moses' seat'; there is a service which authority can do to the devotees of liberty.

I believe that amidst the confusions of a state of entire



individualism, when each man tries to find his own way, there will be in all communions a number of the more deeply thoughtful and reflective souls, who will realise that something else is needed; that man is not meant to be alone; that in fact much which they themselves believe came to them first by authority rather than inquiry; that the great Truths of Divine Revelation and Redemption are heavier than single minds can bear or were intended to bear; that 'no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost,' and that the testimony and power of that faith have been by that Spirit breathed into a common life and emerge as a corporate faith, gathering to itself the clear and willing response of men's conscience, heart, and mind. But all this and much more is shattered unless the Church in some way keeps and uses her normal and legitimate function of witness.

Thus we come back to Mr. Emmet, having, I venture to think, widened the issue, which he had made so plausibly simple by leaving out important factors in the case.

But there is still the question: 'If authority may be exercised, when and where and how may this rightly be?' Impossible to answer in the abstract: hardly more possible in the concrete. For Mr. Emmet dismays us here by his long list of our failures and the failures of our forefathers. I make no demur: I accept his rebuke. Authority has done a number of hasty, narrow, short-sighted and cruel things: and done so with all the air and the honest conviction of being valiant for God. Yet other things beside authority—and, as the famous saying reminds us, Liberty in particular—have had crimes galore 'committed in their name,' and yet retain their proper value and claim. But, apart from this, one may ask here again whether Mr. Emmet quite thought things out.

One of the most distinguished representatives of English political life complained to me long ago that the progress of which Englishmen were proud was often attributed only to the party that pulls forward, when it was really the resultant of their force in combination with that of the party which pulls back. It is not difficult to see that the massive orthodoxy of a Pusey, or the fiery vigilance of a Liddon, contributed at least as much to the soundness of that progress with which God has blessed us in recent times, as was ever due to Jowett's detached thinking, or Pattison's irony, or Colenso's rattling criticism.

The late Professor Asa Gray, to whom fell the delicate and difficult task of mediating between Darwinism in its first days and religious opinion in America, gave it to me as his deliberate opinion in retrospect that the Church had accepted Darwin's teaching quite as fast as could fairly be asked. His careful scientific mind would have been repelled rather than attracted



1911

by an abrupt appropriation of results from another department of knowledge, before there had been time for reflection upon the relation of old and new, and for the adjustments and explanations which showed the harmony of the one with the other.

I think it may truly be pleaded that a Church in which the immense changes of modern thought had been accepted without any fear or surprise, or even vehemence of protest, would have been a Church defective in sturdy faith, and sensitive reverence, and robust conviction.

If we stand where we do to-day it is not without a debt to those who feared and resisted, as well as to those who opened both arms to the new.

Nor was it possible but that some of all this should speak through individuals or bodies in authority, through Episcopal charges or Convocation resolutions. A Church which had made no mistakes on the side of authority would have been, one may say, quite as probably a Church of indifferent and tepid spirit, as one of the comprehensive and balanced wisdom which can hardly belong to any but the rarer men, such as Gladstone or Church, who watch and weigh, and help, sometimes by impetus, sometimes by check, the wholesome movement of the Church towards what God may show.

But I would go further. As we look back over the times which Mr. Emmet reviews, we may, I think, see two processes where he sees but one. The first has been a process of growth, and of interpretation. New meanings and implications of the truth of Christ have been perceived, new relations detected which it bears to other parts of truth and life; the vital power within has burst through some narrowing interpretations or shed some accretions from older phases of thought, some deposits of former controversy. This was no mere advance, as Mr. Emmet might suggest, of 'heretics' against an ever-resisting and retreating orthodoxy. The prophetic spirit breathes through great orthodox teachers such as Westcott or Dr. Scott Holland, as well as through those who, like Ruskin or Seeley, have spoken from an independent position, or those within the Church whom authority, wrongly or rightly, thought deserving of its censure.

The other process, at least as necessary, has been that of a steady defence of the Christian faith against teaching, some from without, some from within, which would if unchecked have impaired or eviscerated the living truth. Is it a paradox to say that if we could cancel the whole catalogue of censures or protests which Mr. Emmet condemns, we should indeed be rid of a good deal which shows short-sightedness or obstinacy, but we should also lose the signs of the protective resistance by which the instinct and reason of the Christian Society repel what is alien to the



integrity of its Trust? An authority so nerveless that it has lost the power to give warning or witness is one which enfeebles the life over which it is set : it sacrifices, in exaggerated defence of individual liberty, the equally sacred liberty of the corporate conscience. We might easily have had to-day a Church of which it could be said that its languid and indifferent spirit allowed any and every vital element in the Christian faith to be with impunity challenged or eaten away.

Can we then at all distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate use of authority? On this it would not perhaps be becoming at the present moment for me to say much.

I will only venture two or three suggestions.

(1) The presumption is against action : the *onus probandi* is on those who would move. So much as this Mr. Emmet's instances avail to prove.

(2) The distinction between the Christian Truth and its corollaries or explanations, as that distinction has been developed by Professor Tyrrell and others, is one which is full of significance. The objection to either the imposition or the restraint of theological explainings by authority is, as every competent student knows, much more common property between the Church and her critics than is commonly understood. Only there came points, as at Nicea, where it was seen that faithfulness to the thing revealed required a measure of explaining. Authority took its risk, and the Catholic faith was explained and saved. But each thing has its abuse ; and in days that followed there was an insensible transition, through other steps of inevitable explanation, into a condition of dogmatising facility, ingenuity, and satisfaction. The special character of the Greek mind helped to this. Later, the absence of other intellectual interests and the ambitious conception of theology as the mother of sciences forwarded it, till it took final and most aggressive form in the infallibility of a Papacy which must claim to be as all-knowing as all-powerful. From all this we must plead for reversion to the true type of authority and therewith of theological liberty.

(3) It seems, then, that authority will do its part best if it moves only when this is necessary in order to prevent its trust from slipping between its fingers. Unless the Church has been wrong from the first about its own *raison d'être*, it exists (as has been said above) to testify ; not to provoke the world to speculation, nor to assist speculation (though these consequences may in a measure follow) ; but to tell, declare, and announce. Nor is the burthen of the testimony doubtful. It is Jesus Christ, as He has Himself by His Spirit taught His people to understand Him. We are apt to call this the Catholic creed ; and there is no objection to our doing so, if we do not allow the Church's expression of her con-



viction to slip into the place of that holy thing of which she is convinced. There is nothing more amazing than the way in which that conviction sprung into being, disclosed itself out of the heart of apostolic witness, was a consciousness before it became an expression, a building not made with hands, by processes some at least of which cannot be gone over again, and from evidence which did its work and passed away.

This we have to maintain, as each generation has had and will have to maintain it. This, along with a great liberty as to ways of speaking about it, and about its relations to life ; a great liberty, but not liberty of a suicidal sort. In this task authority has its limited and difficult part. If it wrongly assumes something to be of the essence which is in truth only of the accident, time will expose its mistake, and new cases will be added to Mr. Emmet's black list of authority's blunders. But there is the other alternative. If authority, susceptible itself to the influences of a day of freedom, itself aware of and almost intimidated by the mistakes which authority has made, still maintains that by such and such a denial the Gift, the deposit, the truth is impaired, authority may be right ; and if right it will be simply discharging a duty of fidelity to trust, and of charity to all whom that trust concerns.

That is the issue : and we may respectfully claim from Mr. Emmet that it shall not be prejudged.

EDW. WINTON.



*BRITAIN AND GERMANY**AN APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT*

THE immediate crisis between the two countries has passed; misunderstanding, suspicion, ignorance, these remain, with a new and more intense irritation, and the relations between the two countries are more seriously strained than at any period in the past. Each side may not unreasonably urge some justification for the present feeling. We have been angered and alarmed by the violence and brusqueness of the Agadir method, and by flamboyant and provocative speech. The Germans are aggrieved at what they feel to be the entire misunderstanding of their aims shown in the speeches of statesmen here, and at the check given to what they feel to be legitimate enterprises. Each has reason to complain of the other's Press, its truculent sensationalism and the partiality of ignorant prejudice.

## THE PRESENT POSITION

The tragedy behind the present manifestations of feeling is that they do not represent the real spirit of either nation. In Germany opinion is led by a small official group, and the leading newspapers, to an extent unknown in this country, are inspired and guided by this group. The view that we get, therefore, of German public opinion is not necessarily representative of the nation. Even to-day the feeling in Germany towards this country is vitally different from that reflected in her and our journals. There is a small governing caste which is intensely irritated and suspicious, and which regards our motives and conduct in much the same light as we regard theirs. There is also a considerable section of the military and naval classes which would frankly welcome an outbreak of hostilities. But behind these adverse influences there is to be found a vast public opinion seldom reaching this land, but which is more representative of the soul of the German people than the engineered agitation which chiefly reaches us. The organised forces of social democracy, in which the approaching elections will, it is believed, show a striking increase, however disturbing in the domestic life of Germany, stand in



1911

international life for methods of understanding and peace. The vast majority of the middle classes desire friendship with this country, and were the Reichstag not so powerless to influence foreign policy, this desire would be more clearly reflected. The hostility which exists, and it would be idle to deny that there is much, is due to the belief in the same kind of bogies which do service in this country—fear that our fleet is intended for their destruction, and that between the two countries there are irreconcilable differences. There are no definite issues. So far as its people is concerned, each country follows an unknown path upon an unknown quest, with the result that two great nations are in angry antagonism, though their interests do not necessarily clash.

It has been interesting to study in Germany the effect which has been produced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech to the bankers. Everywhere it has made a profound impression, and it has given alarm and pain in the circles most favourable to Britain and most active for friendship. This effect is here recorded, not in order to criticise the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who spoke for the Government, and whose words were endorsed by both political parties, but in order that its explanation may point a moral. The Chancellor has a great international reputation, and a large section of the German people look with admiration on his advocacy of schemes of social reform, which appeal alike to their social and intellectual sympathies, and some of which they feel their own example has influenced. Hence, just as Mr. Gladstone, in some aspects of his public work—*e.g.* his passionate sympathy for oppressed nationalities—was regarded in other countries as one whose work was not confined to his own people, but appealed to the sympathy of sister nations, so the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in some aspects of his work as a British statesman, has made a similar appeal to the sympathy of a not inconsiderable section of the German people, and the pain which has been shown at his recent speech in the less political circles of Germany is the measure of their disappointment at realising how deep must be the British distrust of German aims when they are so misunderstood by one who stood to them in this special position. Let there be further remembered in justification of this feeling the entirely sincere belief held in many German circles favourable to Britain that their Government from the first had no intention or desire to remain at Agadir.

The writer has had the opportunity in Germany of hearing the views of leading members of different parties in the Reichstag, the editors of some of the greater papers, the heads of the Churches, representative bankers and business men, and social experts and writers.

From all these representatives of widely differing phases of



social life and thought came the same revealing and consistent note, a passionate feeling that their country's desires and ideals were vitally misunderstood by Britain, and that Britain's attitude was based upon that misunderstanding. When we realise here how sincerely this belief is held throughout the German nation, we shall have taken a considerable step in the right direction.

### THE POLICY OF BRITAIN

A brief reference must be made to the policy of recent British Governments with regard to Germany. Time slowly reveals that which diplomacy hides, and there is some justification for thinking that the policy of Britain has been based upon suspicion and fear. It has seen in the German shipbuilding programme a menace to our navy. It has perhaps looked upon the aspirations of a progressive and expanding nation as ideals which can only be realised at the expense of our own colonies or other vital interests. It seeks safety by keeping ahead in the race of armaments, and by drawing within the bond of friendly treaty other nations which share our feelings.

Is this policy an adequate one? Where does it lead us? An unchecked race in armaments must eventually reach a limit. Before that limit is reached the growing anger of each nation must issue in war. If it were not so supremely tragic there would be both pathos and comedy in the belief so strongly held that a war, even if successful, would benefit this country. We do not speak of the horror which even the thought of such a strife must inspire; of its cost in sorrow, of the drainage of wealth greater than that which may be counted in values of gold. But these things would all be vain. The destruction of the German fleet, could that be accomplished, would not defeat a nation in all the vigour of its youth. Rivalry and enmity would not be checked. Lasting peace and the reduction of armaments would be as distant in the hour of victory as in the hour of defeat.

The criticism, then, which must be made of our policy with regard to Germany is that it is inadequate. We would substitute for our present negative attitude a constructive policy based upon the frank recognition of the community of interests between the two nations, recognising the natural desire of Germany to have play for legitimate national aspirations. It should be our aim not only to seek harmonious co-operation with Germany, but also to use our influence with France in such a way as to make friendly relations between France and Germany a matter of practical statesmanship. The tradition of the Concert of Europe might at last become a living reality.

Is it merely the expression of an impossible dream to say that



1911

war to-day, so far as the great civilised Powers are concerned, should be employed if at all only in defence of a common civilisation? It may be that the day will dawn more speedily than we think, when the dissensions in the European Courts will be vital weaknesses in the presence of a common danger now hidden or but dimly perceived.

### TOWARDS A CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY

We pass, then, to the consideration of definite proposals for the attainment of lasting peace. Most of them are addressed primarily to members of the Houses of Parliament, for on their influence the immediate future depends.

(1) The solution of the existing situation is not to be found by a reduction of the Naval Estimates of this country, as an isolated act of policy, and to urge this at the moment is waste of effort. Reduction must be mutual, but can only follow an understanding, and before an understanding is possible a new atmosphere has to be created in both countries.

(2) The present system under which Parliament is kept without knowledge of foreign policy, and without the opportunity of exercising influence, should be modified. The writer does not forget that a large part of the details of negotiations with foreign countries must necessarily be secret in the future as in the past; but this is not to say that the representatives of the nation are to be allowed to have no voice even in the discussion of the broad principles of our foreign policy, or that we are to be brought to the verge of war without any influence having had play outside a small circle of diplomatists.

How to secure this discussion and influence without prejudice to national interests is a serious problem. We are, however, in this country under a more than usually secret system so far as relations with other countries are concerned. The writer would like further consideration to be given to the possibility of a Foreign Relations Committee. There is at least this immediate argument to be used in its favour, that the wider the circle which shapes foreign policy, the more representative of the nation is it likely to be. It is a curious testimony to the present powerlessness of Parliament in foreign affairs that even to-day we have no knowledge of the nature of the existing treaty with France, its duration, its military or other responsibilities. Ought this knowledge any longer to be withheld?

(3) The British Government, with entire sincerity, has from time to time expressed its willingness to come to an arrangement with Germany on the basis of a mutual limitation of shipbuilding. The fact that this suggestion has not been accepted by Germany is not a sufficient reason for going no further. The resources of



the Government are not exhausted by a proposal of that nature, and other means should be tried to reach the desired end.

Thus, for instance, there might be a special mission to Berlin. The choice of the man to represent us could not be too carefully made, but happily there is more than one fitted for this high duty. For ourselves we should be content if the choice fell upon Lord Haldane, who both by temperament and knowledge is singularly fitted for a duty demanding the highest powers of statesmanship. Such a mission would review the whole field of controversy, present or potential, between the two countries, and would seek not only the adjustment of present differences, but the formulating of a policy with reference to those subjects and countries which will clearly become matters of controversy in the future.

(4) There is an urgent need that each nation should have the knowledge of the other which alone can banish the cruder forms of prejudice in each country. At the Church Congress a large audience was deeply impressed by the view of Germany given by Sir Frank Lascelles, and greatly moved by his wise words on behalf of a friendship which he, with a unique experience, believed to be possible. Equally profound was the impression made by Lord Haldane's review of the history of modern Germany at the Oxford Summer Meeting. In both cases knowledge was substituted for ignorance, hope for fear. A prop was removed from the throne of the sensational Press. Similarly, let the two peoples obtain knowledge of each other. One step towards this would be for an exchange of visits between a representative number of members of the two Parliaments. We should like to begin by having members of the Reichstag here as the guests of Parliament, and letting them have the opportunity not only to state with frankness their own views, but also to hear the views of our own members. But apart from this it would be a great step gained to have established direct personal relationships between the members of the two Parliaments.

(5) It is difficult to make any definite proposal to mitigate the evil caused by a section of the Press in each country, and by the less-scrupulous foreign correspondents. But something more might be done by the greater papers not only to preserve the public from vicious fictions, but also in taking a more active part for the cause of friendship by giving a fuller picture of German life, German thought, and German character, realising that merely to print cabled extracts from inspired or subsidised papers abroad is not to reach any true appreciation or knowledge of the German nation. A word of protest may also be recorded here against a practice which has caused great mischief in Germany, the printing in certain weekly papers here of cheap and lurid stories of invasion either of or by this country.



1911

(6) Believing with the late Ambassador to Germany that friendly relations between the two nations are not only possible but reasonable, we would ultimately desire that an appeal be made to as representative a body of public opinion in each country as is possible. We would precede this appeal by the constructive measures roughly outlined above, but ultimately the policy approved by this nation should be made as clear to the people of Germany as to our own. The prelude to this would be its clear definition on the floor of the House of Commons. It would not be a small achievement to have formulated a policy, the result of patient mission and of negotiation, which we could submit openly, if need be, for the judgment of the nations concerned. We are strong enough to do this.

The situation, though dark and threatening, is not without hope. Political memories are not so short as to forget that even worse relations existed with France not long ago, and with Russia before France. Patience, moderation, sincerity, will point the way of peace, and cause the present black cloud to recede perhaps for ever from our view.

J. H. WHITEHOUSE.



## THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE FRANCO-GERMAN DISPUTE

Now that the acute stage of the Moroccan crisis is supposedly over, I submit that the time has come when Englishmen, whatever view they may hold on matters of internal politics and whatever intelligent sympathies they may feel for the French people, should closely examine sundry matters of vital national import and ask themselves in all soberness where this *entente* with France is leading us. The average citizen looked upon the conclusion of the *entente* as a friendly bond, thanks to which old and deep-rooted misunderstandings had been cleared away—the Newfoundland fisheries dispute, the pinpricks in Egypt, the Niger squabble, the Siamese imbroglio. As such it was cordially welcomed. As such its continuation is earnestly desired by Englishmen. But the last few years have exhibited the understanding in a somewhat curious light, and the time has come when, in the interest of its maintenance, straight speaking is absolutely necessary. In Madagascar British commercial interests have been handled with scant courtesy, and the British Friends' Mission established there for many years, and which under the leadership of the noble-minded Dr. Wilson rendered such conspicuous humanitarian service to the French army of occupation, with shabby injustice—suffered in silence, but nevertheless widely known and resented. In Turkey, in Abyssinia, in the Franco-Congo, British interests have been systematically opposed by France. One of the most paramount of British national interests, strangely neglected by British Governments in recent years, is the open door for trade. But France has converted vast areas in Equatorial Africa into as close a monopolistic preserve as did King Leopold in the Congo State, notwithstanding an international Act signed by her expressly directed at preventing such a state of affairs. France's attitude in the question of the Muscat sultanhip continues to involve us in the expenditure of large sums and to be a perennial source of danger to the security of the Indian frontier. France claims our diplomatic support everywhere, and it would be hard to say what we have received or are receiving in return, apart from a hypothetical assumption that under given circum-



1911

stances we might be expected to rely upon her assistance. In the matter of our long and inglorious diplomatic struggle against King Leopold, when British public opinion was unanimous in desiring stronger and more consistent action compatible with our treaty rights and obligations, and with the repeated declarations of our statesmen of both parties, French diplomacy was ceaselessly directed against us. In the New Hebrides we are becoming accomplices of a system of forced labour, tolerated by the French Government at the bidding of French planters backed by a French syndicate, and, despite the efforts of several far-seeing and humane French officials on the spot, so atrocious that if the proceedings of the newly installed Mixed Court under the Anglo-French condominium are made public (as they ought to be) the *entente* with France cannot but be gravely compromised in the eyes of public opinion. In French West Africa—other than the territories affected by the Customs arrangement of 1898—we are now threatened by an attempt to differentiate against British goods in a manner which, if carried, will practically ruin British trade in those regions. It appears to be a very one-sided bargain which permits of these things. Worse than all, the *entente* has synchronised with a steadily increased tension in Anglo-German relations. Finally, the Morocco affair reveals the *entente* as an instrument under which the whole national strength of Britain can apparently be placed at the disposal of French colonial and financial ambitions, if those ambitions are interfered with by another Power. And this is the most startling revelation of all, one which should surely induce us to consider whither the nation is being guided.

From the beginning of last July, when the *Panther* anchored off Agadir, it has been assumed with a staggering complacency that if France and Germany did not compose their differences Britain was prepared to join with France in a war against Germany in order to enforce the French case. But when has any such national mandate been given either to the past or the present holders of office in this country? If the *entente* has come to mean a shield under cover of which French ambitions can move in security towards the attainment of an end which in itself may not work out at all to the interests of Great Britain, then democratic government is a myth and the nation has lost all control over its foreign policy. In any case the House of Commons as at present constituted appears powerless to exercise any sort of check upon a Department which wraps its activities—and its miscalculations—in a veil of secrecy more impenetrable than at any time during the past hundred years. One side is so inoculated with the anti-German virus that every incident upon the international chess-board is exclusively regarded from a particular point of view. The



other is so concentrated upon home politics and social reform as to be oblivious of the truth that a great war in which England were engaged would postpone these schemes for a generation. Bishop Creighton wrote to Gladstone in 1887 that he had suggested to a publisher a series of books dealing briefly with the political history and constitution of the chief States of Europe. He thought it, he remarked, of great importance that 'people in general should know what they were talking about when they spoke of France and Russia.' He went on to say that the results of his effort convinced him 'that our ignorance of the last sixty years is colossal.'<sup>1</sup> It does not seem to have lessened since. Much of what has been written in the last three months and has found ready acceptance, without the slightest attempt to test its accuracy, about the history of Franco-German rivalry in Morocco during the past ten years, has certainly been 'colossal' in its ignorance of elementary historical facts.

The despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir was met here with a storm of indignation which, but for the gravity of the issues, would have been almost comic. Five years had passed since the Act of Algeçiras, guaranteeing the integrity of the Sultan's dominions, had been signed by all the Powers. In that interval two Powers, France and Spain, had adhered so strictly to its provisions that slice after slice of Moroccan territory had been occupied by them, first on one pretext, then on another. Moroccan towns had been bombarded, hundreds of Moors had been killed by their direct action, widespread misery had been occasioned by their indirect action in enmeshing the rulers of that country in a web of financial obligations from which they vainly endeavoured to extricate themselves by pillaging their unhappy subjects; even the capital of Morocco has been occupied. We managed to control our national indignation! But when Germany sent a man-o'-war to a Moroccan port, neither landing a marine nor occupying a yard of territory, a hundred clamant voices arose to denounce her to the British public as a sort of international highwayman. An entire issue of this Review could be packed with quotations of this character which filled the bulk of the Press and the magazines in July and August. The general line of argument was that the presence of the *Panther* at Agadir constituted a 'new phase' of the Moroccan question, and that this 'new phase' was a cynical and deliberate attempt on the part of Germany to imperil the peace of the world. But to anyone cognisant of the circumstances preceding that event, the 'new phase' originated with the attempts, begun when the ink on the Algeçiras Act was hardly dry, and successively pursued ever since by France, to bring about a situation neither authorised nor contemplated by that diplomatic

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Gladstone*. By the Right Hon. John Morley.



1911

instrument, finally culminating in the occupation of the Sultan's capital. Germany's action at Agadir was the logical outcome of General Moinier's presence at Fez, just as the German Emperor's visit to Tangier had been the logical outcome of the diplomacy which, in the Anglo-French Convention of 1904,<sup>2</sup> actually did perpetrate at Germany's expense what Mr. Lloyd George was so anxious to inform the world on the 21st of July Great Britain would never, never tolerate at *her* expense—viz. to be treated 'where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations.' The genesis of Germany's attitude on the Moroccan question for the last seven years is to be found in the Declaration signed in London on the 8th of April 1904, between Lord Lansdowne and M. Cambon, whereby France obtained a free hand in Morocco from Great Britain as a *quid pro quo* for leaving us in peace in Egypt. And for the following entirely adequate reasons :

Germany's concern in Morocco is referred to nowadays as though it were quite a recent phenomenon, and artificially stimulated in order to pick a quarrel with France. Nothing could be further from the truth. German interest in the Shereefian empire dates back to the scientific missions of Rohlfs and Lenz in the seventies. A conference at Madrid in 1880, at Germany's suggestion, extended to other Powers the 'most-favoured-nation' treatment, which until then had been a monopoly of France. In 1899 a Moroccan embassy visited Berlin, and the following year Germany and Morocco concluded a commercial treaty. In 1890 the German Minister at Tangier undertook a journey to Fez with great *éclat*, and laid the basis for a German influence which was to grow steadily with the years, and which, in the times to follow, was to convey the intimation to all whom it might concern that Germany would claim a voice in the eventual settlement of the Moroccan question. Ten years later the German feelers met the French tentacles.

France's ancient influence over Morocco had disappeared with much else amid the disasters of 1870. In the two concluding years of last century it began to revive, and in the opening years of the present one an ambitious and impetuous Minister sought to galvanise it into strenuous activity. In March 1901 M. Delcassé sent a vigorous remonstrance to the Sultan in respect to the attacks he alleged French convoys on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier were subjected to by tribes owing allegiance to the Sultan. The latter replied that he had often suggested a delimitation of the frontier and was prepared to play his part in carrying it out in conjunction with the French authorities in Algiers. In April a squabble, whose origin appears to have been purely personal, occurred on



Moroccan territory between a Moor and a Frenchman called Pouzet. M. Pouzet was killed. Thereupon the French Minister at Tangier threatened to send for two French battleships. In June 'compensation' for the affair was paid, and the Sultan despatched an embassy to Paris, where an arrangement was signed accentuating the close neighbourhood (*situation de voisinage immédiat*) of the two Powers and the need for 'consolidating the links of friendship between the two Governments,' on a basis of 'respect for the integrity of the Shereefian empire,' and M. Delcassé wrote to the French Minister at Tangier :

You should make the Sultan feel that it depends upon himself to possess in us friends the most sincere, the most anxious to uphold the integrity of his power, the most able to preserve him, if necessary, from certain dangers. Our loyalty, as well as our interests, are a guarantee to him that we shall not encroach upon it.

But while M. Delcassé was writing 'integrity' and 'loyalty,' in Paris they were talking 'Protectorate,' and Prince Radolin was closely questioning the Marquis de Noailles (France's Ambassador in Berlin) on the point. German watchfulness had, in fact, been aroused, and M. Delcassé clearly realised at that time that it must be reckoned with. He had large ideas, and he straightway sought to put them into effect. The years 1901 and 1902 witnessed a brisk exchange of communications between Paris, Berlin and Madrid, all based upon the division of Morocco into spheres of influence which should reconcile the interests of the three Powers. An agreement in that sense was on the point of being concluded in November 1902 when Spain, probably acting under British diplomatic pressure, withdrew at the last moment. What ensued during the next twelve months is still a closely kept secret. That the steering-gear of French diplomacy had in that interval completely altered the course of the French Ship of State became apparent with the publication of the Anglo-French Convention of the 8th of April 1904. Its text was not communicated to Germany by M. Delcassé for three weeks on the pretext of an ambassadorial indisposition. M. Delcassé had, in homely language, left Germany on the shelf, and the seeds of a growing estrangement between that Power and Britain, destined to bring forth a plentiful harvest, had been sown in fruitful ground.

It is surely childish for us to affect ignorance of the consequences which were bound to flow from these events. No Great Power could have sat down under a rebuff such as that administered to Germany by the Anglo-French Convention. French diplomacy, by its precedent negotiations with Germany, had recognised that Germany was, and must of necessity be, a factor in any settlement of the Moroccan question. The fact of these precedent negotiations precluded any settlement of the problem in the manner desired by the French colonial and military party, without German



1911

consent. Any attempt on the part of France to get what she wanted without squaring Germany could only be made at the certain risk of a rupture. Lord Rosebery was one of the few British statesmen of any prominence who kept an even keel at that time, and who was far-sighted enough to perceive the inevitable aftermath; just as the *Morning Post* was one of the very few English newspapers of repute, as it was justified in reminding us recently, which followed suit. That M. Delcassé committed a stupendous blunder for which he afterwards paid is quite true; that it was primarily France's business, and not ours, to advise Germany is also true; but that we were bound to be coupled in Germany's eyes with the French affront is equally obvious, and a long-sighted diplomacy would have prevented it.

What followed is, or ought to be, familiar, and it would seem to be useless at first sight to go over the ground, were it not that statements are still currently made, even by men who have held Cabinet rank in this country, which recall in painful fashion Bishop Creighton's words quoted above. Germany nursed her sore, bided her time, and, when the moment appeared opportune, struck. The German Emperor's visit to Tangier ultimately brought France to Algeçiras, and there, on the 7th of April 1906 the Powers submitted certain proposals to the Sultan of Morocco: 'inspired by the interest which attaches to the reign of order, peace and prosperity in Morocco.' These desirable ends, the preamble states, can only be attained by the introduction of reforms:

'based upon the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of his Majesty the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality.'

The Act was ratified by the Sultan on June 18th:

'based in the first instance on three principles, namely: maintenance of our sovereignty [in the text: of our sovereign rights], of the independence of our aforesaid Empire, and of economic liberty in the matter of public works.'<sup>3</sup>

The Algeçiras Act has been and continues to be commonly spoken of in England as though it contained a mandate from Europe to France for the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco. There is not a passage or a phrase in the text which implies any such thing. A privileged position is rightly granted to France and Spain (Art. 3) by allowing French and Spanish officers—under a Swiss inspector—to assist in reorganising the Sultan's police. Regulations concerning the illicit trade in firearms along the internal Eastern border are left to France and Morocco to draw up (Art. 30). The State bank is to be governed by French law relating to limited liability companies (Art. 44),

<sup>3</sup> Morocco. No. 1, 1906.



but it is to be under the joint inspection of British, French, German and Spanish delegates. That is all. That the limitations of the Act did not satisfy French aspirations goes without saying. and the history of the past four years has been a history of actions, positive and indirect, calculated to give France a position in regard to Morocco which she had long coveted, but which by no stretch of imagination can be read into the Act. First one portion and then another of Moroccan territory was occupied; Casablanca was bombarded under circumstances which provoked the indignation and the protests of British subjects on the spot. Successive Sultans became tightly swaddled in the strings of international—principally French—finance. Internal anarchy grew with the growing inability of the Moorish Government to meet its increasing liabilities for interest on the various loans more or less forced upon it. France demanded an enormous compensation for her outlay at Casablanca, a proceeding somewhat analogous to that imputed to Italian diplomacy to-day by several of the Italian newspapers, to the effect that if Turkey does not make haste to swallow the medicine labelled 'Tripoli-Italiana' Italy will not only decline to offer any compensation for her seizure of Tripoli, but will herself claim a substantial indemnity from Turkey for the expense she has been put to in the process of absorbing it! Spain, watching with jealous eyes the French *mainmise*, pounced upon Moroccan territory, and also demanded an indemnity for the expense from the wretched Sultan. The tribes began to rise against the pressure put upon them by the Sultan, at his wits' ends to raise money. The state of the country got worse and worse. The French grip became tighter than ever. French diplomacy entered into desultory conversations with Berlin which came to nothing, and, meantime, gathered up all the necessary links for an advance upon Fez. With the occupation of Fez the Act of Algeçiras was pitched into the waste-paper basket, for no one who preserves anything that approximates to level judgment will contend that the occupation of the capital of Morocco by a French army is compatible with the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco which it was the professed intention of the Act<sup>4</sup> to uphold. Germany's reply was the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir. Spain's the seizure of another piece of Moroccan territory. Whether France was or was not justified in her occupation of Ujda, of the Shawia district, in bombarding Casablanca, in marching upon Fez, and in the land-squeezing operations which followed that occupation, denounced by *The Times* correspondent at Tangier, is not worth arguing. The fact remains that France did these things, that she is in occupation of Fez, and that the series of events culminating in that occupation altered the entire outlook of the Moroccan problem as it was left at Algeçiras, causing it to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar  
<sup>4</sup> And of the Franco-German Agreement of February 9, 1909.



1911

assume the aspect it possessed intrinsically since 1904—viz. a French protectorate for which France was thenceforth doubly bound to pay a price both to Germany and to Spain. If the Act of Algeciras was violated, it was violated by the Powers which disregarded the integrity of the Sultan's dominions and reduced his independence to dependence, not by the Power which, after having been twice jockeyed out of what it considered to be its lawful position in the matter, did *not* occupy Moroccan territory, did *not* shoot down a single Moor, but merely sent one of its vessels to anchor in a Moroccan port as an intimation that it did not intend to be treated 'as of no account in the cabinet of nations.' And yet the British people have been asked during the past three months to believe the direct contrary, in a flood of articles and speeches of which the following discourse by Mr. Lyttelton is a recent and typical example :

They had seen that the German Foreign Office cared nothing whether their action involved a violation of a treaty, the sanctity of which they themselves had been insisting upon during the past three years. They had seen that it was nothing to the German Foreign Office that they used language and took action which had brought Europe—this was not an exaggeration—to the verge of a desolating war. [At Selkirk, October 21.]

When dangerous rubbish of that sort can pass muster with a people usually so common-sense as ours, it is time that some one protested against the studious distortions of history, and the appeals to ill-informed prejudice and passion which have poisoned the atmosphere and are precipitating into a deadly and criminal conflict two great nations who, as Sir Frank Lascelles has recently reminded us, have never in the whole course of history fought against one another and who have no real quarrel between them. So long as that state of tension exists, so long will every Englishman worthy of the name be prepared to take his share in insuring his country against the risks which it entails. But it cannot be in the national interest that this tension should continue if it can be removed ; and it cannot be to the national interest that a friendly understanding with one Great Power should be used as a lever to convert the people of this country into violent partisans when the interests, or supposed interests, of that Power conflict with the interests of another. In this Moroccan affair we have been goaded into being more French than the French, and its conclusion—if happily the worst anxieties are over—leaves our relations more embittered with Germany than ever ; although, at intervals, our governing statesmen (who during the whole course of this dispute have not uttered one word to counteract the effects of an avalanche of in-sinuous platitudes about our desire to see France and Germany come to an understanding. A triumph for diplomacy, in truth !



By the time this article appears the Franco-German negotiations over the French Congo will probably have been concluded, subject to ratification by the French Chamber, which is not, perhaps, as certain as most people imagine. Here again we have witnessed a renewed and partly successful attempt on the part of agencies for mischief and their ignorant dupes to intensify anti-German feeling. It is doubly important that the subject should be examined not in the light of prejudice but of facts, since the main lines—now known—the Agreement takes involve endless opportunities of future friction and, in the nature of things, can only be regarded as provisional. I submit that the common-sense course for public opinion to pursue as regards any readjustment, now or in the future, of the German and French spheres of influence in Western-Central Africa, is to ascertain the facts and to consider them in the light of the only real British national interest concerned with the great equatorial forest-belt of Africa under foreign rule. In the first place, and the truth may possibly have come out before this article is in print, the idea of giving Germany a *quid pro quo* in the French Congo emanated not from Berlin, as has been repeatedly asserted, but from Paris. In its origin it was a French proposal to Germany, not a German demand, and it was accompanied by further proposals touching the reversionary interest which France holds in the Congo State, attributed with equal inaccuracy to Germany. On the question of principle, then, we had clearly nothing to say. But it was argued by those who wish us to interfere in every phase of the Franco-German dispute that Germany was making excessive demands upon France. Assuming that this were so, what call had we to thrust ourselves between the disputants? France is not an infant in swaddling clothes. French diplomacy is the most subtle in the world, well able to take care of itself in any bout of hard bargaining. The French Congo, as it happens, is the one portion of the overseas dominions of France which can be reduced—for the substantial advantage, as contemporary thought judges these things, of a protectorate over Morocco—without the loss of any real national interest. The case would be very different if Algeria, Tunisia, or the federated Dependencies of French West Africa were in question. With Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the federated Dependencies of French West Africa, France will possess a North-West African Empire which in area, population, and wealth is exceeded only by India. Her dependencies in the Congo basin—even if they were not in their present parlous condition—are in every respect by comparison utterly insignificant. There is not a mile of railway in any part of the French Congo; much of it is, even now, virtually unknown; the roads are few; French authority, save here and there,



1911

little more than a name. This unhappy dependency has never been anything but a drain upon the home exchequer, not because it is not intrinsically valuable—parts of it are very rich in tropical produce—but because, following years of neglect and partial abandonment, it has suffered during the last eleven years from that hideous negation of government—the most cruel and economically exhausting method of exploitation known to modern times—commonly described as the Leopoldian, or *concessionnaire* system : a system whose basic principle it is that the raw produce of tropical Africa, at once the negotiable wealth, the purchasing medium, and only commercial asset of the native population economically considered, belongs, not to the native communities, although they alone can gather and harvest it, but to financial corporations created in Europe. Since 1899, when the system was introduced through King Leopold's influence, the French Congo, which was acquired for France by de Brazza without firing a shot, by methodical exploration and successive treaties of amity and commerce with the native chiefs, has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire. It has become, to use the bitter but only too truthful comment of a French paper, 'the home of colonial scandals.' This is not the place to discuss a story of the deepest but also of the most painful interest. But one factor in the situation we are now considering is intimately bound up with that story, and needs to be pointedly emphasised.

There is a powerful combination or 'consortium,' as it is termed, of these *concessionnaire* companies whose concessions are included in the area affected by the French proposals to Germany, which is bent upon obtaining, as the upshot of the Franco-German deal, indemnities out of all proportion to any claims it may have to formulate under its repeatedly violated charter from someone, either from Germany or from the French Government. This influence it is which is the most powerful element now engaged in preventing ratification by the Chamber, and many of the people who are noisily protesting have not the least idea that they are being used as the cat's-paw of financial interests which are neither interesting nor even respectable. We have it on the authority of a French parliamentary paper<sup>5</sup> that the director of one of these companies, at that moment pressing an unjustifiable claim upon the French Government, told the then French Colonial Minister (1909) to his face in his own Cabinet : 'You will not give us the compensation to which we are legitimately entitled. Very well. We shall obtain it with you or with-

<sup>5</sup> Chambre du Députés. No. 376. Rapport fait au nom du budget chargée d'examiner le projet de loi portant fixation du budget général de l'exercice 1911. Budgets locaux des Colonies, deuxième partie. [Afrique équatoriale—N'Goko Sangha.] Session de 1910.



out you. I have the entire Press at my back, and two hundred members of Parliament.' This incident, typical of many others of a similar character and hardly credible save to those who know something of the mass of corruption which has been generated in French political, colonial, and journalistic life by the era of overseas financial speculation ushered in fifteen years ago, should warn us in this country to accept with the utmost caution the statements communicated from Paris as to the genuineness of the popular outcry against the ratification of the Congo part of the Franco-German agreement, without which, of course, the whole negotiations fall to the ground. As a further illustration of the necessity for caution, one may recall the unfounded attacks upon Germany in the French and in many organs of the British Press last year (fed by false intelligence from the same quarters) relating to the Franco-German incidents which had arisen in the neighbourhood of the Cameroons-French Congo frontier, in the concession of the N'Goko Sangha *cessionnaire* company. Among the charges then publicly laid at the door of Germany were the 'invasion' of French territory, the 'violation' of a French frontier, the 'seizure' of a town, Missum-Missum, in the French sphere, the 'shooting' of French protected subjects by a German officer, *et ainsi de suite*. All these charges were, of course, telegraphed here from Paris, and led to the usual comments by that considerable body of publicists and others so unhappily anxious to fasten upon any stick with which to beat the German dog. The facts when established showed that once again British public opinion had been made the tool of intrigues originating among the least reputable section of the French colonial party. The mischief is that the truth of these incidents can only be ascertained long afterwards, and it is only by accident if it ever emerges from the ponderous pages of some official document. It has now been recorded in a French official publication<sup>6</sup> that the whole scare was worked up in order to put pressure upon the French Government to extend the territorial area of the N'Goko Sangha Company's concession, and to force that Government to yield to a claim for compensation for the alleged depredations of German traders upon its concession; that Missum-Missum was a town in the German sphere, and consequently that there had been neither violation nor invasion; that the trouble with the natives had been wholly occasioned through their abominable ill-usage by the Company's agents; that matters were adjusted by the 'generous intervention' of a German officer, whose conduct under great difficulties so impressed a French military commission charged with investigating the affair on the spot that in their report they urged he should receive the Legion of Honour!

<sup>6</sup> Chambre du Députés. No. 376.



1911

As to the positive British national interest in this part of tropical Africa, there is only one; and that is the open door—free markets; the right of the native to collect his produce under a just Government, and to engage in unfettered trade with the outer world. The national interest has not altered because our diplomats, in their incessant pursuit of political combinations and sentimentalities like Cape-to-Cairo railways, and so forth, have of late sadly neglected it. All that the national interest demands in the equatorial regions of Africa is that those regions shall be under the control of nations whose policy is not the selfish exploitation and destruction of the native for immediate gains, but the promotion of commerce and the increase of population; and who are prepared to treat British trade and British merchants not on any specially favoured footing, but fairly, with equity and justice. We know from Lord Fitzmaurice's Memoirs of Earl Granville that the predominant feeling to which the British Government of the day responded in yielding to popular clamour and recognising King Leopold's pretensions in Central Africa, was that it 'afforded the only hope of preventing a practical monopoly of the interior of Africa being obtained by France.'<sup>7</sup> Freedom for trade and the rights of the natives were the two objectives which the British plenipotentiaries at the Berlin Conference of 1884 aimed throughout the negotiations at securing. We know what the upshot was! We know that when in 1892 King Leopold by a stroke of the pen closed the entire Congo to trade, British diplomacy did not lift a finger to prevent him. We know that when pressed, later on and upon two occasions, by Germany to take combined action to force respect for treaty rights upon the sovereign of the Congo State, British diplomacy turned a deaf ear. We know that in the years that followed, although backed by overwhelming popular support (*for which it had asked in order to justify something more decisive than verbal protests, contemptuously disregarded*), British diplomacy was unable to vindicate either the moral obligations or the commercial rights of the nation. We know that British diplomacy allowed Belgium to annex the Congo under an arrangement which was avowedly designed to perpetuate for several years the same policy; that even now, three years after annexation, the embargo laid upon trade in the Congo State has not been wholly removed; that even in such parts of the Congo where it has been removed—the main part—the Belgian Government has expressly, and by royal decree, stated that the reform must not be regarded as an admission that the native communities have any right to dispose of the fruits of their soil or product of their labour, but as merely a 'concession,' and a revocable one to boot!

<sup>7</sup> *The Life of Lord Granville*, vol. ii. p. 357.



And what of French and German policy in the Cameroons and French Congo respectively? While Germany, the enemy, the international highwayman, the Power which seeks to destroy and hamper British trade, has welcomed our merchants, protected our trade, extended to our commercial representatives every courtesy and facility in the transaction of their business, encouraged their enterprise, and generally assisted them; what has been the attitude of France, our ally, at the disposal of whose colonial enterprises we place, it seems, our diplomacy and, if need be in the ultimate resort, our sea-power? From four-fifths of the vast French Congo international trade is utterly excluded. It has been covered with monopolies contrary to the Berlin Act—in flagrant violation of that Act, indeed; and British merchants, long established within it, have been treated with a contumely and an injustice which forty years ago no British Government would have tolerated for as many days. British interests, far from being jeopardised, will be served by any re-arrangement of frontiers which leaves Germany with a larger share of Equatorial Africa than she possesses at present, and there is not a British Chamber of Commerce in England that is not aware of it. The truth of the matter is that Germany's interest in these undeveloped portions of the world's surface is identical with our own. It is the interest of the open door, and among all the fatuities which characterise this estrangement between two great commercial nations there is none more self-evident than this. Ask any British commercial man whether he would prefer to carry on his business in Morocco under the German or under the French flag! No case can be cited where Germany has placed obstacles in the way of British trade in Africa. We desire to keep on good terms with the French, as we do with every nation. We share with the French great traditions of liberty. But do not let us be blind to the national interest when a clear case of where the national interest really lies comes up before us.

If the nation would only shake itself free for a moment from the obsession which has laid hold upon it, and take to thinking for itself instead of letting a diplomacy—out of touch alike with the nation's commercial life as with the deeper wells of national feeling—and a handful of able writers do its thinking for it, it could not fail to modify very considerably its present estimate of German aims and German policy. Averting its gaze from the jingoes on the banks of the Spree and the jingoes on the banks of the Thames, it would realise that the prime essentiality of German national growth is not colonies of German-speaking peoples overseas, but elbow-room for industrial expansion—industrial expansion necessitating free markets. It would realise that Germany is bound to fight for free markets even as England



1911

used to do, and that Germany will be right in so doing if they are denied her, even as England was right. It would realise that Germany is compelled to view with anger and anxiety every fresh acquisition of undeveloped territory by a Power which seeks to convert every part of the habitable globe where its flag flies into privileged preserves for its own commerce and finance. It would realise that the true explanation of Germany's shipbuilding programme is to be sought in her fear lest this free development of her industrial agencies all over the world, in open competition with other nations, is in itself regarded by Great Britain as a menace which must be conjured by violence at the psychological moment. And appreciating this sentiment, yet knowing that such of its citizens as may entertain these insane views are so few in number as to be utterly insignificant, the nation would deliberately, quietly set itself to remove misapprehension; make up its mind to show beyond possibility of doubt that it regards the increasing spread of German industries as a menace only in the sense of demonstrating the need for renewed activities of its own in a field of honourable economic rivalry. Strong in that resolve, the nation would enter resolutely, and compel its diplomatists to follow, the path which should rid the world of a tyranny of error which disturbs its slumbers and haunts its waking hours.

As for the *entente* with France, the surest way to destroy its power for good, and ultimately to raise from the ashes of generous hopes encompassing its birth a legacy of enduring bitterness between the very peoples it was designed to bring together, would be for those peoples to allow it to be converted by a faction in England and a faction in France into an instrument of aggression.

E. D. MOREL.



## *WHAT DO LIBERALS MEAN BY HOUSE OF LORDS' REFORM?*

THE Parliament Bill is now law. The proposal to limit the veto of the Upper Chamber, affirmed by the House of Commons in 1907, endorsed at two successive Elections in 1910, and carried through the Lower House with unbroken majorities this year, has passed the Lords and received the Royal Assent. The leaders of the Conservative party, realising that the country was against them, have bowed to a decision which they could not prevent. The more extreme opponents of the Bill have registered a protest, directed perhaps against their own leaders as much as against the other side, and interesting from the groups which it combined and the names associated with it. But they have found it difficult to fight for a House which has unanimously declared itself unfitted to continue in its present form; and, while they include some active and articulate voices, they have not yet shown that they have any serious hold upon the country, or any serious wish to test the country's feeling on the point. Indeed, the one significant feature of the last two General Elections, and of every bye-election during the current year, has been the determination of Conservative candidates to fight, apparently, on any issue—Tariff Reform, Home Rule, the Insurance Bill, or any other—rather than defend the claims put forward by the House of Lords. Very few Conservative candidates and few responsible Conservative leaders are at this moment prepared to go to the electors with a demand for the repeal of the Parliament Act. The utmost they hope is to return to power upon some other issue, and to use their victory—on the plea of devising a more efficient Second Chamber—to re-establish their control over Lords and Commons alike. And it is this possibility which renders it important for the Liberal party to make up its mind on the difficult question of House of Lords' reform.

Few critics, looking back on the struggle now concluded, will deny that, whatever Conservatives may think of their own leaders, the Liberals at any rate have been very finely led. After the Election of January 1910 there was an obvious moment of perplexity in the Liberal ranks. The policy of limiting the



# LIBERALS AND HOUSE OF LORDS REFORM

1911

veto of the Lords had been adopted after full consideration by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government, accepted by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and re-affirmed on the eve of the Election, in measured and authoritative language, by a leader who spoke with his Cabinet round him, and who never spoke obscurely yet. But immediately after the Election there was a movement, associated, it seemed, with voices which no Liberals could disregard, in favour of varying the issue, of throwing the whole problem into the melting-pot again, and of substituting for the policy of limiting the veto a wholly different policy of House of Lords' reform. This was a large and bold proposal, startling in its thoroughness and in the completeness of its breach with English custom, nothing less than the root-and-branch destruction of the House of Lords, and the creation in its place of an elective Chamber, whose form and functions were still to be defined. To many Liberals this new proposal, though interesting and attractive in itself, seemed to complicate and to confuse an issue which they regarded as already settled. To some it seemed that to drop the veto proposals, just after the party and the country had pronounced in their favour, would be a confession of instability of judgment which no Government could make without loss of credit; that to come forward with new and sweeping proposals for the abolition of the Lords and the creation of a brand-new Senate, involved innumerable difficulties and endless chances of obstruction and delay; that the two policies, though not irreconcilable, were in their nature totally distinct; and that, while the limitation of the veto was in its essence a plan to restrict the powers of the Lords and to secure the rights of the Commons, House of Lords' reform might easily become a method of securing the rights of the Lords and of restricting the powers of the Commons. The Conservative leaders of course saw their opportunity and took it. They became ardent advocates of House of Lords' reform—meaning by that something wholly different from the ideals of Liberal reformers. They discovered in that cry a hopeful prospect of hoisting the Liberals with their own petard, and of strengthening the Upper Chamber with an admixture of representative elements, which would enable it to hold the Radicals at bay and to encroach still further on the House of Commons. For a moment some followers of the Government were puzzled, and were tempted to listen to this dangerous appeal. And but for the staunchness of Radical opinion, and the clear wisdom of the Liberal leader, it is conceivable that the majority in Parliament might have lost the fruits of their victory and have found their plans embarrassed, if not wrecked.

The history of the months which followed is the history of



the statesmanship which settled these unsettled counsels, and which reunited Liberals on the policy of limiting the veto of the Peers, with the understanding that, when that was accomplished, they should consider further the problem of House of Lords' reform. The humour of the Conservative party has represented this result as due to the influence of Mr. Redmond. It was really due to the strong feeling among Liberals of all shades of opinion that House of Lords' reform could wait, but that they could not justly or reasonably wait to restore the predominance of the House of Commons, threatened by the recent action of the Peers as it had never been threatened since 1832. They believed that the action of the Lords since 1906 showed a new and startling intention to break through the constitutional practice of many years, and to establish a control over the legislation of the Commons such as no responsible Conservative leader had ventured to claim for two generations. They felt that their first task must be to dispose of these pretensions, to limit by statute, if need be, powers still capable of grave abuse, and to end for ever a system under which a Conservative minority, however decisively beaten in the country, could always, through its hold upon the Upper House, destroy Liberal legislation, defy Liberal Governments, and dissolve at pleasure a Liberal House of Commons. It is surely one of the puzzles of politics that any fair-minded Conservative should think it possible for Liberals with a large majority behind them to acquiesce in such a state of things.

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the Parliament Act. The charge of revolution brought against it has left the electors unconcerned. The cry that it introduces Single Chamber government has no terrors for a country long accustomed to see a Single Chamber appoint its executive, govern its Empire, rule its finances, and decide the most momentous issues of Imperial policy without restraint. The theory that a majority of the House of Commons, which can settle all these questions uncontrolled, cannot be trusted to deal with domestic legislation unless subjected to severe checks and restrictions, provokes a smile when maintained by a party which for sixteen or seventeen years out of the last five-and-twenty has treated the decisions of such a majority as conclusive without any checks or restrictions at all, and which, when in office, never hesitates to accept that system as a settled part of our constitutional practice. One has only to state this contention plainly to see how untenable it is. In effect it amounts to this. 'Checks and restrictions on the House of Commons are essential, provided they operate against one side alone. We never allow any restrictions on it



when we command a majority there. But when our opponents secure a majority, we claim to baffle and restrict it as we please.' To the great mass of onlookers the Parliament Act, I think, appears to be a fair and moderate attempt to put an end to arguments like that, and to give to the Liberal party, when the country has declared in its favour, something like the same chances as the Conservatives have long enjoyed of carrying their proposals into law; while the fact that Liberal measures will still be subjected to severe revision, from which Conservative measures will be free, does not seem to the man in the street to indicate a tyrannous or subversive temper. No one in these days, even among the Peers themselves, has a good word to say for the House of Lords. And the electors can hardly be expected to lament the restriction of powers which their possessors pronounce themselves ill-fitted to possess and have shown themselves unwilling to defend.

One criticism, however, has been brought against the Act which would be serious if it were well grounded. On the faith of a preamble, which is one of the curiosities of Cabinet government, it has been plausibly suggested by the Opposition that the Parliament Act is only a temporary measure, intended to operate until Home Rule and certain other proposals have been carried into law, and then to be replaced by a fresh Act creating a totally new Second Chamber, and imposing checks on the House of Commons from which, for the moment, its legislation will be free. The vagueness left on this point by the debates in Parliament was the one weak spot in the Government's armour. But it is impossible to read the speeches of Ministers either in Parliament or in the country without realising that there is no foundation for what, if true, would be a damaging charge. The Parliament Act is no temporary makeshift. It cannot be defended on that footing. It was not to secure a temporary makeshift that the Liberals fought and won two Elections in a single year. It has been passed to assure once for all the rights of the House of Commons, and to limit once for all the veto which any Second Chamber in this country may possess. It is not only Mr. Churchill who has laid it down emphatically that 'the absolute veto of the House of Lords shall now cease and determine for ever.' Sir Edward Grey declared, in December 1909, for a Second Chamber with proper powers of revision, but he was not willing to give it the power 'of forcing on a dissolution.' And the Prime Minister, on this question perhaps in a special degree the most representative voice in his party, has more than once made it abundantly clear that he regards the powers of revision, amendment, fuller deliberation, and delay,



assigned to the Upper House by the Parliament Act, as the functions 'which are really appropriate to a Second Chamber in a democratic State.' The absolute veto must go. The power of compelling dissolutions must go also.

'A properly constituted Second Chamber,' he said at Manchester last May, 'may and must in a democratic country be a useful institution, because it gives opportunities, not for overruling the representative body, not for competing with it, as though it possessed the same degree or anything like the same degree of authority, not as though it were in any sense a co-ordinate institution, but because it gives opportunities in the course of legislation for revision, for consultation, and, in cases of necessity, for delay. And when I say that we require, and shall require even when the Parliament Bill is passed into law, a Second Chamber and a reformed Second Chamber, I say we shall need it, first of all, to secure that those functions which I have just enumerated are properly performed, and next, we shall need it still more to secure, when you have got a Conservative majority in the House of Commons, something in the nature of fair play and an equal chance.'

Whatever House of Lords' reform may come to mean, or whatever Second Chamber the future may evolve, it is clear that Liberals can be no parties to undoing the work of the Parliament Act, to assigning to any new Chamber more than a subordinate and secondary place, or to lessening that predominance of the House of Commons which has long been founded in constitutional custom, and which has now finally been assured to it by law.

But if the subordination of the Second Chamber be a principle definitely settled, another question far less important but far more difficult remains. Is a new or a reconstructed Second Chamber needed? And, if so, what is its nature and its composition to be? The majority of democrats would probably prefer, now that the Parliament Bill is carried and something like fair-play for progressive legislation secured, to devote the limited time of Parliament to the many urgent problems before it, rather than to spend it in discussing constitutional problems more likely to divide than to unite opinion. But the Cabinet has undertaken to propose some changes in the constitution of the Upper House, and such changes are undoubtedly needed to make its revising powers more impartial and efficient than they are to-day. The choice of alternatives is simple. There are in substance only two—mending or ending, evolution or substitution, some modification of the existing House of Lords or the creation of a wholly new Chamber in its place. The Prime Minister, besides defining the purposes for which a Second Chamber is required, has laid it down that it must be small, that it must not be pre-



1911

# LIBERALS AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS

dominantly one-sided, that it must not claim anything like competing authority with the House of Commons, and that it must not rest on an hereditary basis. The last condition could, no doubt, be modified, if the existing House of Lords were taken as in any way the foundation of the new. But the preamble to the Parliament Act appears to contemplate the abolition of the existing House of Lords altogether, and the creation 'on a popular basis' of a brand-new Chamber in its place. That means, presumably, some kind of elective Senate. That is clearly one of the alternatives which the Liberal party has to consider; and its members may loyally ask themselves if that particular expedient is, under existing conditions, the best suited to satisfy English feeling and to complete the work of the Parliament Act.

Were there no such thing as English history, and no such body as the House of Commons, and were we all as free as the men of 1789 to give play to our fancy in building Constitutions, we could probably devise a series of admirable elective Chambers, and perhaps escape the experience of our neighbours in seeing them one and all quickly disappear. Some greatly respected members of the Conservative party have unconsciously borrowed from the Terrorists of 1793 the idea of replacing representative government by a new system under which every elector is to give a vote on every important law—a system which the Jacobins had no sooner adopted than they suspended it as impossible to work; and many Conservatives are advocating the creation of a strong elective Senate, which would mean the destruction of the House of Lords. But legislators in this country do not start with a clean slate. We have here a representative Chamber in existence which in centuries of slow development has acquired exceptional and extraordinary powers, with the happiest results for English freedom. Those powers it is far too late for any man who trusts democracy to take away. Parallels drawn from other countries are of little value to us, because, apart from the fact that most modern bi-cameral systems are largely imperfect adaptations of our own, no other country possesses a First Chamber approaching ours in authority or independence. Where you have got a British House of Commons you cannot set up anything resembling an American Senate at its side. Two co-ordinate assemblies will not work. No Liberal Government will propose them: the Prime Minister's declarations are clear upon that point. We have no room in this country for what is generally called a 'strong' Second Chamber, to control the First. We do not need a powerful, popular Senate—in Mr. Balfour's phrase, 'a second and rival House of Commons'—resting on the same foundations,



marked by the same characteristics, challenging of necessity the predominance of its rival, and always tempted to try conclusions with it. A strong Second Chamber in this sense inevitably means a weakened House of Commons; and to weaken the House of Commons, though the avowed aim of our opponents, can never be the aim of the Liberal party.

But if that be admitted, if it is clear that, for our purposes of revision and delay, we do not want a commanding Upper Chamber making a broad, popular appeal, is it not possibly a mistake to lay so much stress on its elective qualifications? Are not heroic measures out of place? We want in our Upper House experience, efficiency, a certain element of permanence and independence, possibly even a certain aloofness from the immediate heats of party feeling. We want a House with a different origin and different characteristics from the House of Commons, unless it is to be a rival to it. We want men willing to do subordinate but useful and valuable work, without an eye upon electioneering. Is it so certain that for this purpose an elective body is necessarily the best? I do not know if the Government have contemplated any special form of election for the new Senate proposed. The Unionist leaders in their model Reform Bill—surely the strangest measure ever recommended by a Conservative party—suggested a combination of elective and hereditary claims, including a process by which some members of the Lords were to be elected by members of the Commons. Others have suggested a system of election by County Councils—Peers elected by Town Councillors would certainly carry no dangerous prestige. Others again have suggested other forms of double election, the kind of constitutional expedient from which hitherto we have been fortunately free. But it is unlikely that a Liberal Government, if it ultimately decides on an elective Senate, would propose anything but a system of simple and direct election. For a small House that means very large constituencies, and very large constituencies mean very large expense. Few Liberals would welcome any increase in the power of money, which is already an evil in our electoral system. The substitution of a plutocracy for an aristocracy is not necessarily of advantage to the State. Would a Chamber chosen on that basis carry more weight, or have more moral force behind it, than the present House of Lords? It would lack most of the elements which give that House prestige to-day. It would be the first example in English history of a brand-new Legislative Chamber, without any roots in custom or tradition or in the affections of the English people; for Cromwell's experiment was at least an attempt to build upon the old foundations, to maintain forms which the nation understood. In proportion as this new



Chamber was really popular and representative, it might be perilous to the rights of the House of Commons; and in proportion as it failed to be either, its creation would be without excuse. It is open to doubt whether, when elected, it would be specially well suited for the functions which Liberals wish it to discharge. And in order to create it we should have to destroy wholesale, in a manner never before attempted in this country, a House which, shorn of its excessive powers, is no longer a menace to popular progress, and which, with its undoubted claims of dignity and service, and its remote but imperishable story, is still the most ancient and splendid of the historic assemblies of the world.

These are conservative considerations which even Liberals may entertain. Lord Morley's strongest criticism on the proposals of Lord Lansdowne was that 'they do what it was not necessary to do at all in my view—they destroy the House of Lords.' But admitting that we do undertake the task of creating a popular, elective Senate, to correct those faults of hastiness and impulsiveness in the House of Commons which popular election is supposed to give, what prospect is there of carrying such a proposal into law? Where is the driving-power to come from, now that the House of Commons has succeeded in establishing the rights for which it really cares? It would not be easy to carry such a measure through an indifferent House of Commons, and where in the present House of Commons is any enthusiasm for the proposal to be found? If the Peers resisted, how could such a measure survive two years of postponement and debate? It would be vain to expect any help for this scheme from the Conservative party, unless the Government were prepared to confer on the new Senate powers of controlling the House of Commons, to which neither Ministers nor their followers could assent. It would be vain to expect much support from the Labour party; for they view the whole scheme with frank suspicion. No speech more far-sighted and significant in some ways was made in the second-reading debate on the Parliament Bill, than the speech in which Mr. Ramsay Macdonald pleaded, on behalf of his colleagues, for a Second Chamber with 'a certain amount of æsthetic value,' for a 'picturesque House of Lords' with an 'historical foundation,' if it be the will of the nation to retain a Second Chamber at all. It would be rash for any Government to propose a bold, revolutionary measure, of wide scope and immense possibilities, if many of those on whose support it depended distrusted its object, questioned its suitability for the purposes in view, and were profoundly indifferent to its fate.

But if this alternative, the creation of a new, elective Senate, should prove on any grounds impracticable, the other alternative



remains—to evolve from the House of Lords as it exists at present the small revising body that we need. That task is less heroic, but it may be easier to achieve. It is an old tradition of English statesmanship to secure its triumphs with the minimum of change, and the House of Lords of course contains already most of the materials that our experiment requires. It is not certain that it would prove so easy to abolish it as the Peers themselves suppose. The truth is that neither the House of Lords nor the hereditary principle is unpopular in this country, though the abuse of either is. The excessive powers claimed by the Lords and their intolerable pretensions lately—I am putting the Liberal view—were intensely unpopular with the electors, and roused a depth and bitterness of feeling which many Conservatives hardly realised, and which, if it were ever attempted to revive them, would show itself with overwhelming force. But, once these pretensions have been disposed of, the Lords as an institution, and still more the Lords as individuals, are not unpopular at all. We are a historical people. Other things being equal, we would always rather adapt an old institution than create a new; and the hereditary principle, when not abused for unfair purposes, is one of the most prevalent and popular in English life. It dominates our law. It is the basis of the throne. It is one of the strongest influences in the House of Commons. In the constituencies, in the Services, in every calling and department of activity, it has enormous weight. It is bound up with English custom. It is strangely dear to English human nature. It has given us, by the chances of our history, the most interesting and unwieldy Upper House that we could have, an assembly wholly unfitted to control the electors or to govern the Commons, but full of materials which, if wisely used and sifted, might yet be of great value to the Parliamentary machine. For the purposes of our revising Chamber we want a small assembly of men of standing and prestige, accustomed to affairs in Parliament, in local work, or in the public service, able, high-minded, independent, not directly swayed by popular pressure, but so versed in the practice of administration as to be sensitive to what opinion is. To such an assembly it would be impossible in a democratic State to give the power of dissolving the Commons, or of destroying their legislation. But there is nothing to be said against giving it the largest powers of counsel and revision, power to ask for conferences which might be very useful, to bargain for amendments, to insist upon delays, to tender persistently to the representative assembly advice which from its independence it would be difficult to refuse. Where could one find a better nucleus for such a body than on the two front Benches of the House of Lords? The ‘backwoods-



men, it is true, would have to go, and happily they seem to have no doubt upon that point. The partisan character of the House would have to go too. But all that is best known to the public and most respected in it might remain, holding by a better tenure and doing better work. The object would be simply to 'evolve' a reformed House of Lords out of the existing Chamber, by using all that is most useful in it, by boldly eliminating all that is useless, and by adding what is wanting from outside.

It is not for irresponsible politicians to suggest detailed methods by which this might be done. But if a simple Bill could be passed by the present Administration, first, limiting the right of voting (not necessarily the right of attendance) to such Peers as were summoned by the Crown for life to act and vote as Lords of Parliament, and, secondly, empowering the Crown to add to them a certain number of Life-Peers, an Upper House with many admirable qualities would be assured. The Peers selected from the existing House would be its ablest members, nominated by the Crown but chosen by consultation between the party leaders, and of course making ample provision for the representation of the Conservative party. The Conservatives would be in a position to insist on this, and to secure the clearest guarantees from a Liberal Government. They might well claim, in consideration of their numbers, a large majority of the selected Peers. If they preferred to have them elected by the House, as Lord Lansdowne suggested, there would be no insuperable objection to that plan. But if both sides agreed on the representation to be given to each, a summons from the Crown would be more in accordance with English custom than any new-fangled scheme of election. All the more eminent Peers would receive such a summons, and most of those who would cease to be summoned have already acquiesced in the propriety of such a course. The Life-Peers added, while predominantly Liberal, should represent all shades of interest and opinion, and should help to balance and minimise the preponderance of party feeling. The numbers of each class should be fixed by statute, and could probably be settled without much dispute. Lord Lansdowne's scheme contemplated 100 Peers of the old order, 100 Peers appointed by the Crown, 120 Peers elected from outside, and a certain number of independent or *ex-officio* Peers—Princes of the blood, Bishops and Law Lords. If the 120 elected Peers were eliminated, no one would greatly mourn them, and the numbers left would form an adequate House. Indeed, now that the powers of the House are definitely limited, Liberals might well agree to a larger proportion of hereditary Peers and a smaller proportion of Life-Peers : 120 Peers of the old order and 80 Life-Peers might be a better division ; 150 Peers of the



old order and 50 Life-Peers would give a still larger representation to the Conservative party. The numbers ultimately chosen would be a fair subject for bargain and negotiation—in which the Conservative party could press their claims with effect—and would probably give us a House with a small Conservative majority, where party ties would not be too rigid, and where a good deal of influence would lie with the independent members. The old House would go on, with its forms unchanged, its prestige undiminished, its character enhanced; but its weaknesses and its encumbrances, and its dead weight of party prejudice would be cut away. A seat in the Lords would be due primarily to service or to merit and not to inheritance or rank or wealth. The power of creating hereditary Peerages would continue as at present, but they would not carry legislative rights. The power of creating Life-Peers would be limited to the number fixed by statute. No English Prime Minister would abuse it. And Life-Peers nominated by a popular leader, himself the nominee of the House of Commons, would probably prove to be as representative and as acceptable to democracy as any nominated by new schemes of election. Vacancies in each class would be filled by the Crown as they occurred, on the nomination of the Minister of the day. No doubt the temper of the House would be Conservative: but there ought to be no excessive partisanship, no overwhelming preponderance of illiberal opinion. And a Conservative majority in the revising Chamber would not be open to the same objection, now that its functions are settled and restrained.

It may indeed be argued that for such a measure there would be no more enthusiasm in the House of Commons or the country than there would be for an elective Senate. And that is perfectly true. But the fact is that there is no enthusiasm, no strong popular backing, to be expected in the Liberal ranks for any legislation on the subject. Democracy is not greatly interested in any schemes for Second Chambers, provided that it can ultimately get its measures through. The simplest proposal we can submit to it for rendering the revising body efficient and impartial would probably stand the best chance of success. A small measure, adapting the House of Lords for this purpose, would be open, I believe, to less objection than a large measure abolishing the Lords, as we know them, and creating a new, elective Chamber with powers and pretensions both dangerous and unknown. A short Bill is obviously easier to pass than a long one—a consideration doubly important when there is no great driving-force behind. It would fairly redeem the Government's pledges. It could be passed through Parliament by the present Administration with comparatively little expenditure of time. It is the most natural



method of completing the work of the Parliament Act. And even in days when the spirit of Conservatism has ceased to have any meaning for Conservatives, and has taken refuge with Radicals and Labour leaders, it may to many Englishmen be a recommendation that some such unambitious method of solving the problem would avoid all violent breaches with the past and use the ancient forms to steady the advance of freedom.

C. E. MALLETT.



*EAST AND WEST:**A STUDY OF DIFFERENCES*

THOSE who have spent an April—as one April at least should be spent—where the olive-clad hills of Corfu rise in silver-green foliage from a sea of silver-blue, have close at hand a striking illustration of the differences that divide the East from the West. Across the narrow straits that lie between them and the mainland towers the mountain chain of Albania, rising into snow-fields above the sparkling sea-line—a brilliant drop-scene, as it were, through which one passes from the manners of Europe to those of Asia. In an hour or two one may cross into Turkish territory and wonder at the causes which hold fast-bound in poverty and squalor places which in reason should be comfortable and progressive. The contrast is all the more striking since modern Greece stands by no means in the van of European progress. The Corfiotes can pass their time easily in idleness: they are exceedingly poor: they are very superstitious, and they take little thought for the drainage of their streets. Yet amongst them one is in Europe. There are roads, schools, and hospitals. Trade is fostered by an efficient harbour service. Western standards of comfort and display are accepted as desirable. The meanest householder endeavours to present himself, his children, and his house in decency to the world; and of evenings, emerging from poor little houses, and stepping delicately over the abominations of the street drains, you may see fashionably dressed young women set out for their stroll along the esplanade. Across the straits one is in a different atmosphere. Valona, possessing the finest harbour on the southern Adriatic, Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), with its distinguished memories of classical days, are but mean little Oriental bazaars, their shops untidy, open-fronted, tin-roofed shanties, their streets impossible for wheeled traffic, their wharves grass-grown, and well-nigh deserted. They are as Athens was before she was set free from Oriental fetters. Everywhere there is apparent the disregard of comfort and of neatness which characterises the East. What is the cause of this surprising indifference to the ideals of Europe? Clearly nothing that is peculiar to the coast-line of Albania. At Constantinople itself, at



1911

Damascus—and, save in so far as the Government intervenes, at Calcutta—the conditions of life are essentially similar.

The West is Christian, and one is tempted to conclude that it owes to Christianity its solicitude for material well-being. Cross from Albania into Christian Montenegro, and you will find a notable change. The country is surely one of the bleakest in which mankind has ever striven to find a livelihood—a wilderness of naked limestone mountains, pitted here and there by little oases of cultivation which have in great measure been won by actually excavating the rock. The people are exceedingly poor. Yet in all their poverty they appreciate European standards of comfort and neatness, and make such endeavours as they can to conform to them. If they are still behind their neighbours in Dalmatia it is from lack of means, not of will. Crossing the border between Islam and Christianity, we pass from an Eastern to a Western environment. Must not Christianity be the cause of the difference? In truth this cannot be. There is nothing in the teaching of the Gospels, or of the Church, that urges the importance of industry and enterprise in the accumulation of comforts. The sayings of Our Lord tend indeed entirely the other way, and the highest ideals of the Roman Church have for centuries been represented by the celibate monk, not the man of business. In no Oriental teaching is the worthlessness of this life's consolations insisted upon more strongly than in texts that are set before Christians from childhood upwards. And there is a more practical argument, drawn not from the nature of things, but from their actual course. Christian communities that are Oriental by birth have no higher standard of comfort than the non-Christian people around them: the Copts of Egypt, the Nestorians of India, have exhibited no specialities in material progress. The Montenegrins copy the fashions of Europe not because they are Christian, but because they feel that, as Christians, they belong to the family of Europe. Whatever it be that makes the West strive to be clean and comfortable while the East is contented in shiftless squalor, it is certainly not to be discovered in their religious environment.

The difference, it is clear, lies very deep, and must represent a fundamental difference in the conception of what makes life worth having. The East and the West both desire happiness. But they differ in their notions of the circumstances which conduce to it. We associate happiness with material well-being, and endeavour, successfully or unsuccessfully, to attain it by the accumulation of possessions, and the gratification of physical, intellectual, and artistic tastes. The Oriental looks for happiness in the mind rather than in the body, and believes that the highest satisfaction which man can hope to attain is derived from the



gratification of feelings of personal dignity. He holds, in fact, that life's greatest joy is to feel oneself respected and admired: in his opinion this surpasses the pleasures that are given either by wealth or by excitement. He is not, of course, peculiar in appreciating the esteem of others. The love of approbation, of admiration, is by no means limited to human nature in the East: it is common to all men, and is probably shared by them with the higher gregarious animals. Which of us will not admit the electrifying thrill of social success, or is not soothed by the balm that is shed by the confidence, the respect, or the love of others? Indeed, this feeling lies at the root of aspirations to which modern democratic society owes some of its most successful politicians. But, in the West, this craving for repute, though contributing to the mainspring of human action, is linked with other desires, and becomes of subsidiary importance. We desire comfort: we appreciate the refinements of luxury and the charm of excitement. To this complication of aim we owe the complicated nature of modern civilisation. In the East life is simpler because its ambitions are simpler. Man is satisfied with himself, if he can keep himself in dignity and in honour: possessing these, he rates but lightly the possessions and pleasures which the world can offer him.

Lord Mayo is said to have acutely observed that India was ruined by izzat, insáf, and ikbál—that is to say, by a craving for dignity, for justice, and for patronage. An Indian has more confidence in the assistance of a patron than in any efforts of his own, and thankfully accepts the position of clientship: in litigating for what appears to be justice he will spend his last rupee; but his most notable characteristic is his solicitude for his dignity. In India the word 'izzat' is in every mouth. Compared with his dignity, to an Indian nothing is of account: a personal slight which to us appears trifling is reckoned on all sides as a most serious injury: it will breed life-long enmity: it will break up the most zealous associations: it commonly lies in the background of criminal accusations. To an Oriental the dignity of man appears to be as precious as the chastity of woman. There are few things which rank beside it. Indian princes may listen unmoved to arguments in favour of improving their administration: but are seldom unconvinced by the offer of an increase in the number of guns with which they are entitled to be saluted. The preservation of dignity is almost the chief object of life. Manners must be courtly and reserved: gait must be slow and restrained: violent games have till quite recently been condemned as undignified, unless they are connected with martial exercises or hunting. Respect that is due to oneself must be carefully rendered when due to others. Travelling by night, on one



1911

occasion, I had two Indian gentlemen as my companions in the railway carriage. There were but three sleeping-berths, and when they entered my office-box was upon one of them. I took it off and set it on the floor. The gentleman for whom I made room energetically protested : there was ample room for himself and for the box. I insisted. But as soon as he believed I was asleep, he got up, replaced the box, and lay, crouching uncomfortably, in the space it left for him. This scrupulous regard for feelings, whether of oneself or of others, capable though it be of such eccentric exaggeration, has rendered Oriental manners a pattern for mankind.

In the East service must be left to servants. A nobleman carrying his own handbag is almost unthinkable. Englishmen who are resident in India cannot resist this infection, and, attended by retinues of servants, slip into domestic helplessness. In truth they cannot help themselves, for the servant has a dignity as tender as his master's, and it will not permit him to undertake more than one domestic office. Dignity may be won by generosity, by courage, by learning, or by holiness : and, in the East as in the West, its pursuit has led man on to a plane high above his sensual inclinations. It is given by status, whether hereditary or in office under the Government, and State employ, however ill-paid, possesses attractions with which prospects in commerce or industry can hardly compete. But these avenues to honour are not open to the multitude, and the universal desire for respect is satisfied by the organisation of society in response to the prevailing sentiment. Family life is of the patriarchal type : a man throughout his life is lord of his sons and responsible for keeping them. And in India the caste system provides the humblest member of society with a definite status, and attaches him to a circle in which he feels himself of some account. But, from the economic point of view, the most important result of this habit of mind is the enormous expenditure it occasions in the maintenance of dependents, who live in a man's house, receive food at his hands, and offer him in requital their morning salutations. Not merely does a householder accept without murmur the idle dependence of grown-up sons : he supports sons-in-law, widowed sisters and daughters with their families, and even distant cousins, with no sense of grievance. No sooner does a man rise in the world than a host of relations and connexions cling to his skirts, expecting not merely patronage but maintenance in return for nothing but their respectful clientship. All this, it may be said, illustrates the abounding charity of the East. True ; but we may be sure that this charity would not be so wide and indiscriminating were there in competition with it the Western desire for increased comfort, and larger possessions.



The distinctive feature of the Oriental habit of mind is that this desire possesses little of the strength which it has acquired in Europe. The richest men live under conditions which an English artizan would despise. They have not learnt the convenience of chairs and tables, of knives and forks, or of glass and crockery : their food is a monotonous repetition of the simplest dishes : they have practically no amusements. A man with surplus income hoards it if he does not spend it upon others. For centuries India has been absorbing treasure from Europe, burying what is not spent upon subsistence. She banks under ground, and we may almost regard the country as pitted with receptacles for gold and silver. The only clue we obtain to the extent of these unutilised resources is the surprisingly large amounts which are from time to time extracted by dacoities.

These remarks, it should be observed, require at the present day some qualification. Things are changing, and in the large towns at all events there is a growing appreciation of Western habits. But in the main it is still true that the East values dignity far higher than comfort. Until this feeling changes we cannot look for rapid industrial development. It is the consumer who supports the workman, not the capitalist who finances him.

It is not so very far back, one may say, that this description would apply pretty nearly to Europe. This is so ; but we have travelled very far since then. Dignity, in the Oriental sense, has lost its attractiveness : indeed, its assumption is held to verge upon the ridiculous. Men search for happiness in more practical directions, and desire the control of things rather than of other men's feelings. The ideals are comfort and amusement—that is to say, riches—and the most general desire is to add to one's possessions. In order to satisfy this desire—that is to say, to manufacture and sell desirable possessions—society has been reorganised upon an industrial basis, a revolution which has been assisted by the discoveries of science, and a growing appreciation of man's power over Nature. In the East labour is organised for service : in the West for production. The ultimate effect of both systems is the same—the distribution of subsistence to members of the community—and under both systems the lowest class of the community receives little beyond the bare necessities of life. But in the East, where material possessions are not in great request, labour receives its remuneration more or less directly. In return for services, real or sentimental, men with means give to men without means the necessities they require. In the West the desire for material possessions has developed a highly complicated organisation in which skill and intelligence are rewarded not merely by the receipt of subsistence, but, so to speak, by the usufruct of subsistence which is ultimately to reach



1911

The men with means—that is to say, the hands of others. The men with means—hand over to those from whom they purchase of commodities—hand over to those from whom they make their purchases the subsistence not only of these latter, but of multitudes who are connected with or subordinated to them; and, in the form of further purchases, the payment filters down from hand to hand. Each retains so much as is needed for his own support and passes on the balance—by making purchases or payments for services—until finally an irreducible balance reaches the lowest stratum of the community. In the West, as in the East, the organisation of society leaves vast numbers of people in a state of the narrowest poverty. But in the West a larger proportion of the people have the handling of subsistence which is ultimately destined for others, and are remunerated thereby for their skill or energy. An artisan, for instance, receiving 3*l.* a week, requires, let us say, only half this amount for the subsistence of himself and his family: he passes on the balance in purchases, but is, of course, the richer for his purchases. An Indian and an Englishman, each with 100*l.* to spare, spend it, the one in maintaining a retinue of ill-paid servants, the other in the purchase of furniture for his house. The Indian has nothing to show for his money: he has merely supported a number of people. The Englishman has gained a substantial return in the furniture. But he has accomplished much more. The price of the furniture, as it gradually filtered down from the upholsterer, through the manufacturer, and his artisans, to the labourers who produced or transported the raw materials, has assisted to provide, not merely subsistence for the labourers, but an adequate remuneration for those higher up the scale. They have, as already stated, passed on the subsistence which they did not require. But they have passed it on in exchange for articles that they purchased with it, and are so much the better off by the transaction. The stream of subsistence, which in the East may be likened to the flowing of a number of small runnels, in the West falls, as it were, through a series of sieves. But this complicated arrangement, with the rewards that it offers to industrial proficiency, ultimately rests upon a fashion or mode of human desire—the general wish to secure comfort and amusement, and the general willingness to spend resources in acquiring them. Were a desire to purchase non-existent, vain would be the efforts of capital to establish manufacture. In the East the desire is still undeveloped: comfort, possessions, and the refinements of luxury are there much less attractive—and this appears to be the fundamental reason for the striking difference between East and West.

Few general statements concerning humanity are universally true. As there are still in the West men who set their dignity before all things, so there is in the East a limited but growing



desire for possessions. There are, and always have been, some manufactures in the most backward of Oriental countries, and the great development of the cotton-mill industry in India during the past half-century proves that, in respect to dress at all events, the people are gaining some material ambitions. But as a general proposition it may still be correctly stated that the East and the West have different goals of happiness, and that the former sets small store upon that which to the latter makes life worth living.

To assert that in the West dignity has lost its attractiveness is, it may be objected, altogether out of accord with the most prominent fact in modern social development—the growing consciousness amongst the masses of a feeling of self-respect—a feeling which has wrought wonders in uplifting their standard of conduct, and which, prompting them to demand a voice in the government, lies at the root of latter-day democracy. But this sentiment has really little in common with the Oriental's solicitude for his dignity. It is in the main self-regarding, and depends comparatively little upon the attitude of others. Dignity, on the other hand, results from the impression one makes upon others; and a man may be dignified when no atom of self-respect may justly remain to him. There is little akin between a desire to feel oneself as good a man as anyone else in the country, and a desire to impress the admiration of one's fellows. The first of these desires may be experienced by the most independent of cynics.

The Oriental's care for his dignity is fruitful of the most admirable qualities. It breeds courage, fidelity, generosity, and good manners. On the other hand, it besets human nature with some special dangers. It discourages effective exertion. Dignity is not to be won by manual labour, and to work with one's hands is regarded as degrading. Accordingly, the whole of the educated intelligence of the nation directs itself to one branch only of employment—the literary branch—the functions of which do not add to the comfort and wealth of the country. The candidates for literary employ become far more numerous than the opportunities for employing them, and numbers of young men find that their education has been wasted, and that they are adrift with no hopes or means of livelihood. It may be said that a predilection for clerical, as opposed to manual, work is not peculiar to the East: it is very evident in England, where young men will thankfully accept wages that an artizan would refuse, in return for the right to wear a black coat. Even in so new a country as Australia respectability counts its victims by thousands in the society of the towns. Human nature is, of course, very much the same all the world over: the differences are not essential: they are merely exaggerations of traits that are common to all. But the dislike of



1911

manual labour is in the East infinitely deeper seated and more general than in Western countries. The intelligent artizan—the most typical product of Western civilisation—hardly exists. The pursuit of dignity, further, encourages idleness. If men are willing to maintain dependents whose clientship gratifies their dignity, persons willing to accept this position will not be lacking. To be dependent is to be unemployed; and the extent of unemployment in India is extraordinarily great, and constitutes a tremendous drain upon the resources of the country. Moreover, an excessive regard for dignity narrows the scope of human endeavour. It is undignified to be worsted in competition with others, and there is an inclination to shrink from competition as risky to one's esteem. This is very evident in connexion with elections to municipal or other offices. The best men can often not be persuaded to stand; and, where a board is constituted partly of nominated and partly of elected members, to hold by nomination is generally preferred as the more honourable status. A further evil is the wasteful expenditure which is encouraged by a sensitive regard for one's position. On ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, Orientals feel compelled to expend amounts that are enormous in proportion to their resources. An Indian coolie, earning 3d. or 4d. a day, will consider himself disgraced if he spends less than 3l. or 4l. in marrying his daughter: higher up the scale expenditure upon a marriage commonly dissipates a whole year's income—and even more. And this outlay, be it remembered, represents for the most part nothing more substantial than the feeding of a crowd of relatives and caste-fellows.

But most harmful of all are the jealous feelings to which those who are set upon personal dignity are especially liable. Since the beginning of history jealousy has been a rock for the shipwreck of Oriental politics. It is by no means confined to the East. It ruined classical Greece, and has brought much trouble to modern Greece also. But Eastern society is pervaded and corrupted by it: its influence is felt everywhere, and it is the constant experience of its strength and its results that makes so many of those who know India doubt whether Indians can effectively combine to govern themselves. It has before now completely broken up the Indian National Congress. The political history of Turkey and Persia, in their new conditions, has consisted of little more than the jealous animosities of rival statesmen, and the multitudes' jealous distrust of their chosen leaders. What success Turkey has achieved she owes not to her Constitution but to the commanding abilities of one of her generals, who for a period has wielded almost undisputed authority. For jealousy will veil itself before the exceptional: indeed, it does not arise when all are in submission to the authority of a despot. But the resulting



situation is in no way democratic. And it lacks the guarantee of continuity which it is one of democracy's credits to supply. So long as jealousy debilitates Oriental society, eating out the heart of co-operative effort, there can be little hope for democratic institutions. These, whether Cabinets or cricket teams, are nourished by the sacrifice of individual dignity. History, so far, supports the fanciful idea that jealousy increases in virulence with the heat of the climate.

Oriental views of life have their peculiar dangers. So also have the aspirations of the modern West. Each year's discoveries add to our resources : our winnings from Nature are so large that they entirely engross us, and we are more and more inclined to a material view of life. Our pleasures, our interests, have increased enormously, and we are convinced that life is a very excellent thing. There is nothing of the pessimism of the East. Amidst present attractions the future loses interest for us : the promises offered by religion are held in light esteem, and the obligations that it imposes are analysed out of existence. The most sceptical of critics will hardly deny that religion has been a most useful instrument of police : when its bonds are cast off society may scarcely be able to control such bitter animosities as recently convulsed the Champagne districts of France, and threatened England with paralysis of railway transport. The more desirable it is to live, the more fearful it is to die ; and it seems doubtful whether Europeans in future will face death upon the battle-field with the courage of their ancestors. They will have too much to lose, especially if they are town-bred. These tendencies, it will be said, all make for the blessings of peace. This is true, if death becomes equally fearful to all the nations of Europe. It is perhaps fanciful to think that Asia may give birth to an aggressive danger for Western civilisation. But Europe has interests in Asia which she wishes to maintain. She can maintain them only by courage and self-denial. These alone give strength to her fingers. And within the borders of Europe an army is growing up which is already a menace to the easternmost members of her family. The soldiers of Turkey measure life by the standards of Asia ; and Christian armies may learn before long the strength of an adversary to whom death is not appalling. It is fortunate for Italy that her descent upon Tripoli did not bring her to death-grips with such antagonists, and that her soldiers were protected from them by the sea.

How far, and how soon, is the East likely to change and accept the material ideas of Europe in place of its own ? This opens a discussion of wide proportions, and space but remains for a few reflections. The material tastes of Europe are the result of



1911

change : in former days comfort was appreciated as little as it is to-day in Asia. A social ideal of Aristotle's was a man so sensitive in his pride that he would give but not receive, so as to be beholden to nobody. An Oriental would to-day accept this ideal : but it is very far from the figure which now attracts the eyes of the West—the pushing, self-advertising man of business. If Europe has changed, Asia may change also. The Japanese have apparently commenced their metamorphosis. They measure their successes in terms of commerce and industry as well as of war. But it seems doubtful whether the mass of the people regard material comfort as outweighing sentiment. They showed no sign of this during the struggle with Russia. And there is very little affinity between the government which they approve and the democratic ideals of European nations. In India, Persia, and Turkey, the material advantages of European civilisation are becoming widely known and appreciated. But there is an uncomfortable feeling that an Oriental cannot copy Christian people in clothes or in habits without disclaiming his religion and dishonouring his past : and this contest between desire for the new and affection for the old has given a peculiar feature to Indian unrest—a really sincere appreciation of modern methods being accompanied by demonstrative attempts to revive archaic prejudices. In Constantinople, Teheran, and Calcutta, you will find numbers of men who in dress, habits, and thought, might belong to London or Paris. But they are for the most part free-thinkers : by cutting themselves adrift from the religion of their fathers, they have rid themselves of this embarrassing feeling of inconsistency. For a similar reason, in India, conversion to Christianity is commonly followed by a very distinct rise in the standard of comfort. An Indian who is a Christian no longer feels antagonism towards the West : he becomes identified with the West, and can consistently adopt its manners and customs. So also a native Indian official who is promoted to rank that is ordinarily reserved for Europeans will think himself justified—and is held justified by his associates—in openly adopting European habits of life, and will even give dinner parties at which his wife sits at the head of the table. He is identified with the West by his position, and Western habits appear no longer incongruous. But, so far, it appears that for the adoption of Western habits and standards there must be some effective reason for a breach with the past ; and that, failing such reason, a change of habits appears in the light of a disloyalty. No doubt, amongst Indians who cling to their faith, there is a growing expenditure upon the purchasing of things. But surplus funds are still generally hoarded : save in famine time the slenderest claims to maintenance are generously recognised : no weakening can be observed amongst the mass of



the people in the status that is given by the family and the caste. In the view of Orientals the East is honourably distinguished by specialities of religion, and with these specialities peculiarities of thought and habit are almost inextricably associated. Habits that are crystallised by religious prejudice yield very slowly to economic solvents. Environment can work wonders; and, as already stated, there are in the East a considerable number of men who have visited Europe, have imbibed Western ideas, and carry them into practice on their return. The influence of their example must not be under-rated. But it does not reach very far, and loses much of its force if they are known to have abandoned their hereditary religion. The Christianisation of India would effect a marvellous change in her economic position. So might also the growth of a widespread feeling of sceptical indifference. But in this case she would pay at a hazardous price for a more rapid advance in material progress.

BAMFFYLDE FULLER.



## *AN EMPEROR'S WATERWAY*

'SIR,' said the genial Doctor of H.M.S. 'Dreadnought,' breaking in upon my thoughts soon after sunrise, as we were threading our way up stream on the West River, 'I see that you are a genius!'

My reverie was disturbed, the chain of thought snapped; but the goodfellowship of shipboard brought into my eyes the smile interrogative, and he continued his morning greeting—'I have observed that you have an infinite capacity for doing nothing!' Now at that particular moment, that moment when the rose-tint of the risen sun robes the commonest things with romance, I was, and had been for some time, since the dawn had aroused the ship slumbering at her moorings and started her on her way, sitting in a deck-chair, pondering the many thoughts which the common sights of the river had set up in my mind. Very common sights indeed; only the unvarying incidents of the everyday life of the people who pass the whole of it on the Emperor's waterway; toiling down stream, toiling up stream, back and forth throughout the year, and so through life, for they were born on it, and the ripple of its waters will be in their ears at death. They had wakened to their work before us, and the day's toil had recommenced. And my thoughts were very common too, for they must have occurred to every traveller who has set foot in China beyond the limits of a Treaty Port, and assuredly will be found in any book or paper he may have written on his travels. I cannot claim for them therefore any originality, perhaps can hardly find valid excuse for setting them down; they come inevitably to those who touch the life of the common people of China, and on the river especially, where that life is at its best, for their character has been moulded by the conditions of their daily avocations, and has given to it a finer side than is discoverable among their fellows on the shore. There are two extremes to that character; the one with, to us, its depth of ignorance and the crass folly of its superstition, with all the concomitant evils in this world and hereafter, the other dignified by their labour and their unceasing unremitted toil. And then there is the unchanging perpetuity of it; for looking back, as it is now so it has ever been, since the villages sprang into existence on the river banks and the river folk came into their heritage of work without end; and so it will probably continue till the river has ceased to flow.



' Looking back ! ' A common enough expression, which comes readily to the pen, but wholly inapplicable to anything appertaining to China ; for vistas of history through which the world of to-day can look back into the past do not exist ; the utmost that the learned can disentangle are certain dynastic points, ' century-stones,' so to speak, around which a few facts are being gradually accumulated by their research. So purposeless has life in China seemed to those who lived it that an authentic record would serve no useful purpose, posterity could not possibly take any interest in it. Among those who are busy piecing its past together none so learned as that band of ' foreigners ' who serve China directly, and indirectly the rest of the world which has intercourse with her, by controlling her customs service and seeing to the application of the revenue, according to treaty, to interest on foreign loans.

What is known of the three principal cities of the West River, Samshui, Wuchow and Nanning, takes us back into the regions of remote antiquity ; though Samshui is almost quite modern, for it dates only from A.D. 1528. But Wuchow was a District Magistracy in A.D. 600 ; and there was within a mile of it a still more ancient Magistracy, established on the accession of the Emperor Kao Tsu, about B.C. 206. The landmarks in the history of Wuchow are, first, its conquest by Wu Ti, about B.C. 135, when it became an ' Administrative Division ' governed by an Administrator ; then a great gap of centuries. From A.D. 1465, the accession of the Ming Emperor, Ch'eng Hua, until the reign of Chia Ching of the same dynasty, A.D. 1522, it was the residence of the Viceroy of the Liang Kuang Provinces ; then a Governor was substituted for a Viceroy, and the seat of provincial government drifted gradually down the river till it finally settled in Canton. The West River districts were centres of activity during the Tai Ping rebellion, and in 1857 Wuchow submitted to a siege of a hundred days by the Boat Rebels, an offshoot of the great rebellion ; then it fell and was sacked. Rising from its ashes, forty years after it submitted to a new invasion, that of the foreign trader, when in 1897 the West River up to that point was opened to foreign trade by the Burmah Frontier Convention made in February of that year, and Wuchow attained to the dignity of a Treaty Port. The history of Nanning can be condensed into six lines. The city was a trade centre in A.D. 400, but it became of importance only in the reign of the Ming Emperor, Hung Wu (A.D. 1360), when it was raised to a Prefecture. It took its share of the devastation caused by the rebels, but succumbed to the new invasion only three years ago, when its walls fell to the trumpet-call of the foreign trader to buy his goods.



1911

But the river rolls on relentless, recking little of rebellions or treaties or of trade-seeking foreigners. It will pour through the city streets when it is in flood, cleansing the yamen and the shop with equal and unsparing wave; will sweep through the fields, peasant's hovel and rebel camp alike disappearing before it; will sometimes alter its course and find an easier channel regardless of all rights of property. Only to the children she has fostered on her bosom will she relent, telling them of the secrets of her rise and fall, so that they may be prepared for the summer torrent and undismayed by winter's treacherous shallows. She has trained many messengers to the task who learn her language quicker than dull man. The larks and the thrushes and the sparrows build their nests high up in the trees when the waters are gathering to swoop down upon the plains, for they have met the messenger from the mountain birds in the upper air, and have made housing plans accordingly. Then the wise boatman listens to the gossip of the bird-catcher, knows it to be a sign of the coming of many waters, and makes due provision for safe anchorage. The rats get the tidings too, and long before the flood comes abandon their swarming-grounds on the riverbanks, seeking greater safety in the habitations of men. Nor are the snakes forgotten, and they, too, learning the news in good time, leave the low grounds by the riverside for the hills and escape drowning. To a mere landsman the great annual floods of the West River seem appalling, for the average rise is fifty feet, and it is often more than sixty, when the river knows its banks no more, and the plains of paddy become great inland lakes.

The West River is not a pretentious stream, nor is its scenery comparable with that of the mighty Yangtse, with its gorges and long series of Treaty Ports. In the delta it meanders through green paddy-fields, bending hither and thither with many intersecting canals, up one of which my 'Dreadnought' is steaming, while down another we can see the masts of a Chinese gunboat going full speed, with news probably of pirates to be trapped in their lair; and everywhere in the distance, in other canals, tall sails of junks, or funnels of launches with heavily laden cargo-boats in tow. After the paddy-fields large areas of fruit farms whence Hong Kong draws its supplies of bananas and lychees, after which paddy-fields again; and every now and again a village perched upon the banks, the tower of its pawnshop overawing it, with its protecting pagoda if the village ancestors have been rich enough to build one, and the ferries carrying a most unlimited number of villagers to the opposite shore. On the river itself an endless procession of junks, of all sizes, shapes and conditions, with sails in all stages of tatters, patched with anything strong enough to hold a capful of breeze for a week or a day—old flour



bags often serve the last period of their existence thus—anything that will postpone the outlay on a new sail ; and the hulls, like the houses in the villages, long ago in the last stage of antiquity. A large number of these junks bring down fuel from the mountains, the process of denudation being carried on as vigorously now as it has been for centuries, much of it used for the baking of the coarse blue brick which is largely used in the south.

Then there are fodder boats, and chicken boats, with broad outlying 'runs,' whereon thousands of chickens take their last journey to the Hong Kong market, submitting to the pleasant fattening process on the way, which the chicken is sadly in want of, for at her best she is but a lean bird ; and silk junks, armed with most ancient weapons, hardly of precision, cannon of an antique shape, to protect their precious cargo from the pirates ; and small junks, large junks, junks by the half-dozen in tow of a launch, which, like everything else, has seen better days ; junks with tall narrow sails to catch the breeze where the river banks are high ; junks with low broad sails which do not leave the regions where the river runs through the plains—ever and anon an antique gaudily-painted houseboat, two-decked, broad-beamed, with high poop fashioned in the manner of the Spanish galleon, each deck overcrowded with passengers as everything in China that can carry anybody or anything, on road or water, is overcrowded ; and gigantic timber-rafts, so numerous that a small forest will drift past you in a day, which no one yet has taught the Chinaman to replant ; and on the boats or on the tow-path all the family at work doing something ; the last baby even seems to be adding something to the sum of work done, for however minute the capacity for labour, the multiplication of small items makes up a large total in the end ; and so, whether it be in the carrying of bricks up hill, the child that can only carry two is useful, or on the tow-rope, the boy who can add but a few ounces to the haul is not to be despised ; it will by so much the quicker bring the labour or the journey to an end.

I do not think that by way of description there is very much to add ; but this and the very slender stock of knowledge which the books supply engendered the thought which occupied my brain when the Doctor roused me from my reveries—the vastness of the country and its immemorial unchangeableness, the myriads of its people and their proud aloofness. The Empire with its dynasties, the country with its district administrations, its prefectures, its Courts and Magistrates, and all the paraphernalia of government, such as it is now, existed while yet the Christian dawn was heralded but had not come, while the human story on which the West has built its creed was beginning, and while the tragedy was played and ended. The tyrannous revolution of its



1911

wheels was a grinding force, such as it is now, when Roman legions invaded Britain, while Rome itself rose and fell; hardly changed through all the centuries of English history; went on, as active then as it is now, all unconscious of that newer Empire which England was building beyond the seas, all oblivious of the inevitable fact that sooner or later the tide of her conquests of war and peace would be lapping at her own gates. And yet the barrier of her aloofness still stands; yet, though the veil of the East has long ago been lifted, this imperial waterway was unknown, forbidden waters running through forbidden lands, till some twelve years ago the West was permitted to set foot and keel in it, so far as Wuchow, and so far as Nanning only three years ago. This unchanging perpetuity spreads like a pall over the country; the vampire of the eternal past has settled upon the present and draws the lifeblood from it. It is the dark background to the dream of the awakening.

The river villages and towns are fearsome and noisome, as all Chinese villages and towns are; but they have one feature peculiar to them, which when the river is low might almost be said to make them picturesque. They are built high up on the bank, to be out of the reach if possible of the rising waters, and every-house has an excrescence behind propped up on straggling poles, which may serve as sleeping-room or store-room, giving the river-front the appearance in the distance of the huddle of a thousand tents. These verandahs are unstable enough when the town is high and dry, but something more than insecure when the torrent is rushing through them, ignoring such primitive contrivances for keeping it out as walls and flooring. But huddle is an indispensable part of Chinese life, and the space underneath these crazy structures becomes the receptacle for garbage and filth, the home of chickens and the promenade for pigs. The bank itself is the playground for urchins racing up and down the slope in the hot glaring sunshine, wearing the national summer garment known as 'next-to-nothing.' On the river are sampans and junks innumerable, some of them with large fishing drop-nets, raised slowly every few minutes to bring to the pot perhaps one poor fish. Internally, these river towns do not differ from those inland—nothing ever does differ in China; stench unspeakable, the men doing what apparently they, or men exactly like them, have been doing for centuries; nothing; in the shops there is traffic in minute atoms of fat pork, or food even less delectable, with customers to whom the thousandth part of a dollar, a 'cash,' is a thing worth haggling about; in the streets the babel of the crowd who hustle and shout along their profitless way, puddles and pigs, reek and ordure, they are indeed one long pig-run; the joss-house in every stage of disrepair. When could such places have been built? Why they should hold together any longer is one of the mysteries



of China. And then the dull uniformity of everything, the last expression of uninterestingness, typical of the desperately dull lives the people lead, suggests that if the history of their building were known instead of having been quite forgotten, it would tell of the whole place 'run up' by some prehistoric jerry-builder, for no one part is less old than another; it must have been attacked by decay in all its parts at the same time, for no one part is less decayed than another; the signs of decay themselves seem to have arrived at their present state 'many tens of years ago,' as the Chinese say; simultaneously everything must have arrived at this last stage long ago, and like the logical one-horse shay, simultaneously everything must crumble away together. Meanwhile the people live passively through the squalor of their lives, daily adding to the stench and abomination of the place, which no rain or wind can purify; only the relentless river will purge it when the time for its rising comes. In this district there are no ruins to bear witness to splendid traditions of an ancient race; yet towns and villages, temples and houses appear to be as old as the nation itself, everything to be as worn out as the civilisation of which it is a part. To repair is not in the national vocabulary; energy and funds are lacking to renovate; existence is that of a worn-out tired people.

The King's highway has developed all sorts and conditions of types peculiar to it, from the tramp to the highwayman, some of whom are with us in the West still. The vast waterways of China have in their turn developed other characters, the pirate among them, and he is very much with us in the East to-day; often, when he has heard of treasure on its way to some merchant trading on the river, he turns up quite alarmingly near the civilisation which the West has created for itself in the East. I like to think, whether right or wrong, of the pirate, the highwayman of the river, as having no connexion with those who follow the honourable calling of watermen. No Marryat will ever be found to write of the hidden virtues, of the innate chivalry of the modern pirate, for he has neither. So much to his credit may perhaps be said, that he has abandoned the barbarous methods of his ancestors, who would nail the crew of the captured vessel to the deck while they carried off the cargo; but his methods are despicable. The spirit of the river has never entered into his soul: though he occasionally knows something of navigation and can take the place of the engineer or man at the helm he has killed, he is but a wastrel of the land, a longshoreman, who picks up a dishonest living by appearing when you least expect him, to demand, in the old formula, your money or your life. He and his fellows take their passage on a steamer as simple country passengers, and when



1911

the watch is drowsy they throw off their disguise, and with a pistol at the captain's head demand an alteration of the course or a stoppage at a certain place; the alternatives for the captain are unconditional surrender or the water. Such a case occurred to the west of Nanning a few days before I started. There was no resistance because there could be none. The cargo was landed by the pirates, certain essential parts of the gear sunk in the river, the vessel abandoned, and that was the whole of the story. The Magistrate started off to the scene to make his official investigation, but the sequel came before he got there. A sampan going down stream excited a river-guard's suspicions; he hailed her and went on board with his men. The usual questions were answered in the usual way: 'Why should simple honest boatmen be disturbed so rudely in their avocations?' Boxes were ordered to be opened; the sampan owner humbly acquiesced; most certainly the honourable guard should see what was in the boxes. He opened one, seized a pistol from it and shot the unfortunate guard through the body; the guard's comrades, however, fired too, and killed the sampan man on the spot. He was the chief of the pirate gang, and was much 'wanted' for other similar crimes. But justice is not always so swift, and retribution often tarries long at the heels of official inquiry.

But the waterway does not develop the tramp; its pools and rocks, its eddies and swirling water, have no use for him; to live among them means work all day long till the anchor drops at night. The waterwayman leads a strenuous life; his home is on the tideway, his house a junk at best, a hovel on a timber-raft at worst. But it is not mere labour; his existence, and that of his family who live with him, on a river full of rapids and subject to sudden variations in depth, depends on intelligent labour, which has been acquired by the skill of the ancestor, and the accumulated store of wisdom is handed on through the generations, from the father to the son who will follow him on the rowing-plank or at the tiller. The place which the waterways of China hold in its commercial activities is enormous, and they extend as a vast network practically over the whole of the Empire, the natural system being developed and extended by canals. Thus the West River system is connected by a canal with the Yangtse system, and junks can go by way of the Fu and Hsiang rivers from Wuchow to Hankow, a distance of some 650 miles. The new system of railways must inevitably divert some of the trade, but the bulk will remain, and the long timber-rafts, the barges of firewood and fodder, the rice and the silk junks, will still be on the river long after the Paris Express starts from the Kowloon side of Hong Kong Harbour. And the lore of the river-folk will still be treasured in the family; the depth of water in the rapids, where a



bit of backwater will make the towing easier, how to get a raft round a rocky promontory, where a bank is silting up, where another is being washed out by the stream, will still be valued learning; and the patrol of the gunboats will still be an imperious necessity.

Nothing, I think, impresses a landsman so much as the skill with which the river folk tackle a rapid. Of course, it is a thing which they do all the world over; where it is essential to existence to get a laden boat up or down a rapid, if it is to be done it will be done, whether it be in the East or West; every little twist and turn will be studied, the meaning of every ripple on the hidden rock will be known. But I think what impresses one most on these river excursions in China is the perfect confidence with which the European trusts himself to these common folk, and the good faith with which the Eastern accepts the trust, for his ancestral knowledge, which is his honour, is at stake. The rapids on the West River are rushing tortuous things, by no means the worst of their kind; but an hour's watching the little motor boat threading her way between the rocks, through almost impossible channels hardly worthy of the name, struggling up one side of the stream, then panting across to the other, compels from the passenger when it is over, the exclamation, 'Number One!' which the captain pilot understands and modestly acknowledges. At the last turn in *Tai T'an*—the 'Great Rapid'—the rush of water is particularly heavy, and it as much as the ship can do to get through. The six men stand at the great sweep in the bow and steady her from getting off her course, which would mean the rocks. The first attempt failed, and we drifted back in the foam and swirl; but the second succeeded; and then a strange thing happened. The men stood, dripping with sweat, as a temple came into view on the bank—'joss-house' as we are pleased to call it—motionless for a minute, offering a sailor's thanks to the cause which had brought us safely through.

The 'Good Joss!' That was the cause of our safe journey. 'Joss' is a subject we know very little about, and consequently scoff at in our superior manner as emblematic of heathen superstition. The Chinaman has accepted our pidgin corruption of the Portuguese *deos*, which came into the country with the missionaries some three centuries ago; he has almost come to acquiesce in our little jokes at his expense in regard to it, that the 'Devil's own luck' is the guardian spirit of the world. That it does mean in many uses that inconsequence of effect from cause which goes by the name of luck, that chance which is independent of mathematical doctrine, is of course undeniable; but it has often a deeper significance, and in linking it on to superstition as its only origin we are as far away from the Chinese idea as any of our Western



1911

equivalents for Eastern thought. The Chinese word for deity in its lowest and most personal use is 'shan'; but there is a higher form, 'Sheung Tai'—the greatest of Gods, the 'Emperor Above'—which is merged in 'Heaven,' whose son the Emperor is and alone now offers worship at the Altar of Heaven at Pekin; and this is not very far removed from the idea of a Supreme Being. The idea has not the mystic beauty, nor the terrible majesty of the Hebrew 'Jehovah'; such attributes are foreign to the Chinese mind; yet at bottom it cannot differ much from the conception of the pre-Christian God. The peasant's mind has not grasped this higher thought; but, conscious of an all-ruling Power, he invokes the protection of the 'shan' at the commencement of his journey, and offers thanks for its successful termination. The heathen's 'idol' is always getting in the way of a clear appreciation of the meaning and true inwardness of his acts of worship, if I dare use the word in regard to his bowing down before 'stocks and stones.' Is it always quite clear that this common form of words accurately represents his action? Is it quite certain that the graven image is always the thing appealed to and not the symbol merely which brings the 'shan' to the peasant's mind, enabling him to concentrate his thought? In many cases, as probably in that of certain actors I saw at the Dragon Temple, I dare say it is true that religious thought has sunk so low that the stocks and stones have come to be the personification of the deity; yet in all seriousness it is worth asking the question, whether that little act of reverence of the sailors on my boat on the West River much differed fundamentally from the bowed head, and hands crossed on breast, of the peasant in the fields of France when he hears the Angelus; whether the penalty for knowing no better yet doing so much will be the 'outer darkness' which the Protestant Church taught, and till not so many years ago insisted on belief in as an article of faith.

Sir Edwin Arnold used to say that the best work a missionary could do was to try and make good Buddhists or good Confucianists of the common people, and that this would be counted to them for righteousness. Perhaps there is good material for this kind of work among the river population of China. Yet of course there is much rank superstition, resulting from an inner consciousness of some terrible unknown and unknowable power governing the world working for men's undoing, and therefore to be propitiated; and *fung shui*, the cult of geomancy, proclaims it, for it is believed in, or at least acted on throughout the length and breadth of the country. The priest of the cult, the geomancer, is he who reads the signs of earth and air, of wind and water, and he will for suitable reward select the best place for an



ancestor's grave on the hillside; or he will deal with the larger matter of the site for a pagoda, with which every place of any importance must be provided to ward off the evil and induce the good spirits of earth and air to be its guardians. It seems to us a curious craft, and very typical of the superstitions of the Chinese; yet, like so many things in the East, it has its counterpart in the West. Do we not select a pleasant site for our cemeteries? Do we not choose a spot for a grave where the sun will shine upon it, the rain run freely off, the willow weep and the flowers grow luxuriantly? Or passing some damp dank corner in the shade and overhung with trees, have we never heard one say with a shudder, 'I should not like to be buried there'? There are practical necessities to be considered in the matter of burying our dead; but though we call them hygiene, we do not willingly discard the romantic vesture which nature wrapped round us in our childhood. Sunshine and flowers are the good spirits, damp, decay, the 'worm that dieth not,' the evil ones of our cemeteries; but once we admit that there is some power in incorporeal things affecting us for good or for evil, we can hardly be surprised that those less learned than ourselves should endow them with unsubstantial bodies. We call the effluence of the flowers an influence for good, they call it a good spirit. Is there much difference between us after all? There is moreover one thing too apt to be forgotten. We are at the mercy of translation for all our notions about other people's ideas; but translation is a poor literal thing at its best, and much misconception must be laid to its charge. It gives us a convenient equivalent only; yet we assume that we know what the alien is thinking about when he uses a word, pregnant with meaning probably to him, meaningless to us; and if he is a 'heathen,' we judge him accordingly. I wonder, to take an example, with which all are now familiar, from the daily life of the Japanese, when we render '*O cha*' by '*honourable tea*,' whether we are not turning the Eastern honorific into a Western grotesque.

And so to come back to *fung shui* in its application to the selection of a site for a grave, take these elements common probably to all humanity, throw in a grain of superstition and an ounce of greed for money, and the chasm between the East and West will be found to be not so deep as we are wont to assume. As for the pagodas, have we not in well-known places in England someone's '*Folly*'?—a tall, useless tower built with no known object in the world, except to emphasise, or perhaps to mar, the landscape. The ideas are common to the human race; they only get treated differently in different parts of the world. We should call the pagodas '*watch-towers*,' which they are not; that indeed is the one thing known about them, for the greater number are



1911

hollow from ground to roof; the Japanese would call them offerings to the high divinities, places of peculiar worship; propitious but otherwise purposeless towers would be the Chinese definition of them. When were they built? Who can say? Why were they built? That is another matter. But obviously when you wish to utilise mother earth, whether for building a city or burying a citizen, due consideration of the effect of wind and water is the first essential. Reverence for the ancestor might be supposed to have something to do with the selection of his grave; but in this matter the ideas of the Chinese are hard to understand. The traditional reverence will at a certain time of the year impel all your domestic servants in a body to demand a full week's holiday, together with an advance of wages, for the purposes of ancestral worship at the tombs; yet the site of a grave is capable of valuation, and may be purchased for consideration by an indiscriminating foreigner for such mundane purpose as the making of a garden; and in the country I have walked over ditches on planks which came from some forgotten ancestor's coffin. But when you build a city, something must be done to ensure its permanence; so the pagoda is erected to influence the deities who have those destructive elements, wind and water, in charge; they stand sentinel along the waterways, perched solitary on the loneliest summits of lonely mountains, and the fact that the cities still exist bears witness to the wisdom of the precautionary propitiation.

At Wing Shun upon the river a pagoda was built whose history, by way of exception, is well known, for it was built within the memory of living man. The fact was that there was a rock on the river bank which, instead of being submerged as the river rose, would rise with it; for the tortoise underneath insisted on lifting it so as to keep its head above water. A most inconvenient obstacle to free passage of boats, and obviously of bad omen to the city with the broken wall close by. So the pagoda was erected by subscription; it is not a very pretentious one, unornamented, just a straight up-and-down tower, suited to the poverty of the people living by it; but it has been a most efficacious investment, for the rock has given up its bad habit of rising, or the tortoise has gone elsewhere. 'And do you really believe it?' asked my friend the missionary of the sailor who told the story; 'Why of course; had not the old men seen the rock rise? So it must be so.'

The mundane or 'good luck' side of joss so pervades Chinese life, the hunt for luck so occupies the energies of the people, that I am tempted, though with slenderest materials, to look a little below the surface of some of its manifestations; we shall find a special reason for some of them which we are not incapable of



appreciating, often a close relation to our own superstitions. One instance of this occurs to me at once. Just as a sailor holds Friday an unlucky day for weighing anchor, so for the Chinese there are unlucky days for starting on a journey. The resemblance between the outward form of the two superstitions might be nothing more than curious were there not some deeper cause lying at the bottom of both—the happening in the past of something fateful on the day in question, some disaster to some person of sufficient eminence to make it a black-letter day in the almanac. With us the superstition is linked on to the central fact of our religion; with the Chinese it has no such significance, but it has become more particularised, and has spread with infinite ramifications through every detail of life, and it is the repetition of the fateful act on the same day that is unlucky—the setting out on a journey, because that journey in the past which is recorded ended disastrously; the building of a house, because the house which its owner started to build on that day turned out to be haunted. But the whole point of the story is that it must be the ‘same day’; and this does not recur as in our well-ordered system every year, but according to Chinese reckoning only once in the cycle of sixty years. There is therefore the abundant space of 22,000 days for the accumulation of lucky and of disastrous facts. The results are recorded in the *T’ung Shêng Almanac*, a Chinese *Zadkiel*, issued under the protection of the Imperial authorities, from which I have been supplied with the following typical extracts:

27th day, 11th moon (*i.e.* 28 12 10):

To avoid—shaving the head, digging a well, and arranging a funeral.

Lucky for—offering sacrifices and repairing roads.

28th day, 11th moon (*i.e.* 29 12 10):

To avoid—purchasing fields, weeping, and treating diseases.

Lucky for—offering sacrifices, praying for blessings, meeting friends, presenting memorials, taking up official posts, raising beams of new buildings into position, constructing kitchens, and marriages.

A curious custom has arisen out of this allocation of lucky and unlucky events to every day. When anything of importance has to be done, the presentation of an address to a distinguished visitor, for example, it is not dated, but is said to be written ‘on a lucky day,’ ‘of a lucky month’ being often added. Now at first sight there is a certain amount of common sense about this; for, in the case of a Chinese address, embroidered as it is on silk, it must be prepared some time beforehand; and if by chance the vessel were late in arriving, the date would be all wrong. Had such a custom prevailed among us, the new Law Courts of Hong Kong would not bear into the future the erroneous date ‘MDCCCCX’ cut in the granite of its pediment, for typhoons



1911

and the unbusinesslike ways of contractors have caused its completion to be postponed. But the Chinese do not attribute the origin of the custom to anything so practical; it is just a way of 'dodging the almanac'; for there are, as I have said, an infinity of unlucky days, and although no one in these latter times would think of confessing that he had consulted the book, yet it might so happen that on the very day on which the address was dated this warning might be found: 'To avoid—presenting addresses.' It is very superstitious, of course; it is an unreasoning belief, 'based on ignorance and fear'; but still if, in face of the warning, the address were presented on the unlucky day, dire disaster *might* ensue to the distinguished guest, and it is as well that the coincidence should be avoided; so by the omission of the actual day, and the bold assertion that the day of presentation was a 'lucky day,' the imps who might otherwise commit their little devilries are put off the scent.

In much the same line of thought is the custom to refuse to admit that your house is empty; you assert that it is a 'lucky' house; for this reason: The Chinese word for 'empty' has the same sound as the word for 'unlucky,' and if you called it 'unlucky' people would think it was haunted and would of course decline to become your tenants. There can be no harm therefore in attributing the virtue of good luck to it, for people can see of themselves that it is empty.<sup>1</sup> Really that strange superstition, current even among educated Britons of to-day, that you must 'touch wood' if inadvertently you allude to long-continued good fortune—immunity from gout, for example, lest the bad luck of the aching toe supervene—is not very far removed from these Eastern superstitions. If it were Chinese it might perhaps be explained by saying that sleeping imps had better lie, and if you disturb them it is of course your own fault.

But the folk-lore of the East is not entirely based on superstition, and 'good joss' often stands simply for things which are suitable and of pleasant appearance; 'bad joss' just for ugly things.

The standard does not necessarily conform to ours, though it often coincides with it; it often indeed seems to be no more than the declaration of what the standard is. Thus, pimples (*query*, freckles), large ears, a big mouth, a big head, a protruding chin, and rosy palms are esteemed 'lucky,' the latter indicating pro-

<sup>1</sup> A very similar juggling with words occurs (at least according to the tradition of Canton) with the name of the almanac referred to in the text. Its original name was *T'ung Shu*, a 'Book about Everything'—it seems, indeed, to have been the forerunner of Mrs. Beeton's *Enquire Within about Everything*; but as the character 'Shu' (Book) has the same sound in Cantonese as the character 'Shu' (to lose), obviously an exceedingly unlucky name to give to a book, it was changed to *T'ung Shêng*, which means 'Everything to Win.'



spective wealth; ringworm, albinism, to be born with teeth, grating the teeth in sleep, unlucky. To have ears lying flat to the head is lucky, for the head looks more compact; to have flappy elephantine ears is unlucky, for the opposite reason. Sometimes the reason for the good or bad 'joss' lies hidden in some larger belief. Closed lips not showing the teeth are lucky, short ones leaving the teeth exposed unlucky, because 'they allow the good luck to escape,' that allowance of good luck which is given to every person to start life with; for all persons are born good, and only become bad by reason of their surroundings. Surely a pleasanter conception of life than the teaching of 'original sin'!

This long parenthesis concluded, I come back to what might aptly be called the incarnation of all the superstitions, the pagoda. And first, I must note that quite apart from superstitious uses it undoubtedly serves another purpose altogether, that of emphasising some special feature in the landscape, for the site chosen for a tower which is to stand guardian over the town is naturally some prominent feature in the surrounding country. But I think there is something more in the selection of the site which one is apt to overlook at first, but which very soon makes its appeal. You cannot pass two days in Wuchow, for example, whose pagoda is on the range of hills opposite the city, without having your attention continually drawn to it, and this not merely because it stands up prominently against the sky, but because you gradually become conscious that it would not so impress itself on the brain if it were on any other part of the range. And presently you realise that if you yourself had been called upon to choose the site you would have agreed with the geomancer, that that is precisely the spot where it ought to be; it so fits into the landscape that it becomes an appropriate emphasis to its beauty, and altogether satisfies your sense of artistic propriety. This leads me to think that one of the bases on which the superstition of *fung shui* rests is purely artistic. We are apt to forget, so unspeakably ugly is almost everything which surrounds the life of the people, that in China we are in the original home of Eastern art: another of the minor mysteries of China. I do not think I am stretching my imagination too far when I say that I discern in the setting of the pagoda by the Chinese on the hills something of the deliberate thought which lies at the bottom of grace and all true art. And, as is the way of things of beauty, it begins to attract you, till presently you come to look for the pagoda in your morning walk; you 'look towards it' as naturally as you look towards the East before sunrise. Eliminate superstition and leave art in control, it seems to me that possibly this is at the bottom of the so-called worship of sacred mountains.



1911

I too have 'worshipped' in this sense; for my window in Tokyo opened towards Fuji, and for three years every morning that its perfect shape was visible, robed in sunshine, snow-capped, or crowned with clouds, I looked towards the mountain with that reverential feeling which beautiful nature inspires. And now to art add religion, of which it is the handmaid, the primitive religion of the older days, and eye-worship changes to something of deeper significance. The history of that religion and its song teem with allusions which treat looking towards the 'holy place' as synonymous with worship.

But apart from this setting of the pagodas, which was I think influenced by the subtlest of art principles, monstrous ugliness does reign supreme in South China, at least in that part of it through which the West River runs. Even in things appertaining to religion, art and refinement are conspicuous by their absence. The temples themselves, though they often make considerable show, lack the grace of form and decoration which our Japanese experience has made us associate with the temples of the East; and often enough the show itself has passed away, for, like so many other things, a great number of the temples have passed beyond the last stage of decay. An exception to the ruin which is prevalent among the temples is one in a village below Wuchow, dedicated to the Mother of All Dragons, whither the people make frequent pilgrimage, their pious offerings having been piously applied to its upkeep. It is spick and span; and though the painting is gaudy in the extreme and the ornament grotesque, it is a refreshing change from the prevailing tumbledownness, and stands lotus-like in the surrounding sea of filth. A strange incantation to the deity was in progress while we loitered, one which, as I have already indicated, very probably differed essentially from the act of reverence of the sailors on the boat. A band of actors on their way down stream had paused to make oblation. All were in character, beards, moustaches, headgear, masks; and they had dressed in their best for the occasion; each came before the shrine, made his three deep obeisances with clapping of hands, presented even the dolls that joss might come to them too, to the accompaniment of horrid noise from pipe and drum, the burning of much incense, the crackle of many crackers; the little inferno supplemented by the delighted shouts and screams of all the ragamuffins of the village, and the yapping of all its dogs.

Beyond Yuet Shing the hilly banks of the river narrow to a gorge of two miles or so, and then we pass into the reaches below Wuchow. Wuchow is a walled city of some 70,000 inhabitants, who are said to be composed 'of the alert and progressive Cantonese, the slow-moving and unimaginative home provincial,



the original robust and proud man of Hunan, the shy Kweichow provincial, the non-characteristic Yunnanese, and two sections which comprise any or all of the above elements but do not fuse—the official class and the boating community.' A strange mixture to those who see beneath the surface, but to the uninitiated traveller undistinguishable beneath the veneer of stolid indifference to mundane matters, other than smoking, which is the characteristic of all the people one sees in a Chinese town.

If by any strange misuse of language a Chinese town could be called pretty, Wuchow would be deserving of the title; its surroundings of hill and river reaches, its pagoda, the British Consulate, lately transferred to an eminence between the West and the Fu Rivers, both rivers densely crowded with junks of commerce and habitation through which the interminable string of timber rafts wedge their unceremonious way; the *Pais*—pontoons with wharf and godown combined—of the Chinese Customs and the merchant, along the river front; the river steamers, some of them churning the water with their stern-wheels; these mark the prosperity which has followed the opening of the port. Yet the word 'prosperity' seems wholly inapt, for the features of a Chinese town being what they are, there is no room for prosperity to show its face. That incapacity of a Chinese town to grow any older is everywhere so marked that it has left nothing on which by any possibility prosperity could set its outward and visible signs. And the outward and visible signs of the treaty privilege would seem to show that its benefits have been somewhat exaggerated, were the Western goods exposed for sale in the shops its only evidences. Much of the ware is gruesomely gimcrack, brummagem of the worst, and would hardly find a place on a hawker's barrow at a village fair. How can a people who rank high among the metal-workers of the world accept the formless soldered tin lamps we send them? How can they who weave silks and satins of finest texture, whereon the dragon disports himself in sheen between the pæony and chrysanthemum, wear 'shirt-ings' 'figured, brocaded, and spotted' with the tragedies of art design, which we make them believe express the 'taste' of the West? One is tempted to wonder, seeing the palpable horror of so much of it, whether, if this is all it has to show, it was not wise of the Chinese to resist to the utmost the admission of our trade. But the effect of the Treaty Port system has been widespread, and it seems to be an admitted fact that 'there is probably scarcely a family which does not use some foreign imported article—if not a supply of piece goods, at least enough kerosene oil to keep the house lit up, or one or other of the innumerable little articles made in Europe to please the native taste.' These terrible 'little articles' with which the shops are full are of course



1911

the mere froth on the surface ; the benefits of the system as against the total exclusion of old days are to be found beneath the surface.

Navigation properly so-called ends at Wuchow ; beyond are the rapids and Nanning, to be reached only by motor boat. There comes first a stretch of fifty miles or so of considerable beauty between the hills, and we thread our way through the rocks and fishermen's cairns ; every now and again there are bits of beautifully wooded scenery, but for the greater part of the journey there is nothing but sheer uninterestingness, and the monotony of the day is relieved only by the stops at the busy villages. Yet here as everywhere in China the traveller is in two states of mind, and the word uninteresting applies only to what he sees as he sits on the minute deck in the bows—a muddy river running between banks just high enough to prevent him seeing the flat land beyond them, for miles and miles, so that at last he begins to wonder why he should have started on so dull a journey. But it is just then that the spirit of the East comes to the rescue ; the journey is a journey straight into the past, the ever-present past which I have endeavoured to describe ; and not a junk which passes, nor train of straining men upon the tow-path, but goes to build up the fanciful thought that you are not steaming into the heart of China, but that the curtain of the past has been suddenly lifted, that you are on the waters of Abana or Pharpar or one of the rivers of Damascus, and that they are Syrian women who fetch water in an endless procession up and down the steps on the bank.

And then one is not really alone on the motor boat ; there is a crowd of native passengers in the upper story who smoke and chatter and gamble through the night and day ; and to-day I am very much the reverse of alone ; for the larger portion of my minute deck space is taken up by a dozen pedlars who have come aboard at the last stage with their pedling boxes—full of more results of foreign trade—and there being no room for them upstairs, they invade my little deck, so that I have barely sitting space left. So much they respected ; for I furnished them in the book that I read, and the pad that I wrote on, and the pipe that I smoked, much food for curious reflection and loud comment. A pinch of tobacco all round made things quite friendly, and I almost missed their society when towards nightfall we came to Kong How, where out of the darkness came many sampans, and pedlars and pedling boxes, amidst the shouting which is inevitable in China when anything or nothing is afoot, vanished as quickly as they came.

And so after three days and a half I am near the end of my journey, and curiosity is once more aroused, for the new Treaty



Port must at least be interesting. But Nanning differs little from the towns that we have already passed, except that it is larger, as large almost as Wuchow. And it has the same features; the Customs and the merchant's *Pai*, and the official residence of the Commissioner; there, too, is the long arid sweep of the bank, for the river is very low, and there are the huddled houses with the verandahs propped by poles, the pawnshops, the steps leading up the bank, and the continuous stream of women and children fetching water from the river. The new port taps a large area of trade into which the tin lamps and spotted shirtings before mentioned are finding their way, and there is much produce which wants to travel down the stream by motor boat or loaded junk to purchasers lower down the river to pay for them; it was worth the while, therefore, to go to all the trouble of making a special arrangement to open this new market for foreign trade. Otherwise the pigs and the mire and all the familiar horrors have gotten fast hold of it. The stench even is centuries old, unforgotten odours of unsavoury meals, its original germs still among its active properties. Here more than anywhere the fact that three years ago this city was closed to foreigners induces that feeling that you are looking into the past. But there are signs unmistakable that the spirit of the Treaty Port is beginning to stir men to some activity. The 'settlement' has been plotted out; wooden pegs indicate to the adventurous its future building sites and roads, and boundary stones and landmarks have been set up. The houses, it is true, are not yet even in plan; and after the plans are drawn there will have to be much draining of fish-ponds before they can be put into execution. The good missionaries are there already, and the *Sœurs*, as ever, are in the van of the advancing civilisation which lingers as yet on the further side of the hills. And there is a huge embankment wall ready to protect the houses when they come to the building, if haply the tempestuous river does not wash it all away before the time, as it has done its best to do twice already. It is sixty feet high, and even that is insufficient when the river is at its highest flood. These floods are too prodigious to find comfortable quarters even in the imaginative corners of the brain. The highest record occurred not so very long ago, when the Customs *Pai* was carried above the trees on the bank into the fields and far away.

I had come to my last night on board the motor boat; on the morrow I should return to the civilisation of Wuchow and the genial consular hospitality once more. It was moonlight; we had stopped for a breathless second off one of the villages to set down a passenger; the sampan which was to take him ashore had hit off to a nicety our little vessel, slowing-down on the



1911

stream; passenger and weird luggage were transferred, strange bundles with the inevitable tin basin tucked into the blanket; each process involving rivermanship of a high order; the engineer's bell rings, and we are off again. There were mountain fires flaring against the sky, typical of ultimate barbarous life, wanton destruction of timber which has been going on for centuries, and has left whole ranges of hills bare; and thoughts of that eternal cry, 'Make the Chinese mend their ways,' came to me as I smoked my cigar in the little bow-space, and wondered whether it was not a superhuman task. For the people will not learn wisdom according to our lights, and reject the economics on which we assure them that our own prosperity is based, preferring still to judge the foreigner by his folly. I had been reading Dr. Arthur Smith's book, in which he expresses his passionate belief in the power of Christianity to regenerate Chinese village life; and I had heard my friend the missionary full of confidence tell me that 'something' was really being done, after the thirty or more years of strenuous labour in the vineyard—'something,' really something which he deemed worth the life and the treasure that had been spent in the achievement. I had cogitated, too, on a kindred subject—the many strange problems which the Court had of late presented; of the conflict of English law with Chinese household customs, wondering whether all was for the best after all, whether our system were not sometimes malevolent and not beneficent at all. And far ahead a familiar sight struck my eye though the haze—the red and green lights of another boat coming up river. On that as on ours there were only a Chinese skipper, pilot, and crew. But soon the 'red to red' made itself manifest; afterwards 'perfect safety,' and we went ahead with saluting siren as the ghost of a sister motor boat slipped swiftly by into the darkness. The moon looked down on the river, and the fields and the villages, as she had looked down on them these thousand years. Was it typical—of the pale ghost of the West passing over the face of the waters, and the stream of Chinese life flowing on with a great unconcern from the mountains to the sea?

F. T. PIGGOTT.



## SHELLEY AT TAN-YR-ALLT

Of the four great poets of the early nineteenth century, only one, Wordsworth, sings out of the heart of an English landscape. We do not as it were run up against Keats in Hampstead; although we can without an effort perceive the shade of Fanny Brawne—dozens of shades of dozens of Fanny Brawnes—ogling young druggists in the neighbourhood of the Round Pond. Keats had no terrestrial country. His is the classic Fairyland of Claude and of Turner; a landscape in which nymphs are discerned. Two generations of our poets vowed themselves to Italy, yet Browning is the only one of them whose poetry would lose something essential if the poet had never passed the Alps. A plaster cast in a museum might have inspired Byron's 'Dying Gladiator' as effectually as the mediocre original. Greece was the source of his highest inspiration, and after Greece, the Lake of Geneva, or rather the electric personality of Shelley, with whom he felt its beauty. And Shelley? In spite of *Lines written among the Euganean Hills* and one or two other poems of Italy, Shelley's muse is not definitely Italian. She is a creature of the ambient air, water, the clouds, wind; alive rather to the large beauties of the general Earth than to special and local features. His Naples lacks the great cone of Vesuvius, which seemed formerly as necessary to its background as Fuji Yama to that of a Japanese sketch. Yet he has seized the whole spirit of Athenian landscape in one stanza of the *Ode to Freedom*, that of the ruins and deserts of Egypt in the thirty lines of *Ozymandias*; and this although he had never trodden the soil of Greece or of Egypt.

Mountains, with the wide harmonies of light and colour, mist and shadow, which the sky breathes over them, were intimates of Shelley's soul before ever he saw the Alps or the Apennines. It was the mountains of his own country, of the English Lakes and of Wales, which first stored his mind with images of everlasting, ever-changing mountain beauty. These render the harmonies of the sky with a delicacy, an elusive charm all their own. The hulking giants of Switzerland often wall out far too large a part of the heavens and are dull and monotonous in colour and texture, except where lakes lend them space and wrap vestures



1911

of purple about their feet. The mountains of dry hot countries, precisely owing to their aridity, reflect with emphasis the blue and rose and gold of morning and evening and the blackness of storm-clouds. At close quarters and in ordinary daylight, they are colourless as bare bones. But the mountains of our misty islands are clothed as in finest broidery, are so rich in various colours of their own that in the nearest view and on the dullest day they feed the eye with endless variety of delicately lovely detail. Actual size is rarely a great factor in mountain beauty, and comparatively small though it is, there are in the world but few prospects of peak and crag, of wood and water so satisfying as that of the estuary of the Glaslyn where the boy Shelley once found a home. Twenty years old he was at this time. The fact is worth recalling, for it is as a grown man that this stripling has been judged. It was in the late summer of 1812 that he arrived there with his curious female family—his schoolgirl wife, his mature sister-in-law Eliza Westbrook, and Miss Hitchener. Only a year before Shelley had been staying at Cwm Ellan in Mid-Wales, nursing the remains of a heart shivered to fragments by Cousin Harriet Grove. There the cry of another Harriet had reached him : that of a young disciple, the daughter of ex-coffee-house-keeper Westbrook, who was suffering persecution. So he came flying to Clapham, armed *cap-à-pie*, to rescue the damsel from a whole party of dragons, father, schoolmistress and school-fellows, all breathing fire against her on account of the enlightened opinions she had acquired from Mr. Shelley. Children they were, he and she, playing at a game of Crusaders and martyrdoms. The game was complicated by the inevitable romantic adoration of the schoolgirl for her bright-eyed beautiful young *preux*—or professor ; for the knight-errant was also an enthusiastic prig, as many a good man and true has been at nineteen. Harriet was to him but a vessel, if a fair one, into which to pour the very crude new wine of his revolutionary gospel. The whole comedy of Youth and Folly would have earned but a paragraph in the poet's biography, had there been no hand to pull the strings of boy and girl. But there was Eliza Westbrook, the maternal elder sister, her devotion to Harriet, the child's devotion to her, filling the place of wifehood and motherhood. The most brilliant future she could have imagined for her sister would have been marriage with some young partner in a good City house—and lo ! on her horizon flamed the heir to a baronetcy and several thousand a year.

We observe the elder Miss Westbrook at first endeavouring to convert the atheist, but soon abandoning the attempt and leaving Harriet's soul to its fate, to concentrate herself on securing Harriet's marriage. How she did so, how for a while bright



Pegasus—whom Eliza had figured herself as it were driving in a blazoned barouche alongside that neat little filly of a Harriet—submitted to the guiding hand; and how Miss Westbrook 'quite charmed' a Duke, while Percy and Harriet played in the garden; and how thereafter came 'despondency and madness' on a poor earthly creature, not made to race up sunrays and caracol in ether with the winged steed—all this, is it not written in quite a number of books?

Such a wanderer was Shelley that no place deserves by reason of his long dwelling there the name of his home. The difference between one place of his sojourn and another is rather that in one he must have felt himself at home and in another a stranger. In this sense Tan-yr-allt was assuredly one of his homes. Passers-by on the coach which runs from Portmadoc to Beddgelert look up, and on a steep green slope above them see a low square white house with a wide verandah, on which creepers grow: 'the house that stands on roses,' as a little girl once called it, at that age when we are all poets. Steeply about and above the house on its island of emerald turf, clipped yews and flowers, rise woods of well-mingled beech and oak and ash and fir, clothing the feet of the Tremadoc Rocks. The Rocks are in fact cliffs, rising high and sheer above the Traeth Mawr, the valley which was once the Great Sand or estuary of the Glaslyn. Wind and water have carved these cliffs into a semblance of battlement and tower, and the centuries have weathered them to many soft shades of grey, on which here the fine-leaved ivy lays the delicate ornament of its sprays, and there the bushy sort 'throws out in luxuriant growth its bold glossy leaves and black bosses of berries. In prehistoric and also in historic times, masses of stone have rolled down from the mountain and lie tumbled at the foot of the crags. Dwellers in the one or two small houses which have been built by the road sometimes look anxiously towards them, but Tan-yr-allt stands high and safe. The crags retire as it were to a respectful distance up the green and wooded mountain side behind it. When our poet lighted there the knoll or spur on which the house stands was evidently barer than it now is, although perhaps a little too much credit has been assigned to Shelley's landlord, who planted prodigally and well. This landlord was Mr. Madocks—the 'great' Mr. Madocks of a forgotten day, scion of a Mid-Welsh family and M.P. for Boston. At this period to enclose waste lands and grow crops on them was considered a philanthropic act. Diet was monotonous and bread formed a much larger part of poor people's food than it does to-day: although politicians continue to talk as though sago and corn-flour, cocoa and bananas had never 'swum into their ken.' This everlasting dry bread was dear, and the prospect of the Old World being fed



1911

from the wheat-fields of the New would have struck even Shelley as the dream of an enthusiast. Accordingly the landlord who put a hedge round the strip of turf by a country road and grew or grazed something on it, far from being execrated as a land-thief, enjoyed the rewards of virtue in public praise and an approving conscience.

If such a one was virtuous, what was Mr. Madocks, who in the year 1812 had already reclaimed three thousand acres of land from the barren sea, and had spent a fortune in the so-far fruitless endeavour to rescue five thousand more? A hero assuredly, and one after the boy Shelley's own heart. A nearer acquaintance seems to have cooled enthusiasm.

In the year 1812 the embankment across the mouth of the estuary along which the Cambrian Railway now runs had been completed except for a hundred yards in the centre, through which breach the tide rushed with such violence as to make the further construction of the embankment a matter of great difficulty.

In Peacock's novel, *Headlong Hall*, he sends three of his philosophers for a morning walk from Llanberis to the Madocks Embankment, a distance of some twenty-five miles, which they appear to have traversed with the ease and speed of so many motor-cars. Peacock describes the scene as he saw it about the date of Shelley's arrival at Tan-yr-allt.

Proceeding through the sublimely romantic Pass of Aberglaslyn, their road led along the edge of Traeth Mawr, a vast arm of the sea, which they then beheld in all the magnificence of the flowing tide. Another five miles brought them to the embankment. . . They walked to the extremity of that part of it which is thrown out from the Carnarvon shore. The tide was now ebbing; it had filled the vast basin within, forming a lake about five miles in length, and more than one in breadth. As they looked upwards they beheld a scene which no other in this country can parallel, and which the admirers of Nature will ever remember with regret. . . Vast rocks and precipices, intersected with little torrents, formed the barrier on the left; on the right the triple summit of Moel Wynne reared its majestic boundary; in the depth was that sea of mountains, the wild and stormy outline of the Snowdon chain, with the giant Wyddfa towering in the midst. The mountain frame remains unchanged, unchangeable, but the liquid mirror it enclosed is gone. The tide ebbed with rapidity: the waters within the embankment poured through its two points an impetuous cataract, curling and boiling in innumerable eddies and making a tumultuous melody admirably in unison with the surrounding scene.

The epithets 'vast' and 'terrific' were liberally applied by that untravelled generation to scenes which do not now seem to merit them. Yet the beauty of that 'mountain frame' remains 'a thing to wonder on,' to return to from far countries with ever-renewed delight, while the soft changeful skies of Wales shed on it their silver veils of mist, blue shadows of wandering clouds and



lights that fade and glow and fade again. There is still a long narrow stretch of sea-water or sea-sand, running inland from the embankment, over which the white wings of sea-birds drift and toss against the blue of distant mountains. But the Traeth Mawr, no longer sand, has put on a fair vesture of its own : breadths of golden and incense-breathing gorse, the green and tawny colours of rough meadow-land. The upstanding islets of rocks and trees still dot its surface ; the Isle of the Druid, the Isle of the Rocking Stone and the rest. If the meadows are less beautiful than the water, they are less waste and sad than river sands are when the tide is down.

In one point Peacock erred. The Moel Wynnes are double, not triple ; they are the Great and the Little White Mountain. Fine from any point of view, they are finer seen from the Festiniog side than from the Traeth. Cnicht on the other hand is strangely characterless on that side, while here it stands up a noble dominating peak.

The small town of Portmadoc, at the Carnarvonshire end of the embankment, is a modern sea-port which the Festiniog quarries created and have kept modestly busy for some sixty years. In spite of its name, it did not owe its existence to Madocks. It was on reclaimed land, close under the mountains, that he laid out his town of Tremadoc. Manufacture as well as agriculture appeared a form of philanthropy to the men of that age. And their shades may abide our smile, for a hundred years ago England took the lead in the science of agriculture, and if the nineteenth century had given us no manufactories, the twentieth would find no hen-roosts to rob. 'The great Mr. Madocks' was carried away by the enthusiasms of his time. He was not only convinced himself, but he convinced others that by a wave of his wand he could conjure up a manufacturing city in this corner of wildest Wales. So he erected as the centre of his city a neat little square and a small but dignified Town Hall which, as a building, only just falls short of excellence. 'What think you of the little colony we have just been inspecting ; a city as it were in its cradle ?' asks one of Peacock's pedestrians of the others. They proceed to discuss very intelligently all the evils of the industrial system, making so stupendous a growth in the England of that date. Peacock was not infected with any of the enthusiasms of his day, and his criticisms are perfectly modern and perfectly just. If everyone had been as sensible and enlightened as he was, England would to-day be an insignificant island, maintaining a sparse rural population, kept rich in food and poor in physique and intelligence by the continual emigration of the fittest. The prophet of Headlong Hall loses his prophetic powers when he utters vaticinations concerning the industrial city whose reek and hum he sees



1911

going up to heaven here, at Tremadoc, where once the long sea-water lapped, reflecting the secular ruin of untrodden crags, where the housewife span at her low cottage door and her ruddy barefooted children bore home their loads of heather and bracken. He might have spared his tears. Tremadoc was assuredly at the height of its glory when these casual travellers from Llanberis could find a saddle of mutton and a bottle of excellent sherry ready and waiting at its hostelry.

Whatever the three philosophers did, Peacock himself would assuredly have called at the white house on the mountain side which Shelley, with apparent inconsistency, described as 'an extensive cottage' and compared to 'the villa of an Italian prince.' This comparison is explained by a sketch of the dining-room at Tan-yr-allt made more than fifty years ago, showing wall-decorations, mermaids, panels with vases and other objects, painted in sepia, in a style long popular in Italy. Recently, when several papers were stripped off the walls, ghosts of these decorations appeared confirming the local tradition that Italian workmen had been employed to decorate the house. There is something in the peculiar construction of the wide flat eaves here, and in other houses built in the reign of Madocks, which brings to mind those of Northern Italy. From the broad verandah was to be seen, then as now, a wondrous prospect of wild mountain forms, the ridges of Merioneth running out to the blue Bay of Carnarvon, to terminate in the rocky promontory on which is perched the romantic castle of Harlech—a sombre purple silhouette, or lifting blond and distinct in sunshine its defiant towers. Below lay the estuary and its islets.

Wherever there was a struggle, whether against man or against Nature, young Shelley threw himself into it with as much ardour as an average modern boy expends on a football match. We hear of him riding round the country to solicit subscriptions for Mr. Madocks' great undertaking, helping Mr. Williams, the agent, to write letters in his office, and last, but not least, suggesting a device by which the fury of the tide was curbed and at last the gap between the two ends of the embankment was successfully filled. And when a local tradition tells us that it was Mr. Shelley who suggested the device, it is sure to be true; for who would have credited that crazy young man with so much sense? By his advice a ship loaded with stones was sunk in the gap. It resisted the rush of the tide and formed a *point d'appui* for the other materials of the embankment. The poets reserve such surprises for us.

It was in the month of September, so especially beautiful a season in mountain places, that Shelley arrived at Tan-yr-allt and became the apostle of Mr. Madocks. Very soon, however, the



motley household went up to London, to solicit subscriptions towards the completion of the embankment and incidentally to get rid of Miss Hitchener, erstwhile Shelley's Portia or Egeria, and now become his Brown Demon. A very tragical comedy that of Miss Hitchener, the successful schoolmistress of thirty-five, so dominated by the personal charm and the missionary ardour of a boy of nineteen as to sacrifice her career and her reputation in order to follow him about the country as his Egeria, in company with his wife and sister-in-law. But wives have from time immemorial had a poor opinion of Egerias. We can reproduce some at least of the writings on the private tablets of Numa's queen, without the aid of an archæologist. In this case the wife had the advantage in youth and beauty, and was by no means wanting in intelligence. Besides there was already an intruder on the hearth, Eliza Westbrook, who was little likely to brook another. A mature soul, too, must have had her moments of fatigue in pursuing the airy gambades of a youthful poet, cold shudders of frosty reason in the midst of his flaming enthusiasms. So Egeria-Portia swiftly sank to earth as Bessie, and again from earth sank Hell-deep as the Brown Demon. From Tan-yr-allt she was taken to London and there ignominiously expelled from the family circle. The poor Brown Demon had a sensitive nature, and the fair September days she spent here must have been dark with the shadow of impending doom; but since she evidently loved beautiful landscape, one trusts that the brooding mountains laid some balm upon her wounds. I like to think of her as having had her happy moments pacing the wide verandah and murmuring to herself either the opening of Queen Mab or her own feminist ode, of which one line, and that surely immortal, has been preserved :

All, all are men—women and all.

In after years her disenchanted poet used to repeat this line with wild bursts of laughter. Yet if the fierce light of humour had been turned on his own utterances in the days of Miss Hitchener's glory, many of them would have been found almost equally absurd. Long afterwards, when the strayed schoolmistress had returned to her own path in life, and was following it amid esteem and affection, at the mention of Shelley's name her fine dark eyes would light up, and we may well believe she did not eventually regret that brief amazing flight of hers into Youth-and-Poet-land. To the modern Beatitudes let us add—Blessed is he who is not afraid of being ridiculous.

Shelley meantime was fervent in the cause of the embankment. It shocked and amazed him to find how cold and callous was the attitude of the Duke of Norfolk and other landowners whose estates lay in Sussex, when he appealed to them for subscriptions to add



1911

several thousand acres to a remote corner of Wales. How much he collected before his return to Tan-yr-allt we are not told, but he himself was a generous donor, and the resumption of the work had been almost entirely due to his activity.

In those days and for many years after, the road from London to Tremadoc lay by Capel Curig, under the dark and craggy side of Snowdon, and down the fine valley of Nantgwynant. Shelley writing to Hogg from Tan-yr-allt, says :

The scenery is more strikingly grand in the way from Capel Curig to our house than ever I beheld. The road passes at the foot of Snowdon : all around you see lofty mountain-peaks lifting their summits far above the clouds, wild wooded valleys below and dark tarns reflecting every tint and shape of the scenery above them.

Nantgwynant can wear a more smiling face than this, when her lakes reflect blue skies and her clouds soar high over the heads of the mountains.

This valley past, the Shelleys' way home lay through the beautiful if miniature Pass of Aberglaslyn, where in those November days the mountain torrent went leaping with white swirls of foam and battle-roar of waters, over deep shelves of rock and shining boulders, down to the Traeth Mawr and the sea. Above the torrent hung grey cliffs and the gold of autumn woods, and here and there, against the gloom of rolling clouds or the vaporous hues of the more distant heights, a group of Scotch firs reared their dusky plumes. When first the wanderers had come up from Llangollen to Tan-yr-allt the purple and rose of the flowering heather had still decked the mountain sides ; now, not less beautiful, were spread over them the vivid colours of dead heather and withered bracken.

It was with a rush of joy that Shelley felt himself once more in the free and majestic company of mountains. 'Hail to thee, Cambria,' he cried :

Do thou, wild Cambria, calm each struggling thought,  
Cast thy sweet veil of rocks and woods between,  
That by the soul to indignation wrought,  
Mountains and veils be mingled with the scene ;  
Let me for ever be what I have been,  
But not for ever at my needy door  
Let Misery linger speechless, pale and lean ;  
I am the friend of the unfriended poor. . .

These verses are not very good, but they are very characteristic ; for while he calls on rocks and woods to calm and befriend his soul, it is human suffering which stirs his deepest interest. It was this passionate sympathy with his kind, this power of disengagement from himself, which made and makes Shelley so lovable a creature, with all his faults and follies ; and sometimes



among the prophets in spite of his borrowed and dated creed. Yet by an apparent paradox, he never found himself as a poet until he had fled from the torment of life to the bosom of Nature. It is in *Queen Mab*, which was finished at Tan-yr-allt, that Shelley first manifested his genius. Fifty years later old inhabitants would point out the path between the verandah front of the house and the walled garden, where he was wont to pace 'with poetry.'

Meanwhile the labourers on the embankment were ill-paid or not paid at all; for Mr. Madocks had impoverished himself from a business point of view, though he seems to have been one of those flimsy people who can always find money for their own amusements. This may have been the reason of Shelley's abatement of enthusiasm in his cause. Even to-day, when social questions are so much debated at the Universities, few boys of twenty would devote so much of their time and money, give themselves so freely to their poor and suffering neighbours, as did Shelley during the winter he spent at Tremadoc. His visits to their cottages, his generous gifts of food and fuel, were long remembered, if less long than his eccentricities of attire and opinion.

There were few large landowners resident in North Wales, and a great number of squires who, although regarded as gentry, owned houses and estates no larger than those of yeomen farmers. Owing to their remoteness and small means, they were probably for the most part half a century behind English country gentry in their manners and ideas. Drunkenness was a flagrant habit of the squires and clergy of Wales well on into decorous Victorian days. When, in describing his neighbours, Shelley wrote: 'Lawyers of unexampled villainy rule and grind the poor while they cheat the rich,' there is evidence to show that he did not grossly exaggerate. But when he goes on to declare the peasants 'mere serfs, fed and lodged worse than pigs,' and the gentry to have 'all the ferocity and despotism of the ancient barons, without their dignity and chivalric disdain of danger,' his fancy evidently ran away with him. Peacock we have seen contrasted the healthy peasantry he saw around him with their imaginary factory-hand descendants, and it is probable that they found nothing to complain of in their warm and characteristic stone cottages, thatched with straw or bracken—for slate as yet was not—or the large, round flat oat-cakes, baked in a hole under wood ashes, and standing on their edges before the fire. These and porridge and milk and cheese were their staple food. Better the hygienist could hardly wish. And most likely even in those days these 'serfs' stood more in awe of the chapel-elders than of the landlord; for the tyranny of the Chapel in Wales has passed its centenary.

If they understood anything of what their youthful benefactor was saying, they were as much shocked at his opinions as though



1911

they had been so many Bishops. Bysshe's week-day appearance, his wild hair and headgear, had scandalised the poor folk in Mid-Wales not a little, although on a Sunday, when he went to church with the family, dressed in the regulation coat and hat, they had pronounced him as handsome a young gentleman as you would see in a long summer's day.

Now while Shelley inhabited Tan-yr-allt, in the Mill-house below there dwelt a poet of some real account in the eyes of the country-folk—by no means indifferent to literature, like their English compeers. There are still extant engravings of 'Y Bardd en y Gwelly,' or 'The Bard in the bed,' as he was named. For this poor man was bed-ridden, and spent his life in a recess in the wall, lined with books. What an angel of light should he have come to this dark and confined prison-house, the Poet of Poets! Alas, no! The Bard must have been exactly what he looks in his portrait; not a poet at all, but a bed-ridden deacon. To him the ethereal visitant appeared as a wild-looking youth wearing a scandalously small cap and of a conversation 'not at all notable.' But to the day of his death he remembered with pride that 'the great Mr. Madocks' had once condescended to visit him. The old Human Comedy is always a-playing.

This winter at Tan-yr-allt, spent in deeds of kindness and in the creation of his first living poem, was probably the happiest of Shelley's life. His school-girl wife was pretty and amiable, and doubtless appeared to him of a brilliant intelligence, since she faithfully reflected his every idea. Yet she was forming that habit of incessant reading aloud which, as described by Hogg, was enough to make any husband ultimately desert. The world about him suffered no dimming of its beauty because of winter. When Midland fields are sodden and elms are sad, the Welsh mountains are but more full of colour for the moisture of clouds and the rush of foaming streams. It is a delightful thing to look down from their heights upon their bare oak-woods, and mark the delicate tracery of grey branch and twig against a carpet of emerald moss, sprinkled with the gold of fallen leaves. On the low open braes beside the sea, even in midwinter, some small flower will be springing and the gorse will be golden, the ivy brightly green in the shelter of a southward-facing crag. One may lie there warm in the sun and hear the lark sing and watch the ships sail up the channel to the port, so near they seem to be sailing on the grass. For let it not be thought that Wales is all and always cloudy. On the rain-map of the British Isles the Snowdon district shows as a black blot, but the West Coast of Carnarvonshire, right out to the end of Lleyln, is as white as the coast of Sussex. Beautiful, too, are the mountains when they put on the shining glory of the snow. These were Shelley's companions, and in spite of his shrill



denunciation of his human neighbours, and their equally violent denunciations of him, he had friends among them; notably the Nanneys of Gwynfryn, and Williams the agent.

Behind Tan-yr-allt rough stone steps lead up the wall of rock to where among green pastures perch certain small farm-houses, the nearest being that of Pant Yfon. Climbing those steps, I often see in imagination that bright-eyed, slender, youthful figure. A youth of twenty feels no need to pause for breath halfway up the steep ascent. Yet this youth will have paused to look back on the marvellous prospect of sea and mountain widening beneath; and assuredly as he did so his poet's heart and his heart of youth sung together within him. Boy-like he carried pistols with him, and being incapable of destroying life for amusement, he did so in kindness. The Welsh, like some other Celtic people, are not particularly merciful to animals, and he sometimes found a sick sheep left to die on the mountain. Out came the pistols, and the sheep ceased to suffer.

All this was brought summarily to an end by a mysterious adventure. One morning Mr. Williams was hurriedly summoned to Tan-yr-allt, and found Shelley in a state of wild excitement. He told his friend a tale of how he had been murderously attacked twice during the previous night by a villain, who on the first occasion had effected an entrance into a small room called the Office. He had fired a gun at Shelley, who in return had fired a pistol at him. He then knocked Shelley down, and they struggled together on the ground, Shelley succeeding in firing his second pistol. The man rose and fled, uttering fearful threats against Shelley, his wife, and sister-in-law. Again, later in the evening, when Shelley was keeping watch in the drawing-room, he saw a man looking in at the French bay window, which then opened into a verandah. The man put his arm through the window and fired a gun. Shelley's pistol having once more proved innocuous, he pursued the assassin on to the lawn, armed with an old sword he had found in the house. Imagine him in his flannel dressing-gown, his wild locks surmounted by the conical night-cap of our fathers, pursuing the foe sword in hand, while the wind roared in the rocks overhead and the rain lashed the thick darkness of the night. Once more there was a struggle, but the appearance of Dan, the Irish man-servant, put the assassin to flight. All this he recounted to Mr. Williams, who listened with the utmost gravity and in growing distress, for Shelley talked about a devil, said he had seen the fiend leaning against the trunk of a tree on the lawn, and finally drew what, for a poor draughtsman, was not a wholly unrecognisable portrait of the apparition. Now in Shelley's, or rather Harriet's, account of the affair we find no hint of a devil or an apparition; it would indeed have been against



1911

all Shelley's most cherished convictions to assume the existence of such creatures. It is probable that Mr. Williams, an inhabitant of Calvinistic Wales, where the devil was never mentioned but with due respect, was confused and misled by the freedom with which a young man from Eton and Oxford would use his Satanic Majesty. And that when assured his assailant had left no footmarks behind him, Shelley may have replied with irritation that in that case he must have been the devil. At any rate the good Williams returned home sadly, with the conviction that his unfortunate young friend had gone out of his mind. Shelley's theory that a highly disagreeable but most respectable Englishman named Leeson, who disapproved of his opinions, had hired the assassin, naturally confirmed this opinion. No one stirred hand or foot to detect the villain of the plot, and this young couple, aged respectively twenty and seventeen, were left by their neighbours entirely without help or protection. This fact, and the circumstance that Harriet was expecting her first child, must be the excuses for Shelley's conduct, which was not very spirited; for he hurriedly evacuated the neighbourhood. Leeson avenged himself by declaring that Shelley had invented the story in order to avoid paying his debts. That such a calumny could have been repeated in a countryside which had had reason to know his ingenuous and honourable character and great personal generosity, is some justification of his severe judgment of his neighbours. Certain payments, such as that of rent, he was obliged to defer until he came of age; but we find in his record no trace of indebtedness, while the extreme simplicity of his life made him always able to indulge his natural generosity.

So the Shelleys passed away from Tremadoc, and in time even the 'great Mr. Madocks' passed away, he and nearly all his works. Of his two factories one is a ruin, the other a tan-yard. But the beautiful ball-room in his Town Hall and the church he built, perhaps also the tradition of his gaieties, long made his abortive little town a social centre. And it happened that a generation later industrial prosperity really came to these pastoral mountains, in a form undreamed of by Madocks; for the slate-quarries were discovered and developed. The quarry-owners were mostly English, and in the forties and fifties one of them, Mr. John Greaves, was living at Tan-yr-allt. It was then exactly as it had been in Shelley's day, with a wide verandah running entirely round the house, the green-rooms Madocks had built for his companies of actors in the shrubberies, and a little room called the Office leading out of the billiard-room, as described by Harriet in her letter to Hookham. There is a water-colour sketch made by Mrs. Greaves at this time, showing the mossy lawn on which the midnight encounter took place, and the beech trees—still



standing—against one of which ‘the Devil’ leaned. So late as 1860 the widow of Williams reiterated her husband’s belief that the whole affair had been an insane delusion, and thirty years later the most pious of Shelley’s biographers reserved their opinion on the subject. Yet already, before Mrs. Williams was interviewed, two little girls, living at Tan-yr-allt, could have given a complete explanation of the adventure. They knew well the eccentric old farmer, Robin Pant Yfon, so called from the name of his farm: that little farm in the green hollow above the rocky stair already mentioned. Robin’s sheep and goats seemed to be always in trouble, and many a day would find him on the steep tree-shaded drive to the house, waiting to see the magistrate. But if sheep and goats were mostly a care to Robin, he had one glorious memory connected with them; for he had signally avenged the liberty Mr. Shelley had taken in shooting his expiring sheep, by frightening that young man away from Tan-yr-allt. He would enact the scene, ‘jumping about in his grey worsted stockings and cochddu knee-breeches and brandishing a great hooked stick. I am sure,’ adds the eldest daughter, ‘he looked hideous enough to be taken for a visitor from the infernal regions.’ Two other young men from the hills had assisted him. Probably the gun he fired was loaded with blank cartridge, which would explain no shot having been found. But the absence of footsteps, except exactly where the struggle took place, would have puzzled Sherlock Holmes, and shows the unreliability of circumstantial evidence or the want of it.

This ‘hallucination’ of Shelley—who never himself suggests that the incident was supernatural—has been made a ground for treating other adventures of his as ‘hallucinations.’ They were doubtless like that at Tan-yr-allt, real facts, seen by the lime-light of an excitable imagination. It is true that Shelley saw his own ghost at Casa Magni; but Jane Williams also saw it. And a few days before he was drowned, while walking with Captain Williams, he saw a little naked child, the recently dead child of a neighbour, rise up out of the surf immediately below their house, clap its hands thrice and disappear.

The character of Casa Magni is now completely destroyed by the building of a road between it and the sea and by other alterations. Shelley’s earlier home of Tan-yr-allt is little altered, save for the increased beauty which time has brought to its surroundings. The younger sister of the little girls who knew the true story of Mr. Shelley’s ‘devil’ so long before anyone else, lives there and keeps the poet’s memory green. She has a collection of pictures which show the aspect of the place in and about the years 1812-13. Among them is a curious coloured print showing in the foreground workmen busied in blasting and quarry-



1911

ing stone from Moel y Gest. In the distance is the embankment, still with a gap in the centre, and a train of horses and carts moving backwards and forwards upon it. In the middle distance ladies and gentlemen of sylph-like grace appear, giving an idea of the elegance of Tremadoc society in 'the days of the 'great Mr. Madocks,' whose initials are painted in large type on a block of stone in the foreground.

On the lawn where Shelley struggled with Robin of Pant Yfon has stood for some ten years a graceful urn on a stone pedestal. An inscription on it records a fact which ninety-nine years ago seemed of the least possible importance to Tremadoc—namely, that in this fair spot, in this house of Tan-yr-allt, for a brief space there sojourned the Poet of Poets, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

MARGARET L. WOODS.

*Tan-yr-allt*, April 1911.



## THE IDLE POOR

A good deal of fierce light has lately been thrown upon 'the idle rich.' They have been accused by Mr. Lloyd George of imposing 'a serious charge upon the community' by reason of the 'lives of luxurious indulgence' which they lead. It is not easy to see how the luxurious lives of an admittedly small class, which, at any rate, pays its way, can constitute a 'charge,' in any reasonable use of the word, upon the community. There are, indeed, idle and unprofitable lives in abundance which actually do impose a serious charge upon the community; but to find them we must turn to the other end of the social scale. They are not creatures of a demagogue's heated fancy, but grim facts to be gathered from Blue-books and similar unromantic sources. The Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission fixes the total cost of poor relief at nearly 60,000,000*l.* per annum,<sup>1</sup> and yet adds that, in spite of this vast expenditure, 'we still have a vast army of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves, and an army which in numbers has recently shown signs of increase rather than decrease.'<sup>2</sup>

It appears from Appendix, Vol. XXV. (Cd. 5079), issued on the 24th of February 1911 by the Poor Law Commission, that about one person in twenty-two of the population of England and Wales is a pauper in receipt of relief. Taking this population to be (as estimated by the Registrar-General in July 1910) 37,756,615, we get a total of 1,716,209 paupers, all of whom are either absolutely unproductive, or productive only to a trifling extent: they are in no case self-supporting.

The system of outdoor relief is mischievous and pauperising, but it is not incompatible with a certain small amount of productive industry. Let us, therefore, so as to be on the safe side, exclude all paupers in receipt of outdoor relief from the class of the idle and unproductive. Again, some paupers in receipt of indoor relief—the very young, the aged, the infirm in body or mind—are

<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, we have now to meet a 'charge' of nearly 13,000,000*l.* a year for Old Age pensions, which, in spite of the efforts of the Government to conceal the fact, are simply a form of outdoor relief.

<sup>2</sup> P. 52.



1911

inevitably and blamelessly idle. Let us exclude these also, and confine our attention to able-bodied adult paupers in receipt of indoor relief. It appears that on the 1st of January 1910 there were 59,759, and on the 1st of July, 1909, 47,834 of these, excluding insane and casual paupers.<sup>3</sup> From these figures we get a mean of 53,797 able-bodied paupers in receipt of indoor relief.<sup>4</sup> We shall, therefore, be well within the mark if we conclude that we are supporting throughout the year a body of 50,000 able-bodied indoor paupers. Taking the annual cost of each indoor pauper to be 27*l.* 14*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*,<sup>5</sup> it will be seen that we pay at least 1,387,239*l.* for the maintenance of these idle, able-bodied, and unproductive poor. Of these a few—comparatively a very few—can be classed among the deserving poor; some are on the border line, the bulk are wholly undeserving. These are idlers who really prey upon the community, and give nothing, or worse than nothing, in return. Mr. Lloyd George is discreetly silent as to the amount of the 'charge' imposed on the community by the unproductive rich: the Local Government Board is more communicative as to this class of the unproductive poor. It appears from the 39th Report above quoted, that for the year ending Lady Day 1909, pauper relief in England and Wales cost 14,717,098*l.*, not including 483,712*l.* raised by loan.<sup>6</sup> Much of this expenditure is admittedly inevitable and proper, but it is none the less a charge, and a charge on the industrious members of the community for the benefit of the unproductive. Nay, more, it is largely a charge for the benefit and preservation of a class which in the interests of the community had better disappear. The real danger, in fact, to the labouring classes lies not above, but below them; not in the extortions of the so-called idle rich, but in those of the idle poor. Not only does labour subsidised by out-relief tend to depress wages, and thereby directly injure the self-supporting workman,<sup>7</sup> but sooner or later the burden of all taxation falls on the poorer classes, who are the least able to bear it. None, therefore, are more interested than they in reducing the charge of the idle poor wherever reduction may be possible. The aged, the infirm, the incapable poor must be reasonably provided for, though even in their case the cost might be reduced by wiser methods of administration. But the able-bodied pauper stands on a different footing altogether. He has not, as a rule, much claim either on our sympathy or upon our pockets; and nowhere is reduction more possible or more desirable than in the case of two prominent types of this class—the workhouse loafer and the vagrant.

<sup>3</sup> 39th Report Local Government Board, xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> 39th Report Local Government Board, xliii.

<sup>6</sup> P. 153.

<sup>7</sup> If the recommendation of the Report (issued in January 1911) of the Departmental Committee on Outdoor Relief be carried into effect, no person will in future be permitted to receive out-relief while earning wages, p. 23.



The workhouse loafer is, to a certain extent, the product of the mixed workhouse, where the aged, the infirm, and the able-bodied are received under one roof, without any proper classification or separate treatment. Obviously the severer régime intended for the able-bodied pauper could not be applied without hardship to the aged or infirm. Hence a tendency arose to make the conditions of workhouse life easier all round. The result of this has been to render the workhouse in many cases far too comfortable, and thereby to call into existence the workhouse loafer. The mixed workhouse will probably disappear before long, but for the present the workhouse loafer is still with us, and continues to enjoy at the expense of the ratepayers luxuries which are quite beyond the reach of the ordinary workman.<sup>8</sup>

The recent Report of the Poor Law Commission shows that the high standard of comfort in the workhouses has made them positively attractive to many of the able-bodied. The result is that

there has appeared, more especially in London, a class of demoralised people for whom the workhouse under its present conditions has lost its deterrent effect, and who regard it as a kind of club-house, in which they put up with a certain amount of inconvenience, but have very pleasant evenings.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the Commission found in one London workhouse a reading-room and a smoking-room, wherein about a hundred men were reading, smoking, playing dominoes or bagatelle, or doing nothing. Luxuries of this kind attract to the workhouse the very people whom it ought to repel,<sup>10</sup> and are largely responsible for the considerable increase in indoor pauperism during recent years. The Chaplain of the Holborn Workhouse, speaking from an experience of twelve years, said :

The rapidly growing opinion amongst the poorer classes seems to be expressed by the remark of a man to me last week : ' So long as I can get sixteen ounces of pie for my dinner and my two children kept for life, and they don't ask me to do any more than polish the stair banisters, I'm not going to work.' <sup>11</sup>

It is intolerable to think of this contemptible rascal living in a lazy comfort which is hopelessly out of the reach of the honest workman, who will not sacrifice his self-respect and independence for a mess of pottage. But it betokens the deterioration brought about by the environment of a workhouse life, a deterioration which is amply attested by the evidence before the Commission. Then again, we have the men who can earn wages for part of the year outside, but ' place their money in safe keeping and enter the

<sup>8</sup> *Poor Law Conferences*, 1908-9, p. 256.

<sup>9</sup> *Report Poor Law Commission*, p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 134.



1911

workhouse regularly for periods of rest at the ratepayers' expense.' For this purpose they sham illness.

Such people easily learn to complain of mysterious weaknesses, aches, and pains which are hard to disprove, the supposed possession of which entitles them to the best of fare and medical comforts which the institution has to offer.<sup>12</sup>

The really deserving women in the workhouse are comparatively few : the majority have given way to drink, and very many cannot be allowed out for a day's liberty without coming back the worse for drink.<sup>13</sup> Many of the able-bodied women, moreover, have illegitimate children.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the sexual irregularities of pauper women form a considerable item in the 'charge' of the idle poor; and the very law which ought to restrain this mischief actively promotes it. A case is quoted in the *Eugenics Review* of November 1910 of a pauper woman who had had eight illegitimate children by four different men. She does not mend her ways. And why should she?

So long as a generous community is willing to provide her with comfortable lying-in wards, with skilled medical attendance, with nurses, with every requisite accessory, and is also prepared to feed, clothe, and educate both herself and her children, why should she trouble to guide her footsteps aright in social life?<sup>15</sup>

In the same Review Mr. Sidney Webb declares that 'thousands of these "unfit" mothers treat the local workhouse or Poor Law infirmary simply as a free maternity hospital.'<sup>16</sup> Year by year they return for the annual confinement; and year by year some 15,000 babies (probably in their turn to become a burden on the community) are born in the workhouse. And who can tell what that burden may become? In the notorious Juke case it was estimated that the offspring of a single pair of ne'er-do-weels had cost the United States, in the course of seventy-five years, 250,000l. Even young married women, incredible as it may sound, will come to the maternity wards of the workhouse as their confinement approaches, and declare themselves unmarried so as to obtain attendance free of charge.<sup>17</sup>

It would be easy, if space allowed, to multiply instances of the mischief wrought by this system of making pauperism more attractive than independent effort.

It might be thought that a person with so little self-respect as the workhouse loafer would at least be free from any taint of pride. This, however, is not the case. He comes to regard the workhouse as his legitimate house, and its benefits and luxuries as his rights. 'I lives here,' said a pauper woman to the portress

<sup>12</sup> Report Poor Law Commission, p. 134.

<sup>13</sup> 39th Report Local Government Board, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Pp. 191-2.

<sup>16</sup> P. 233.

<sup>17</sup> Report of Poor Law Commission, p. 135.



of the workhouse, 'you are only a paid servant.' Another said to a gentleman holding an important post, 'You're only a servant; I want to see your masters.' A man observed to a group of nurses, 'If it wasn't for the likes of us, the likes of you wouldn't be here.'<sup>18</sup> Here then, at any rate, there is an opportunity for reform, for the reduction of a vicious expenditure, for the extirpation of a social mischief. Let us get rid, if possible, of the workhouse loafer, and of the conditions which have favoured his growth.

But if the workhouse loafer is a useless burden on the community, the vagrant is not only a burden but a danger. In one of his aspects, that of 'the casual,' he is a public pauper; in another he preys upon the community as a private freebooter. We learn from the Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy that he is on the increase<sup>19</sup>; but there are no trustworthy statistics of the numbers of the vagrant host.<sup>20</sup> The estimates vary from 20,000 to 150,000. In the opinion of the Committee the 'irreducible minimum' would not exceed 20,000 to 30,000, though in times of trade depression the total might be as high as 80,000.<sup>21</sup> And in all this vast army 'there is no appreciable element of honest poverty or of penniless industry seeking work.'<sup>22</sup> This conclusion is thoroughly established, and should be kept steadily in view. The Workhouse Masters' Association considered that less than 3 per cent. of vagrants were genuine workmen in search of employment; the President of the Poor Law Unions put it at 2 per cent., and Mr. William Crooks, M.P., thought that in London it would not exceed 1 per cent.<sup>23</sup> Still, this residuum of honest distress, exiguous though it be, ought not to be neglected, and a method, which has been suggested by the Vagrancy Committee, will be referred to later by which the case might be met. The rest of the vagrant body is composed 'of those who deliberately avoid any work and depend for their existence on almsgiving and the casual wards; and for their benefit the industrious portion of the community is heavily taxed.'<sup>24</sup> They have not as a rule even the excuse of physical infirmity, for the majority of them 'are in the able-bodied period of life, and the number below the age of sixteen or above the age of sixty-five is very small.'<sup>25</sup> Nor are they weakened by starvation, being found, as a rule, to be a well-fed class.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the tramp will often reject the bread of the casual ward.<sup>27</sup> According to the regulations of the Local Government Board, the vagrant in the casual ward should perform a task in return for his food and

<sup>18</sup> *Report of Poor Law Commission*, p. 135.

<sup>20</sup> P. 16.

<sup>23</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> P. 23.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.



1911

shelter; and although this is not always enforced,<sup>28</sup> many vagrants resort to common lodging-houses to avoid the risk of having any work imposed upon them.<sup>29</sup> From a census taken by the police in 1867 and 1868 it appeared that casual paupers represented about one-sixth of the total vagrancy of England and Wales.<sup>30</sup> When the routine of the workhouse becomes irksome they take a turn of prison life as an agreeable change. This is quite easily managed. The casual ward vagrant tears up his clothes, refuses to do his task, breaks a window, or commits some other offence which ensures his being sent to gaol.<sup>31</sup> The Chaplain of the Northallerton Prison reported that the professional tramp was 'the most hopeless class of prisoner to be met with.

He looks upon H.M. prison as a house of rest and refreshment, and uses it freely for such purposes, deliberately committing offences in order that he may be sent there. Prison discipline seems to have no terror for such men. Some other method must be devised for dealing with them, or they will be an increasing quantity.<sup>32</sup>

This opinion is corroborated on all sides; and, indeed, the tramp's taste for prison is easily explained by the fact that the prison diet is better than that of the casual ward,<sup>33</sup> the prison labour is often less severe, and the conditions under which it is performed less unpleasant than in the casual ward.<sup>34</sup> Small wonder, then, that about one-fourth of the prison population consists of vagrants.<sup>35</sup> And, indeed, the vagrant easily slides into the criminal. He is responsible for many petty larcenies, thefts from back doors, and so forth, as well as for more serious offences, such as rick firing and robbery by violence. 'Assaults by tramps on the highway frequently occur, and there is no doubt that in certain districts the tramp is a source of terror to women and children.' The 'masterful beggar' of Scotland extorts alms by threats, chiefly by intimidating the woman in the cottage while her husband is absent;<sup>36</sup> and Mr. Roundell tells us that in parts of his district the poor are similarly exposed to the menaces of the sturdy mendicant.<sup>37</sup> But, besides these dangers to person and property, the tramp is still more dangerous as a disseminator of disease, particularly of small-pox.<sup>38</sup> From the reports on small-pox in relation to vagrancy issued in 1894 and 1904 by Dr. Armstrong, Medical Officer of Health for Newcastle-on-Tyne, it appears that over 50 per cent. of the small-

<sup>28</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 28.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons*, 1905.

<sup>31</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 55.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> *Our Tramps*, Hardwick, p. 11.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* p. 54.

*Vagrancy Report*, p. 54.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 25.



pox in the district dealt with was originally introduced by vagrants.

As to the character of the class, all authorities unite in pronouncing its members to be the lowest of the low, and after what has been said above it is hardly necessary to labour the point. But, quaintly enough, even in this degraded level social prejudices are found to flourish. Mr. Simmons tells the following story :

I went into a casual ward one morning ; one of the ordinary inmates of the workhouse, whose duty it was to see that the hammers and things used for breaking the stones were all right, happened to say something to one of the casuals who was breaking stones. The casual laid his hammer down, and looked the inmate up and down two or three times, and then said, 'Are you speaking to me, pauper?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I am speaking to you.' 'Well,' said the casual, 'all I have got to say is, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. I am here generally three months in the year, the other nine months I work ; but no matter when I come you are always here. You are always living on the ratepayers ; I am content to live on them for three months in the year. I am not a pauper ; I am a casual.'<sup>39</sup>

We may be duly astonished at the casual's moderation, and share his contempt for the workhouse loafer, without being able to adopt his heroic estimate of his own career. We hear a different account of it from a more authoritative source. He belongs to a class of persons who flock into the workhouse

to recuperate from the effects of their evil lives, and as soon as they have, at the ratepayers' cost, partially recovered their physical condition, they can leave the workhouse and resume their degenerate careers. Their period of stay is not long enough to cure them of their evil courses, but it is long enough to give them fresh strength to pursue them. In this way has sprung up that crowd of prostitutes, drunkards, mendicants, loafers, and the like, who are now known as the 'ins-and-outs.' These men and women form a hopeless problem under the existing Poor Law, and the case for sterner measures against them is aggravated by the penalties which their present mode of life imposes on their children.<sup>40</sup>

It is not easy to determine what the cost of the vagrant is to the public purse, as the charge is borne partly by the workhouse and partly by the prison. In London alone, during the year ending Lady Day 1905, the cost of the casual wards was over 35,000*l*. Taking the average number of inmates as 1134, this represents a daily cost of 1*s*. 8½*d*. per head.<sup>41</sup> In one ward the average cost was 4*s*. 9*d*. a day, and, therefore, 1*s*. 8½*d*. a day may perhaps be taken as a fair estimate of the daily cost of the vagrant to the workhouse. On the 1st of July 1909 16,712 were relieved in the casual wards of England and Wales, and on the 1st of January 1910 17,491 were so relieved.<sup>42</sup> These figures give a mean of almost exactly 17,000 relieved in the casual wards, at a

<sup>39</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 32. <sup>40</sup> *Report of Poor Law Commission*, p. 138.

<sup>41</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 30. See, too, *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 142.

<sup>42</sup> *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 133.



pro-

oint.  
die

me!

things  
ing to

then  
aking

r, the

al.' 39



penalties which can be promptly applied to the incorrigible of either class. Some excellent recommendations have been made by the Vagrancy Committee and the Poor Law Commission, and a scheme including many of these has lately been approved by the Executive Committee of the County Councils Association. It is to be hoped, therefore, that some action may be taken upon it before long.

With regard to the workhouse loafer, the first step needed is some classification of the inmates of the workhouse by which he can be segregated and dealt with separately. Some such classification as suggested by the scheme referred to would meet the case. Under this the able-bodied pauper would be removed from the comparative luxury of the mixed workhouse to some more Spartan institution, where such reforming influences as may be feasible could be brought to bear upon him. These institutions should be in the nature of Labour colonies, with *régimes* varying from the unattractive to the penal. In the first, while the conditions of existence should be made distasteful to the loafer, every opportunity should be given, every inducement offered to him to mend his ways. If he avail himself of this chance he may rise once more to a life of honest industry; if not, he will sink either into an incapable or an incorrigible, and will have to be dealt with accordingly. The incorrigible will be consigned to a colony of the penal type, recommended by the Vagrancy Committee.<sup>47</sup> The incapable would probably find a place in some institution similar to those provided for the feeble-minded, from whom, indeed, he is 'barely differentiated.'<sup>48</sup> But above all—and as to the necessity for this the evidence is overwhelming—the amplest powers of detention in either case must be given to the authorities. The sick pauper would then be cared for in the hospital, the feeble-minded and incapable in some suitable institutions. The children would be brought up in homes and schools, and vagrants would be transferred from the casual wards to appropriate Labour colonies under the supervision of the police, or (as proposed in the scheme above mentioned) of a Government Department. The workhouse proper, freed by this means from all its present reproach, could then be utilised as, or replaced by, 'Old-age Homes' for the aged and infirm, such as those of which Miss Sellers tells us. These are provided in Austria, Denmark, Switzerland and some parts of Germany for decent old folk who have no kith or kin to take care of them, and are too feeble to take care of themselves. Such of them as have means pay according to their ability, the others are paid for by the State or Municipality as the case may be. The best of these houses are quite simple little places, often just 'two or three cottages thrown into one.' The

<sup>47</sup> Report, p. 82.<sup>48</sup> *Eugenics Review*, November 1910, p. 175.



1911

furniture is plain but comfortable, the food simple but good. They are not only cheery and comfortable, but cheap, the cost per head being considerably less than the average cost per head in London workhouses. 'In the Danish houses, which are reserved exclusively for old-age pensioners, the average cost per head is only about 1s. 1d. a day; while in the Austrian homes, some of which are quite luxurious, it is some 1s. 3d.'<sup>49</sup> Such houses would be an admirable substitute for the blundering costliness of our old-age pension scheme, under which, by the sagacity of our legislators, the aged pauper can draw his pension and still remain on the rates. Mr. Harold Cox, in addressing the National Contributory Insurance Association, pointed out the frauds and evasions which were being perpetrated under the Act,<sup>50</sup> and these criticisms are confirmed by Mr. A. Carson Roberts in this Review of December 1910, and some of the Poor-law inspectors.<sup>51</sup>

The *bonâ-fide* workman honestly in search of work could be effectually helped by a system of way-tickets, such as that recommended in the *Vagrancy Report*, Chapter V., where the subject is fully discussed. Briefly, these tickets would ensure him food, shelter, and assistance on his journey, and keep him out of contact with the tramps with whom he is at present compelled to associate.

The vagrant is in some ways a greater evil than the workhouse loafer, but, in one respect at least, he might be the easier to deal with. For the public has the remedy entirely in its own hands. Vagabondage, it is true, does seem to have, for some characters, a charm which is not altogether unknown to the higher classes. An expert writes: 'The vagrant who is given over to a vagabond life only with the utmost difficulty can be reclaimed. His pleasure is in vagrancy.'<sup>52</sup> But it may be safely assumed that he is not entirely guided by æsthetic considerations in the choice of his profession, and would speedily abandon it if it ceased to pay. It is our business, therefore, to see that it shall cease to pay. Stop the profits of vagrancy, and vagrancy will cease of itself.

Indiscriminate almsgiving is the main support of vagrancy. It is clear that the vagrant must depend largely on doles; in most cases he does no work, and his visits to the casual wards only provide for a portion of his time. It is the ease of obtaining charity that enables him to continue in his life of vagrancy. . . . The evidence we received was strongly to the effect that vagrancy would cease if it were not for almsgiving.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28th of January 1911. The average cost of the indoor pauper in London is 34l. 18s. 3½d. per annum (*39th Report Local Government Board*, xliiii.). The Danish and Austrian figures work out at 19l. 5s. 5d. and 22l. 16s. 3d. respectively.

<sup>50</sup> *Morning Post*, 27th of October 1910.

<sup>51</sup> *39th Report Local Government Board*, pp. 27, 51, 52.

<sup>52</sup> *Charity Organisation Paper*, No. 7, p. 1. <sup>53</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 104.



The same Report closes with this final appeal :

Lastly, we would again draw attention to what, in our opinion, is the real cause of vagrancy, but which, unfortunately, is beyond the power of the legislative or administrative action. Were it not for the indiscriminate dole-giving which prevails there would be little necessity for casual wards or labour colonies for the vagrant, and idle vagrancy, ceasing to be a profitable profession, would come to an end.<sup>54</sup>

Almsgiving of this kind may indulge the donor in a cheap philanthropic emotion, but it thereby demoralises him as well as the beggar who receives it.<sup>55</sup> In some parts of Germany there is a law imposing penalties on those who give alms to beggars.<sup>56</sup> The Vagrancy Committee considered that public opinion in this country would not support such a measure, and that it would be impossible to convince the public of the harm done by indiscriminate almsgiving.<sup>57</sup> This, however, is merely a counsel of despair, which sounds rather pusillanimous in the face of a grave national evil. It is at least possible that statutory penalties imposed—and enforced—on the weak-kneed benevolence which keeps the evil alive might help to establish a healthier mental attitude towards the vagrant. For, in any case, this is a lesson which sooner or later the community will have to learn, if the industrious and deserving are not to sink under the burden imposed on them for the benefit of the lazy and the worthless.

Moreover, the condemnation passed on free gifts of money must extend also to free food and free shelter. We may regret that this should be so, but the evidence is irresistible 'that both free food and shelter are demoralising to the recipients and a source of danger to the community.'<sup>58</sup> They make a life of vagrancy easier; they attract vagrants to the locality, and thereby aggravate the problem of unemployment; and they steadily lower even the low standard of a vagrant's living.<sup>59</sup>

From all parts of London, from Edinburgh, Glasgow and Manchester the same unbroken story comes, and it is impossible to disregard it.<sup>60</sup> In a letter to the *Morning Post* of the 16th of December 1910 Mr. Loch, of the Charity Organisation Society, writes, that 'the meals on the Embankment do not lessen homelessness but facilitate it.'

In the Vagrancy Report the case is summed up thus :

Having regard to the evidence we have received, we can come to no other conclusion than that free or cheap shelters, coupled with the indiscriminate distribution of free meals, constitute a serious evil. . . . If the public could be brought to realise that these institutions do not help the deserving man, but tend to debase him, and that they enable the idle man to continue in his idle, aimless life, it might be possible to hope for their abandonment.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 121.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* p. 104.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* p. 105.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p. 94.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 92-96.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* p. 96.



1911

Meanwhile, if we cannot at once dry up the profits of the vagrant's life, we can do a good deal to make that life distasteful. Even under the existing law a person on a third conviction for, *inter alia*, begging becomes an 'incurable rogue' and liable to hard labour with whipping. 'It appears that though practically all habitual vagrants are qualified to be treated as incurable rogues within the meaning of the Act [Vagrancy Act, 1824], few are actually dealt with in this manner.'<sup>62</sup> This may be chiefly due, as is suggested, to the difficulties of identification. In London, however, these are not so great, and the Report proceeds :

It is difficult to see why the more severe procedure is not resorted to more frequently in the case of habitual vagrants whose antecedents are known to the police. It may be that magistrates feel that prison under present conditions is not the right place for this class of offender, and we are inclined to think that if the detention were to be undergone in some other form of institution the disinclination to put the Act in force would be considerably lessened.<sup>63</sup>

This is clearly the right line to take. Speaking of this class of man, Mr. Fenwick said : 'Reform him, if you can, instil into him habits of work, if you can, but keep him under restraint somewhat in the way you do the habitual drunkard.'<sup>64</sup>

As to the nature of the Labour colonies to which the vagrant should be committed, a great deal of interesting information is to be gained from a paper read before a Poor Law Conference on the 7th of October 1908 by Mr. Preston Thomas,<sup>65</sup> who has made a close study of the subject, and who also gave evidence before the Vagrancy Committee. His conclusions can only be glanced at here. He found that a great institution for this purpose at Mersxplas, in Belgium, had the effect of taking the vagrants off the roads, but had no reforming influence on them. Much the same was to be said of the Labour colonies of Germany. But in Switzerland, and notably at Witzwyl in the Canton of Bern, he found a more hopeful system in force. Under this there is an arrangement for providing the genuine labourer in search of work with food and lodging at a 'rest-house'; while the habitual beggar, the drunkard, or the 'work-shy' man, after one or two warnings from the police, is taken before a Magistrate, or the district council, and committed to a forced labour farm for periods varying from six months to three years. There he has to work hard, while strenuous efforts are made to reform his character. If he prove violent or insubordinate he is transferred to an ordinary prison, but such cases are rare; and it appears that many of the younger men, at any rate, are permanently reformed. Some of these are passed on to a free Labour colony, which serves

<sup>62</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* p. 59.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* p. 59.

<sup>65</sup> *Poor Law Conference*, 1908-9, p. 459.



as a sort of half-way house : others are retained as officers at Witzwyl, while for others situations are found by a society formed for the purpose. The net cost of the forced Labour colonies is said to be very small,<sup>66</sup> and might quite possibly prove cheaper than our present method of dealing with vagrants.<sup>67</sup> It appears that the annual cost of our prisoners is about 23*l.* per head in local prisons and 27*l.* in convict prisons. The Vagrancy Committee considered that the net cost of a Labour colonist should not, in the long run, exceed 4*s.* or 5*s.* weekly—about 13*l.* a year.<sup>68</sup> The average cost of the indoor pauper in England and Wales is 27*l.* 14*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* a year.<sup>69</sup>

Here, then, is the framework of a system which is, at any rate, worth an experiment. Something of the kind has, in fact, been recommended by the Vagrancy Committee,<sup>70</sup> and these recommendations were adopted by the Poor Law Commission.<sup>71</sup> The character of the various institutions composing this system would be made to correspond with the characters of their respective inmates. They would show a gradation of *régime* from the highest, where the conditions would be least severe, and reforming influences would have the fullest play, to the lowest, which, as the Vagrancy Committee recommend, should be a colony of a penal type. To the highest of them would be sent the workhouse loafer, the work-shy, the shiftless, and others trembling on the verge of but not yet sunk in habitual vagrancy : to the lowest would be ultimately consigned the utterly demoralised characters who are criminals in all but name.

But with the vagrant as with the loafer the fullest powers of detention must be given or the scheme will fail. The present system of short sentences will necessarily disappear, and the detention which is to replace it should be of a different character altogether. Its discipline must needs be strict, its conditions uninviting, but, except in the penal colony, there should be no savour of the prison about it. For its aim is not punishment, but, on the one hand, the reform of the inmate, on the other the protection of the community. This principle of 'preventive detention' is embodied in the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, and the language of the Statute is worth studying. Section 10, subsection (1), empowers the Court in certain circumstances to pass a sentence of preventive detention on an habitual criminal, if it is of opinion that by reason of his criminal habits 'and mode of life it is expedient for the protection of the public that the offender should be kept in detention for a lengthened period of years.' This is the true principle to apply to the loafer and the vagrant. The

<sup>66</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 68.<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81.<sup>69</sup> *39th Report Local Government Board*, xliii.<sup>70</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, pp. 74-82.<sup>71</sup> *Report*, p. 431.<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81.



1911

detention should be treated not as a punishment but as a measure for the protection of the public, like a sanitary regulation. Or, as the Vagrancy Report puts it, that 'as far as possible, the habitual vagrant should be treated not as a criminal, but as a person requiring detention on account of his mode of life.'<sup>72</sup> It is insisted, and rightly insisted, that the detention should be accompanied by efforts at reform, but we must not be over-sanguine about their success. For it is to be feared that the confirmed loafer and the habitual vagrant are seldom capable of being reformed. It is a mistake to suppose that the typical pauper is merely an ordinary person who has fallen into distress through adverse circumstances. As a rule he is not an ordinary person, but one who is constitutionally a pauper, a pauper in his blood and in his bones. He is made of inferior material, and therefore cannot be improved up to the level of the ordinary person. It is not suggested that pauperism *per se* is capable of hereditary transmission as a definite integral quality; but it is clearly, to a great extent, the outcome of qualities which can be so transmitted. Speaking broadly, pauperism is a token of the inferior capacity which belongs to an inferior stock. The hereditary nature of this incapacity may lighten the moral reproach against the loafer and the vagrant, but it emphasises the necessity of protecting the community against them, and, in particular, of protecting it against the perpetuation of the degenerate stocks which they represent.

This is an aspect of the case which, till lately, has been too much overlooked, but it is really the most important factor in the problem, seeing that it affects not only ourselves but our posterity. On this ground alone the proper authorities should be invested with the power of segregating and detaining—*permanently*, if necessary—those who burden the present and imperil the future of our race. It is necessary to insist upon this, because the recommendations of the Vagrancy Committee on the point are obviously inadequate. They propose a detention of not less than six months or more than three years.<sup>73</sup> These shorter periods may suffice for cases in which reform is possible, but in the case of the man who either cannot or will not be reformed nothing short of permanent detention will effectually protect the community. Even the full-blown Socialism of the Minority Report of the Poor-law Commission approves, to a certain extent, of the principle of detention,<sup>74</sup> which is favoured also by the Committee for considering the eugenic aspects of Poor Law reform, the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, and various Poor Law Inspectors.

It is indeed an urgent necessity that the confirmed pauper and

<sup>72</sup> *Vagrancy Report*, p. 59.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* p. 76.

<sup>74</sup> *Minority Report*, p. 1238.



the habitual vagrant should be eliminated as quickly as possible by rigorously preventing them from reproducing their kind. The future quality of our race is rousing the alarm of all inquirers. On all sides we hear notes of warning that the strong, the healthy, the worthy are on the decrease ; the weak, the unhealthy, the worthless on the increase : and if this process goes on unchecked, civilisation ' will soon arrive at extinction by the elimination of all who are able to carry it on.' <sup>75</sup> Reforming measures of this kind are habitually opposed by the sentimentalism which seems to be ousting common sense ; but, as the Eugenic Committee report, ' if the public could see the facts as they are there would be much less sentimentalism in the matter.' <sup>76</sup> It is, indeed, high time that this should be brushed aside in the presence of what threatens to be a national danger. Moreover, sentimentalism is largely responsible for that misplaced sympathy with the idle, the unfit, and even the criminal, which masquerades as benevolence, and is all the more dangerous on that account. And it is partly responsible, at any rate, for the lazy toleration which has been extended to the current Socialist doctrines which would ruin the State for the sake of the individual, and bring down the individual in the ruin of the State. Nevertheless, if we are to have Socialism we must be prepared to pay the price ; and a stricter control of our social relations is part of the price. If the community is to be made responsible for the support of all its members it must be entitled in self-defence to determine who its members shall be, and upon what condition its support is to be provided. The only other alternative would be a gigantic system of outdoor relief, which would beggar the country—nay, would beggar the world.

The ' charge ' said to be imposed on the community by the idle rich is an empty fiction, fashioned only for the gratification of political antipathies and social spite. The charge of the idle poor is a solid and serious reality, which weighs grievously on the shoulders of the present generation, and, unless we take timely heed of it, may overwhelm those which are to come.

NORMAN PEARSON.

<sup>75</sup> *Eugenics Review*, November 1910, p. 171.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175.



## COUNTRY HOUSE VISITS

We live in an age of specialists. The amateur is losing every-where his precarious footing on the structure of life. He is profoundly discouraged, soon he will cease to exist. The water-colour drawings and portfolios of music, belonging to good-natured people cursed with the artistic temperament, have disappeared from country houses, while the same broad principle may be laid down about country-house entertaining itself.

A high standard has been raised, and those who are not able to conform to it by providing their guests with the best of shooting, fishing, or golf, no longer have the courage to invite parties to spend a few days at their country seat. I for my part regret these changes; there was something naïve and charming about the do-nothing days spent under the sheltering roofs of unambitious country houses, provided the visit was not paid too late in the year. These parties of my younger days contrast strangely with the Saturday to Monday caravanserais that fatigue us so horribly during the London season, and the shooting weeks to which one is pledged three months or so ahead. Failing to fill any engagement of this nature ranks as the sin against the Holy Ghost.

England is rich in manor-houses, whereas she is singularly poor in houses of the calibre of Longleat and Hatfield, and in all probability ancestral halls such as those inhabited by the blue-blooded men and maidens of Mr. Galsworthy's romance 'The Patrician,' thanks to the drastic methods of the Chancellor, will shortly become obsolete. Possibly a larger scope will be found for them in the future as sanatoria and lunatic asylums.

I have a theory that an expression of the national genius can be found in the small country houses I am trying to describe. Many of them gems of architecture, built in the golden stone of the West of England, or in stone married to flint, or bricks rose-coloured with the patina of time, they lie brooding on water meadows, or perched on a ridge of downland. Others less venerable belong to the 'H was a house' type, but all of them have been cherished and tended by generations of small gentry, who have their roots deep down in a yeoman ancestry, walls that have been warmed by the love of father and son, besides being



mellowed by sunshine and weather; gardens where old espaliers that have ceased to bear are shaded by pergolas of modern roses; grass paths, and sun-dials so moss-grown they cannot mark how quickly time is flying.

It is to a manor of this kind that I am leading you. You must approach it in the right spirit, prepared a little for the 'gentle reign of dullness,' yet with no horrid sense of apprehension which haunts one on the threshold of a grander style. The photographs of the stateliest homes in *Country Life* are instinct with this dread. I never see views of the Terraced Walk, the Italian Garden, the Visitors' Wing without an almost physical sensation of terror. How empty and passionless they look, these flat grey prints, yet with what burning longing one has yearned to leave such scenes when animated by the febrile *va-et-vient* of fellow guests!

The invitation of the old days was issued, perhaps, three weeks before the day named—it was written by the hostess in a smooth J pen hand on crested writing-paper. The crest has often pleased me, a pointer toying with a pæony, or some such device above a motto obscurely paradoxical.

It was couched in simple language; there was a veil of mystery, too, which lent enchantment to some of its promises 'to meet a few friends,' or 'some others will be here.' It was coy—'We hope to tempt you,' and deprecating—'Cannot we persuade you?' Thus, dexterously, the net was spread.

Revisiting is pleasanter than the experience of a first visit. I forget which Wordsworth liked best in Yarrow. Personally speaking, I am ill at ease in a strange house, but I return to a familiar one with a comfortable feeling of security; the arrival, however, is never an easy gulf to bridge, both hosts and guests sink to unfathomable depths of platitude. A masterly grasp of Bradshaw fortunately enables me to evade these gambits by arriving late, and I immediately accept the challenge of being shown to my room.

The visitor's bedroom is his castle, and I know just what I like mine to be. A little worn and faded, but comfortable with the early Victorian comfort of chintz fourposters and cross-stitch footstools. Good mahogany furniture, made by Gillows in the 'fifties, a hob grate with a kettle, and in a little old-fashioned bookcase a strange medley of books—flotsam and jetsam carried here by a tide of guests. The works of Miss Edgeworth, two Tauchnitz volumes of Robert Hichens, some anthologies, a life of Parnell, Whitaker's Almanack, and the Bible. Before the fire a not too luxurious armchair invites me to meditation.

No fear of ghosts in such a room as this, but I confess to a creepy feeling in some beautiful Tudor halls, enough at least



1911

to make the visit disagreeable, no Capuan ease under the pale pink duvets and lace-trimmed sheets of Rothschild's châteaux and Elinor Glyn's romances—nothing of the white walls and gay cretonnes which belong essentially to the super-cottage architecture of nowadays—the bedroom that I love (apologies to the Laureate) strikes a graver note. I love it, and its spacious hanging cupboard which amply accommodates my wardrobe.

The first evening of the four which I have been invited to spend here is, perhaps, the most trying.

The guests come down wan and tired. They have removed the stains of travel, but their more acute consciousness is a little dulled by the hours they have spent at various junctions, and the recollection that a maid has allowed a derelict kit-bag to drift relentlessly forward on the main line instead of anchoring it to the bulk of the luggage. People eye each other with a vague suspicion, they become more genial later under the influences of food and drink.

After dinner the bridge table calls, two or three of us take a perfunctory interest in the hostess' game of patience, she plays deftly with a flow of small talk, and a flash of diamond half-hoop rings. One couple, isolated on a sofa by 'force majeure,' have sat next each other during dinner, but these accidents will happen, and the hours kept are not late ones.

Our host is set in a low key, he depresses the social mercury by an equal distrust of the climate and the partridge prospects. The male guests are visibly affected by his sardonic mood; after several attempts to lift the cloud of melancholy that envelops him, they retire hurt. Some of the ladies discover in the course of the evening that he can be roused to what approaches enthusiasm by describing the admirable manner in which his chauffeur helped to install the electric light. It certainly bears traces of a 'prentice hand. We struggle with it when trying to read in bed that night, and are signally defeated by its obduracy.

It is a country house convention that women breakfast upstairs, but I have not discovered which is the better scheme—the well-covered tray which heralds its arrival by a loud knock on the part of the second footman, or to face at 9.30 the depressed group gathered round the dining-room table. Some of my women friends breakfast in a hat; this partly solves the problem, one feels it a protection and an equipment to some extent; but alas! I have never become immune to the shyness of this particular hour. I believe men feel it as much as we do, yet how few possess the larger courage of demanding their breakfast in their room.

The composition of a successful party is as uncertain as a soufflé. The same receipt does not always procure the same



result, and in both cases the hostess has to gamble. Husbands and wives are dull together, and it is a little hazardous to ask them separately. One cannot help welcoming a 'liaison' so hallowed by custom and recognised by Mrs. Grundy that the man and woman can be invited together without any beating about the bush. The responsibility of entertaining them is reduced to vanishing point, and one can ignore cheerfully the angry disagreements varied by a languid indifference they show towards each other—in public at least.

For the sake of argument we will imagine a party of the old-fashioned type. A snug forgathering of seven or eight agreeable people—our host and hostess entertain in this manner during the summer and autumn months. A mild rubric is closely followed by them on these occasions, and by the well-disciplined guests they have invited. Let me introduce them.

From the other side of the county—a misleading phrase we often use—come neighbours, a blameless couple in the prime of life. He is a familiar figure on election platforms, and in less stirring times gravitates by some natural law to every agricultural show. His time and energy are thus fully spent; he also organises County Council lectures within a radius of ten miles from his home, a distance which his overworked and rather underbred carriage horses can carry him. She is a gentle, faded woman, an accomplished bazaar-opener, and the secretary of the local Nursing Association (which she works on the Holt-Ockley system).

A literary flavour is given to the party by the presence of a man of letters, who is presented to us by the host, with a voice carefully modulated for the editorial note. One is usually taken at a hopeless disadvantage from being unacquainted with the author's works. When there is no answering spark of recognition, the gentleman is pronounced to be a great authority on rock-gardens, and the writer of that charming volume 'Mites of the Moraine.' A tall willowy lady, also staying here, has a lyrical gift, we are told, but writes almost entirely in the Derbyshire dialect; the padding of the party consists of a *parti* and a detrimental, both invited to meet an American girl whose crisp sayings are not entirely appreciated by the ladies, and a female cousin of the house on whom devolves the fagging for hosts and guests alike.

Our eligible young man is in the —th Hussars, and he is doing Brigade-Major to the Territorial Brigadier. He is handsome, bronzed and inarticulate. The War Office need not despair of our second line of defence while such men are still willing to hold these billets! True, it is regrettable that he should take no interest in the Boy Scouts, a movement with which our host has



1911

identified himself whole-heartedly, but his winters are busy; by dint of untiring effort and much travelling, he manages to hunt four days a week with provincial packs, and in the summer he seems to be away a good deal.

He has met the lady from Boston once before, on a homeward-bound voyage from India where she had been doing the Mutiny cities. He vaguely remembers her neat ankles on a deck-chair; this young officer is vague, so the headquarters of the County Association assure me.

And now we have become known to each other, let us hear the programme which lies before us. It is lightly sketched out on the first evening by our hostess, while the coffee is being handed round. The thread of her narrative is broken for an instant when the American 'bud' produces a cigarette from a Russian enamel cigarette case, but after a tremor of involuntary consternation, she resumes it again with what Jane Austen describes in Mrs. Bennet as 'unwearying civility.'

The day after our arrival our host has provided an old-fashioned day's partridge shooting, with an occasional drive; the ladies, he hopes, will lunch with the guns—delightful. The second day a motor expedition to the dear old minster, which well deserves a visit from all lovers of Early Perpendicular—there is a pause during which the listeners feel a little anxious; the third day there is a lawn-tennis tournament (ah! we breathe again) at a neighbouring club-ground. On the fourth day 'relâche' both morning and afternoon, though this is purely unintentional. The ducal garden party, at which the ladies of the party were to have figured, has been postponed. The cause of this disappointment provides a topic which seems inexhaustible. The dear Duchess is doing a rest cure; she was really on the verge of a nervous breakdown when Lady Agatha announced her fixed determination to marry an Oxford Don, who has sworn allegiance to the Independent Labour Party. This, if I may say so, is the *leit motif* of our châtelaine's conversation. Although this stricken family is quite unknown to us before our arrival, at the end of the visit we seem to see the supine Duchess. Nor does it demand any great stretch of the imagination to visualise the aristocratic, if somewhat foolish, facial angle of her daughter.

On being shown a large signed photograph of the lady I feel it is 'up to me' to make some suitable remark. The heavy silver frame is taken off the piano, which, by the way, is not available as a musical instrument from the number of fine pot-plants the gardener exhibits on it. I take refuge in generalising on the want of individuality in photographs of this kind. Even Lady Agatha looks like Miss Zena Dare. My hostess quite agrees with me, she



prefers miniatures, and fetches some execrable ones for my inspection. I have learned to dread the portraits of my friends, as 'soft.' My host creates a welcome diversion by joining us. He appears, however, to be in a positively Saul-like mood to-night, and I can discover no David in the party. He directs a few sinister remarks against the weather, and makes expeditions into the front hall to test it, causing an icy draught to circulate round the legs of the bridge-players. The glass is falling, he assures us. I am reminded, as I watch him knocking it, of a blackbird tapping for a worm, with a beady eye, and his head on one side. A dreary scrutiny of the other kind of barometer takes place also. That glass box, which has its place in every well-ordered country house, in which a spirit hand seems to trace a prophetic scrawl on the chart.

The day of the shoot is disconcertingly fine in open defiance of the oracles. The stain of autumn is on the trees, and, like showers of confetti, the leaves are blown from them, while we sit under the lee of a boundary fence which takes the keen edge from a north-west wind. After luncheon we are invited to gaze at the rows of slaughtered game. We prod the birds with our umbrellas and shooting-sticks, and turn from them and a horrible Gehenna of ginger-beer bottles to walk home across the stubble.

By this time we have all become more or less *intriguée* by the fair Bostonian, but we are too delicate-minded to inquire if she is an heiress; we have merely discovered that her Christian name is Sadie—her other name is less fortunate, but as she will change it for one recorded in De Brett we need not worry. To use one of her own expressions, there is a great deal of 'get up and get out' about Miss Sadie.

While our hostess's attention is absorbed by the tea-urn, a beautiful piece of Queen Anne plate which refuses to boil and leaks persistently, some of us feel emboldened to question her as to the receipt of an excellent home-cured ham which appeared on the previous evening, and was highly commended by all the husbands. The secret will die with her, I fear, for, though obviously flattered, she became almost sphynx-like in her determination not to reveal it.

Looking back on these days, I remember the frozen numbness of the drive to the minster. The eligible Hussar took some of us in his Rolls Royce, others less favoured followed in the 1907 Panhard belonging to the house. To linger in the chilly precincts seemed a kinder fate than to drive back in the teeth of the gale, so we loitered in the echoing aisles, and gazed abstractedly at those parts of the Abbey of which we knew the nomenclature. The poetess's delicate susceptibilities were outraged by the gaudy glass



1911

filling of some ancient tracery, a window presented by the relict of a lamented mayor. Fortunately the eyes of Miss Sadie were holden, and she expressed as much admiration for this as for the flying buttresses and silent cloisters. She managed to escape almost immediately in quest of tennis shoes; they were not to be found in the town, but a pair of pepper-and-salt rubber-soled sand shoes were purchased to wear on the following day.

I wish I understood the system of these new fangled lawn-tennis tournaments. However many times one is ruefully defeated by hard-hitting couples, there is always another pair anxious to play one the allotted seven games. It lasts an interminable time, the balls are wet and sodden, the players weary and footsore, the lawns are drenched with dew before the prizes are assigned. Those who merely looked on sat dazed, unable to watch the flight of the ball, and aware only of a cinematograph of white flannel trousers. We concluded rather sadly at the end of the evening, judging by the violence of the service which spared neither age nor sex, that truly the days of chivalry are dead.

The doctor and his wife won; he had to hurry away to a case of appendicitis, and his better half carried off the trophies.

The last day dawns—a pearly mist pierced later by the sun. We ramble in the garden, though September has wrought havoc there, the rank wild growth of annuals not yet uprooted, Michaelmas daisies bent by the storms, and starry Japanese anemones. The border is still charming, and speaks of loving ministrations and a carefully chosen colour-scheme. It is, however, critically viewed by one of the ladies, a rival gardener, no doubt, who repeats at intervals a remark one so often hears, and which does not carry conviction: 'Ours is such a *cold* clay soil.' Before the full blaze of midday the young people visit the rose-beds, Miss Sadie is kodaked among them, for the Visitors' Book, shafts of light fall on her burnished head—it is a pretty picture—I press the button twice. After luncheon the male guests grow restive; we are camped under the beech trees, the postponement of the Duchess' garden party is again deplored, the men find themselves repeating remarks about the weather with a mechanical monotony—'What a day for this time of year!' Another man 'It is a day!' Miss Sadie is outraged by their lethargy, and asks for the names of new books. She galvanises the little group into greater mental activity. French novels are mooted; the young lady does not flinch, she merely says, 'Do recommend me some that are mildly improper, but not aggressively squalid.' She would have done better to have left this unsaid; luckily she herself is so thinned socially that she notices the goose-flesh of the older ladies, and murmurs one or two disarming names—Pierre Loti, Cherbuliez, Octave Feuillet. Then the talk is of recent American



literature. Miss Sadie explores a somewhat dangerous territory with the literary man. We feel instinctively that she has only a bowing acquaintance with Emerson and Hawthorne. She ranges over a wide field which covers Buster Brown and William James, but she seems most familiar with the first.

The slow-footed hours pass, and are marked only by telegrams which, when borne across the lawn, arouse a frenzy of barking on the part of the two dogs, a black Pomeranian and a leggy fox terrier. These have likewise to be chastened for a maddening habit of truffle-hunting on the croquet ground; they tear up the lawn remorselessly.

The young men leave us towards tea-time, both have been unexpectedly called to town, the summons synchronising rather curiously with our visit to the minster. The luggage is piled high on the back seat of a dog-cart, a struggling half-broken Labrador is also held there with difficulty. This animal, more suited to coursing than to any other sport, has aroused the execrations of host and keepers by persistently running hares. Miss Sadie sees its owner depart with a pang, though she realises sadly that she has not scored a single point below the line.

The visit is over, already the rush of the outer world is making itself heard in our ears, there is a lingering melancholy in all good-byes.

We look sentimentally at the silhouette of house and garden. Lights wake up at the windows, it is time to go indoors—the place has become dear to us—more dear, perhaps, because we are leaving it to-morrow, but we cannot analyse our sensations very clearly, as the dressing-gong has rung.

The last evening is like the first. The shaded brilliance of candles on the bridge-table, the murmur of voices from the sofa, the host's short laugh, a little grim, perhaps, and presiding over the scene, conscious, yet indulgent of all our shortcomings, our hostess playing patience—she is, perhaps, reading our destiny in the chance fall of all those cards, it is pleasant to hear their dull snap as she plays them, and to watch the swift movement of her hands. The diamond rings flash. The last evening is like the first, and makes me believe in a sort of cosmic stability and continuity.

Those things which, on first entering this room, offended our captious sense of beauty, seen through the mist of familiarity, have no power to hurt us. The mid-Victorian 'pouffs' and ottomans, the cut-glass chandelier, the sexless Carpaccios which clothe the walls, we overlook, because, like a thread of gold running through the skein, there are really fine *objets d'art* which also belong here—coloured engravings and mezzo-tints, satinwood and Sheraton, two Romney portraits, these, as well as the rest, are treasured;



1911

and just as the parent does not love the comely child more than the ill-favoured one, the owner of the unequal possessions is not going to cast out the productions of an age less happy in its taste. He may be wrong, but I like him for it, and I wish to lodge a protest against those æsthetic vandals who purge old-fashioned houses of everything that does not belong to a period to which furniture dealers have given a meretricious value.

But this is mere digression—we must make our farewells. Some, the early starters, express their gratitude and their regret at leaving over the bedroom candlesticks which, owing to the uncertain temper of the electric light, a friendly butler still provides—others are obliged to go through these formalities with host and hostess the following morning on the front doorsteps. Formalities, it is true, but we are conscious of a genuine sadness; the chapter is at an end; it may be that the book is closed.

Partir, c'est mourir un peu.  
On laisse un peu de soi-même  
Dans chaque heure et en tout lieu.

BARBARA WILSON.



# A SERVILE WAR

APPROXIMATE equilibrium between supply and demand and its correlative continuity of employment are obviously, in spite of modern facilities for international intercourse, more difficult to maintain when, in the present era, our staple industries are dependent upon the fluctuating demands of foreign consumers than in former times when our economic condition was based upon inter-consumption within our own shores.

The coal industry is almost singular in maintaining a steadily increasing output, but it is subject to sharp variations in prices, which, though they do not involve discontinuity of employment, result in considerable fluctuations in the scale of remuneration for labour. Our other main industries, and in a notable degree shipbuilding, encounter frequent, and often prolonged, periods of depression, accompanied by displacement of labour and reduction in wages.

To these variable conditions of industry are to be attributed by far the larger proportion of labour disputes. In these disputes trade unions generally play a conspicuous part; they are the agencies which control, direct, and finance the struggles of labour against capital; they are sometimes the initiating force of strikes, more especially those which concern the general interests of the trade they represent. But trade unions exercise pacific as well as belligerent functions in trade disputes: they often successfully, and sometimes unsuccessfully, attempt to restrain impetuous and unreasonable action on the part of workmen, or unfair and oppressive conduct on the part of employers; and this is notably so in the case of old-established unions, wherein the officials act with a greater measure of confidence and self-reliance than the officials of newly-established unions, who, in their anxiety to enjoy popularity and not jeopardise their positions, are apt to follow the course which the temper and reckless spirit of excited workmen dictate rather than that which prudence and ultimate advantage enjoin. At times, indeed, as was illustrated by the recent strike at the 'Combine Collieries' in Wales, men will reject the advice of tried and experienced leaders, but in most instances they submit to the guidance of their unions.



1911

The essential distinction between labour disputes of the present day and those which arose before the organisation of workmen in unions, and their consolidation into federations of unions, is that in former times strikes were sudden and spontaneous outbreaks of revolt against labour conditions which were regarded as intolerable, devoid of plan for amelioration, destitute of representative guidance or machinery for negotiation, and almost invariably terminating in the defeat of the strikers.

Trade unions, on the other hand, being the vigilant guardians of the interests of labour, are in constant communication with their constituents, and receive prompt information of every grievance, however microscopic, consider any grievance, not only from the point of view of the individuals aggrieved, but in relation to its effect upon questions of general policy, and occasionally anticipate the action of the workmen in the ventilation of grievances which might otherwise remain for an indefinite period unremedied.

Those who imagine that labour unrest and strikes are mainly the creation of trade unions fall into grave error; in those days when trade unions were non-existent, or in their nascent state were destitute of organising power, labour troubles were far more prevalent, and, as in the conflicts between workmen and their employers which followed the repeal of the combination laws in 1824, and the Luddite riots of an earlier period, were accompanied by disorders of a magnitude in comparison with which the recent disturbances were insignificant. What trade unions have done is to give intelligent direction to disputes when they arise, to provide the means for waging war, and, without resort to violence, by unity of action to bring very formidable pressure, both direct and indirect, upon employers.

Under a system of industrial competition, cessation of work as an effective means for protecting the interests of labour must of necessity always play a considerable part, and the history of labour abundantly proves that strikes, although they may fail in their immediate purpose, have, from fear of their recurrence, generally resulted in the ultimate improvement of the condition of the workmen; strikes, whether confined to particular industries or extending to the magnitude of a servile war, have been, and still are, the final means by which labour has broken down or materially impaired what Adam Smith describes as 'the tacit but constant and uniform combination' of employers not to raise wages. Later on I will discuss whether, under the competitive system, it is within the power of the State to devise means which may be more effective than its recent tentative efforts for the avoidance or mitigation of industrial disturbance.

The chief gravity of the recent labour troubles arose from the fact that the highly perfected organisation of the transport



unions enabled them to impede the distribution of commodities essential for the convenience and comfort of the whole population, and even for the adequate maintenance of the inhabitants of many of our towns; for ships and railways are now the only practical means of serving our population with adequate supplies, and it is under present labour conditions an alarming fact that workmen engaged in the transport industry, who number at a liberal estimate not more than 6 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom, could by a general strike paralyse the whole carrying trade of the country. As was recently pointed out in a Continental journal, those countries in which the population is largely rural—*e.g.*, France with 41.42 per cent., Germany 35.11 per cent., Austria 60.80 per cent., and the United States 35.64 per cent. of their populations engaged in agriculture—would not suffer in the same degree from interference with transport service as the United Kingdom, where the proportion engaged in agriculture only amounts to 12.66 per cent.

There is a widespread impression that trade unions exist solely or mainly for the purpose of regulating wages and hours of labour, and as a coercive agency for the redress of labour grievances. It is true that these duties constitute an important part of their functions, but as regards the application of their funds and the occupation of their officials they are quite subordinate to the expenditure and labour involved in the transaction of their business as sick and accident benefit societies, as is demonstrated by their financial returns for the year 1909, a period of considerable labour unrest. Of the total expenditure of sixteen principal mining and quarrying unions, amounting to 372,633*l.*, 17.7 per cent. (65,797*l.*) was expended on labour disputes; of the principal fifteen unions in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades, the corresponding figures are 1,082,119*l.*, 1.9 per cent. (21,115*l.*); of the twenty principal textile unions, 291,718*l.*, 15.6 per cent. (25,556*l.*); of the eleven principal transport (land and water) unions, 170,894*l.*, 5.8 per cent. Obviously in years of acute labour disturbance the dispute expenditure is larger, but taking the mean expenditure over the period of ten years ending in 1909, the corresponding percentage was approximately: the mining industry—a decade of exceptional disturbance—20 per cent.; the engineering, etc., 6 per cent.; the textile, 12 per cent.; the transport, 5 per cent.

Trade unions have existed in this country from a very early period, but their functions were for a long time confined to sick benefit purposes. In the eighteenth century, when the periodical assessment by justices of workmen's wages became obsolete, they increased in number, and to a small extent attempted the protec-



1911

tion of labour. With the growth of the factory system, and the expansion of our industries, they became general in all trades, but they carried on a very unequal contest against employers, whose combinations possessed a greater staying power than that possessed by combinations of workmen. Moreover, severe penal enactments were rigorously enforced against combinations of workmen to improve the conditions of labour, their funds were meagre, their organisation weak and disintegrated, their leaders were imprisoned, and under these conditions trade unions played no effective part as a controlling or moderating agency in the disputes between employers and employed. It was not until the legislation of 1870 and subsequent years that they were relieved from penal disabilities and their funds protected against fraudulent misappropriation, or that they possessed any legal recognition. Up to that time negotiation, conciliation, or arbitration was rarely resorted to : strikes or lockouts were the almost inevitable outcome of misunderstandings between workmen and their employers, and, after a brief struggle, often disfigured by wild excesses, they terminated in the submission of the workmen.

Although accurate statistical information as to the number of strikes in any given period is only of very recent origin, yet it is certain that they are less numerous in those trades which are provided with powerful unions than they were prior to the formation of the unions, and at the present time the number of workpeople involved in trade disputes in any one year forms but a very small proportion of the total number of persons employed. In 1910, the year of the maximum number of persons involved in trade disputes, the persons so involved represented only 5 per cent. of the total number of persons employed in industrial occupations, as against 2.9 in both 1908 and 1909.

Board of Trade statistics inform us that the aggregate number of working days available for the whole industrial population, excluding agricultural labourers and seamen, may be estimated at 3,000,000,000, and that the aggregate duration of all the disputes in 1910 was 9,894,831 working days, or, spread over the whole industrial population, the amount of working time lost owing to disputes was less than one day per head of the industrial population. The coal-mining industry represented the greatest loss of time—two days per head of those employed—but the condition of the coal industry was abnormal, the application of the Eight Hours Act involved something like a revolution in the working arrangements of the men employed and the domestic conditions of their families ; and even now the difficulties resulting therefrom have not been altogether adjusted. It was therefore inevitable that friction should arise in the efforts of the men to secure the full



benefit of the Act, and, on the other hand, of the employers to preserve the profitable working of their mines.

But however insignificant from a purely statistical point of view the number of these disputes may be, they involve a large measure of mental and physical distress, inflict serious financial loss upon employers and employed, and in an era of keen international competition probably entail permanent injuries to some of the trades involved. It is therefore a matter of urgent necessity for the State to address itself to the task of endeavouring to devise a method whereby disagreements between employers and employed may in their initial stages be adjusted by an authority which will command the general confidence of those immediately concerned.

In considering this problem, it is desirable to note what are the most fruitful causes of labour disputes, to review the results, and observe the means by which those results have been attained. The number of disputes involving stoppage of work reported to the Board of Trade in 1910 was 531, which affected 515,165 workpeople. Of these, no fewer than 117,000 were engaged in mining. Disputes concerning wages or hours of labour accounted for 44 per cent. of the persons directly involved—viz. 167,000—and it is significant, in view of the charges made against trade unions, that trade-union questions only represented about 9 per cent. of the persons involved, a figure slightly above the mean for the preceding ten years, which was about 8 per cent. It is obvious that disputes concerning wages and hours of labour, which affect the individual workman in a direct and immediate manner, are from their nature more difficult to adjust by external agencies than what are termed trade-union disputes—*e.g.*, which raise the question of the recognition by employers of trade unions as negotiating agencies on the part of their workmen, the co-operation of workmen by 'sympathetic' strikes with workmen in other trades who are on strike, general rules regulating rates of wages in a given industry; disputes concerning these matters, though they ultimately involve individual interest, in their immediate effect mainly concern the workmen only as constituents of an organic entity, and their solution can therefore be approached in a spirit of equanimity and temperance.

As already observed, conciliation and arbitration are the means of settling a considerable number of labour disputes. Of the 531 reported disputes in 1910 involving stoppage of work, 58 were so settled, and if we turn to the record provided by the Board of Trade of the most important disputes in 1909, we find that they were ninety-eight in number, of which sixty-five pertained to the mining industries. Of these sixty-five, the great majority of which were of very brief duration and were settled by direct negotiation between employers and employed, seven were adjusted



1911

by arbitration, and one by conciliation; and of these eight disputes, two were settled by the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Act of 1906. Of the remaining thirty-three disputes in various trades, eight were settled by arbitration; but of the whole number—ninety-eight—it is noteworthy that twenty-eight terminated in the unconditional submission of the workmen, and in fifty-three out of the ninety-eight disputes wages were directly in issue, and indirectly in a considerable proportion of the residue.

Statistics by no means fairly represent the part which arbitration and conciliation occupy in the settlement of disputes. The most significant proof of the growing tendency of employers and workmen to resort to conciliatory methods is the fact that those engaged in the leading industries of the country have, by their representative associations of employers and employed, entered into agreements whereby disputes are referred to boards of arbitration or conciliation. As an illustration of the nature of these agreements, the following extracts from an agreement made in 1907 between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers will be of interest. To this agreement the Steam Engine Makers' Society, the United Machine Workers' Association, the Society of Amalgamated Tool Workers, the Scientific Instrument Makers' Society, the National Society of Smiths and Hammermen, and the United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers have become parties, and it should be noted that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is among the wealthiest and most powerful trade unions in this country. The agreement commences with the recital that

The Federation on the one hand, and the trade unions on the other, being convinced that the interests of each will be best served and the rights of each best maintained by a mutual agreement, hereby, with a view to avoid friction and stoppage of work, agree as follows:

1. The federated employers shall not interfere with the proper functions of the trade unions, and the trade unions shall not interfere with the employers in the management of their business.

2. Every employer may belong to the Federation, and every workman may belong to a trade union or not, as either of them think fit.

Every employer may employ any man, and every workman may take employment with any employer, whether the workman or the employer belong or not to a trade union or to the Federation respectively.

The trade unions recommend all their members not to object to work with non-union workmen, and the Federation recommend all their members not to object to employ union workmen on the ground that they are members of a trade union.

No workman shall be required as a condition of employment to make a declaration as to whether he belongs to a trade union or not.

With a view to avoid disputes, deputations of workmen shall be received by their employers by appointment for mutual discussion of any question in the settlement of which both parties are directly concerned, or it shall be competent for an official of the trade union to approach the local



secretary of the employers' association with regard to any such question; or it shall be competent for either party to bring the question before a local conference, to be held between the local association of employers and the local representatives of the trade unions.

Failing settlement at a local conference of any question brought before it, it shall be competent for either party to refer the matter to the executive board of the Federation and the central authority of the trade union or trade unions concerned.

The passages I have above quoted deal in a broad and generous spirit with three questions of paramount importance affecting the relations of employers and employed. They recognise on the part of the employers the full status of the trade union as a negotiating agency on behalf of the workmen; on the part of the workmen they remove the ban of exclusion from non-union workmen; and on the part of both parties they accept the principle and establish the practice of remitting disputes to the consideration of a joint board of workmen, trade union officials and employers.

Agreements of a similar character and form have been established between the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and the various trade unions connected with shipbuilding, the Federation of Master Cotton-spinners, the various employés' associations and the trade unions of the cotton-weaving industry, the Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire coalowners' and miners' unions, and in numerous other trades.

We thus observe that the efforts of the leading trade unions and of some of the most important of the employers' unions are directed towards the attainment of conciliatory methods for the prevention and termination of disputes.

The vexed question of trade-union recognition still remains open as regards many important industries, notably the transport; it lay at the root of the recent railway dispute. The employers can adduce many formidable reasons against acceptance of the principle. It would undoubtedly tend towards the aggrandisement of the unions to which it was conceded; every workman would forthwith realise that it was his interest to become a member of that body which was regarded by his employers as the authorised medium for the discussion and settlement of grievances, and an organism so perfected would be able to bring more formidable pressure to bear upon employers than unions can under present conditions. On the other hand, friendly relations between employers and trade unions on the outbreak of any discontent enable the employer to confer with responsible and intelligent officials rather than excited and perhaps unreasonable men who regard with suspicion and distrust the most conciliatory overtures on the part of their employers, but would be more disposed to respect the advice of their own experienced and faithful officials. Moreover,



1911

it is to the interest of the trade union and its leaders to discourage and if possible prevent strikes, which necessarily entail heavy expenditure, and in certain aggravated cases total depletion of the union funds. For these reasons, fortified by the fact that trade-union recognition has on the whole worked extremely well both for employers and employed, the balance of advantage seems to be distinctly in its favour.

Conciliatory methods for the settlement of trade disputes are undoubtedly making steady progress, but there is no ground for an optimistic view as to the future relations between employers and employed. Strikes which owe their origin to some petty misunderstanding may, indeed, be prevented by well-conceived conciliatory methods. Nothing can be more pitiable so far as human nature is concerned than that the industry of a great geographical area should be paralysed, many thousand men remain idle for months, with the concomitant destitution and misery of their families, because a handful of men have a misunderstanding with their employers as to what should be their proper rate of remuneration. Yet this is what actually took place last year in Wales: a small number of men at one of the Cambrian Combine Collieries were dissatisfied with their scale of payment, their employers refused to increase it, mutual bickering ended in the strike or lockout of these men; then their fellow-workmen at the colliery struck work, not for any grievance of theirs, but from sympathy with the aggrieved workmen. Both sides remained obdurate, and then from this tiny spark spread a great conflagration, and 25,000 workmen employed in all the Combine Collieries left their work, and for many weary months the senseless battle was waged. My own observation, extending over many years, has satisfied me that a very large proportion of strikes could be avoided if obduracy and pride did not prevent the parties from acting in a natural manner.

But there is a deep-seated cause which must for an indefinite period generally prevent the settlement by arbitration or conciliation of labour disputes which involve hours of labour and rates of wages, and indeed all those which touch the economic condition of labour in relation to capital; there is undoubtedly a renaissance of that socialistic movement of which the Chartist of the first half of last century were the pioneers.

The leaders of the Chartist movement regarded direct legislative action as the only true policy for the redress of labour grievances and for the attainment of their ultimate aim—the substitution of State Collectivism for competitive capital; they had no sympathy with trade unionism, nor indeed with co-operative production or distribution; they regarded both forms of labour organisation as narrow, sectional and selfish in their policy, as constituting



an aristocracy of labour indifferent and even adverse to the general interests of the proletariat. At the same time they recognised in trade unions a series of organisations which, by a process of consolidation and co-operation might create and sustain a Parliamentary Labour Party, whose mission it should be to carry to a successful consummation their grand ideal of a socialistic State. The trade unions made a very feeble and inadequate response to the Chartist appeal, and, indeed, under the electoral qualification prior to 1869 they had scant opportunity of sending Parliamentary representatives. In the latter part of the nineteenth century they elected Mr. Macdonald, and later on Messrs. Burt, Broadhurst, Crawford, Fenwick, Wilson and a few other trade-union leaders, but they were sent less to serve the interests of labour at large than those of the particular industries with which they were associated; they were members of the Liberal Party, and had little or no sympathy with socialistic ideals; they were in no sense inheritors of the old Chartist traditions. That they exercised a quickening influence on both political parties in the promotion of measures in the interest of labour the most ungenerous critic must in justice concede, but their conformity to party requirements to some extent limited their freedom of action, and the preferment to office of Mr. Broadhurst, and subsequently Mr. Burt, definitely associated the old type of Labour representation with the Liberal Party.

The election of Mr. Keir Hardie marked the advent of a new era in Labour policy. He represented the Chartist conception that Labour must act as a political force, not in minute sections each pursuing its own particular advantage, but in unity and co-operation for the general good. His task was confronted with many difficulties, and when in 1906 he became the chief of a small party pledged to his policy, there were about the same number of Labour representatives, mainly from the mining districts, attached to the Liberal Party and repudiating his leadership.

An active propagandism in the industrial districts won over trade unions to his policy, and, with a few exceptions, notably Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, and Wilson, the dissentient Labour members acceded to his party and gave Mr. Keir Hardie the leadership of some forty members.

Whether the Labour Party will continue as an independent political force is a matter of speculation. Its combative character has certainly been modified since the accession of the Liberal-Labour members, the Liberal leaders display a natural anxiety to conciliate its leaders, and though apparently no offer of Ministerial rank has been made to any member of the Labour Party, the appointment of one of its most eminent members, Mr. Shackleton, to an office under the Government affords a precedent for admitting



1911

Labour members to a share of government that strikes at the root of that party independence which, in their case, has been so jealously guarded by the Irish Party. The Labour Party, it is said, have departed from the wholesome practice of party management by an annually elected chairman, assisted by a committee, and have appointed a permanent leader which confers a much larger measure of personal influence, and therefore facilitates the settlement of differences with the party in power.

But whatever may be the destiny of the Labour Party, it has undoubtedly changed the conditions under which labour has carried on an unequal contest with capital. Formerly labour had no adequate machinery by which it could attract public interest to its grievances; now it possesses a Parliamentary platform; formerly its influence over Parliament and the executive was indirect and feeble, now a formidable Parliamentary group can coerce a Government, dependent upon its support, by promise or performance to satisfy its demands, and can utilise the machinery of private Bill legislation to persuade public and private companies to make concessions in favour of labour; formerly each trade union fought its battles with little or no assistance from kindred bodies, now trade unions are so federated, largely through the influence of the Labour Party, that by the tremendous pressure of a general strike they can dictate terms to employers or provoke an industrial war. Trade unions are now the national constituents of forty members of Parliament, a considerable proportion of whom seek to supersede competitive capitalism by a system of State or Municipal Socialism.

It is obvious that these new conditions operate prejudicially against the settlement or avoidance of strikes. Aggrieved workmen no longer solely rely upon their own union to vindicate their rights and redress their wrongs, its strength has often been unequal to the task; but now, behind their union, stands the solid phalanx of federated unions, and behind that again the Parliamentary group, which can compel an imperious Minister to listen to its demands. Nor can we ignore the potent fact that the working man has formed new conceptions not only of his power but of the rights of labour; his ideas are enlarged, his desires quickened, the young men who dream dreams have pointed the way to new industrial conditions when labour shall be lighter, and from the narrow margin of subsistence he shall pass into the spacious area of abundance.

Again, recent Government intervention has tended to increase the confidence of labour in its power. I do not refer to the exercise of departmental functions by way of conciliation and arbitration under the Act of 1906, but to the interposition of the executive through the personality of a Minister of the Crown;



if unsuccessful it tends to discredit the Government, and in any event it tends to encourage the idea that by resorting to extreme measures the services of the Government may be enlisted, in the wholly illusory belief that such services will be more effective than the humbler agencies. It is manifest that it is beyond the power of the executive or of Parliament to regulate and adjust by administration or legislation the vast majority of those controversial matters from which strikes arise. Legislation may alter in some respects general rules which govern employment—*e.g.* the hours of labour, but its powers can go no further.

Mr. Lloyd George in 1907 made a laudable effort to avert a formidable strike of railway employes; his courtesy and ingenuity prevailed in inducing the acceptance of a scheme of conciliation, and in 1908 it was in general operation. Forthwith there ensued dissatisfaction and mutual recrimination, which finally culminated in the threat of a general strike. Again the Government intervened, this time by the Prime Minister; his proposals for pacification, apparently misunderstood, were flouted, and were immediately followed by a general strike of railway employes, which to a large extent paralysed land transport. It is interesting to note, with reference to what I have already said as to the tendency of Government intervention to raise extravagant expectations, that shortly after the interview with the Prime Minister one of the leaders of the strike movement, in encouraging the men to persevere in their efforts, told the very unlikely story that when the men's leaders told the Prime Minister a general strike of railway employes would follow the refusal of their demands, he 'turned pale, and staggered.'

Again Mr. Lloyd George intervened, and, with the assistance of some of the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party, contrived to arrange what now threatens to be a mere temporary cessation of hostilities.

Since the commencement of the railway strike the labour situation throughout the country has been aggravated, and there can be little doubt that the much-criticised action of the Home Office has created great resentment among the working classes. No sane man can question that it is the paramount duty of a Government to maintain order, and sometimes the employment of troops may in the end be the more humane method; but in the ostentatious movement of troops throughout the country with all the circumstance of war, in the distribution of commands among brigade officers, in the quartering of troops in places where no disorder existed and without any requisition from the civil authority, in the refusal to direct an inquiry into alleged excessive violence by police—and excess by authority against citizens is



1911

more dangerous to the security of the State than riots or tumult—grave offence has been caused to the working class.

While the report of the Royal Commission on the railway and arbitration scheme is under consideration by workmen and employers, it is undesirable to criticise its conclusions, nor would much profit arise from such criticism; it deals with matters of detail rather than questions of principle, with the single exception that it peremptorily excludes trade union recognition upon all questions which involve 'discipline and management.' This exclusion constitutes a negation of the fundamental policy of trade unions and there is grave reason to believe that this refusal will result in disappointment to the workmen and non-acceptance of the settlement it proposes.

I have endeavoured to present a faithful picture, necessarily sketched in outline, of the present industrial situation; it is perplexing and troublesome, and promises no speedy amelioration. Statesmanship has done, and probably can do, but little in the direction of amendment. Labour troubles have their roots planted deep in present economic conditions. Provision for old age, sickness and accident, or eleemosynary doles during unemployment do not meet the great twin evils—instability in the demand for labour and inadequacy in its reward. In an era of joint-stock companies with inflated capitals, sympathetic relations between employers and employed have almost vanished. On the one side the law of supply and demand, on the other resentment and revolt.

There are indeed two directions in which some amendment of the unhappy relations which exist between employers and employed may be effected—viz. by an amendment and extension of the machinery which the Board of Trade now possesses for the settlement by conciliation and arbitration of trade disputes; and, secondly, by the recognition and practical application of the principle on the part of employers that the workman has a larger interest in the fruits of his labour than the capitalist or *entrepreneur* is prepared to concede.

I have already referred to the machinery of the Conciliation Act of 1906; it has been manipulated intelligently and beneficially by the able officials of the Board of Trade, notably by Sir G. Askwith; but the chief defect in its administration is that the services of the Board of Trade are rarely invoked or tendered in the early stages of a trade dispute; it is only when the dispute has assumed its full proportion, and much loss and suffering have resulted, that intervention ensues, with the result that at this embittered stage conciliation becomes much more difficult.

Workmen are perhaps disposed to entertain needless suspicion of outside arbitrators. One of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on the Railways dispute frankly declared he had no



faith in an outside arbitrator, as labour disputes were a war of class against class, and the arbitrator would probably belong to the class which was hostile to labour. If the Government intend to persevere in their policy of intervention in labour disputes they must do their best to disabuse labour of an opinion which is to a great extent unfounded. The Board of Trade already possesses among its officials in the Labour Department men who formerly belonged to the ranks of labour, and that element might well be strengthened by judicious selection. But the most urgent need is the establishment of a Ministry of Labour. The President of the Board of Trade has manifold duties to perform, and despite his undoubted zeal it is impossible for him to devote that assiduous attention to the duties of the Labour Department which the economic difficulties between capital and labour demand.

But a Minister of Labour sitting in his offices in London can do little unless he enjoys the services of able coadjutors throughout the provinces; he requires an intelligence department, agents stationed in the chief industrial centres whose duty it should be to watch with vigilance the relations between employers and employed in their districts, and not merely to ascertain and report the imminence of a labour dispute, but to be ready and competent to use their good offices for its adjustment. Into the details of a scheme of this character it is not possible to enter here, but it is reasonable to believe that if, on the commencement of a labour dispute, there were available the services of a mediator enjoying the prestige which would attach to an accredited representative of a Minister of Labour, very many disastrous strikes would be averted.

The miners of Durham, assisted by the mutual respect which subsists between employers and employed, have, through the agency of a conciliation board, composed of both parties, which operates with rapidity and efficiency, and deals *in limine* with those differences which must inevitably occur between employers and their workmen, enjoyed for a number of years past remarkable immunity from labour disputes.

Workmen of all civilised countries have grasped the full meaning of the economic truth that capital is the product of labour, and of the ethical principle that they are entitled in a larger degree to share in the wealth they create. The prudence, if not the benevolence, of many employers, has caused them to give practical recognition to this principle, and generally with the happiest results. I had the privilege of personal acquaintance with the late Sir George Livesey, who was chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, and enjoyed some special opportunities of becoming intimate with the enlightened scheme of profit-sharing which he introduced into the conduct of that great concern.



Workmen regard with suspicion schemes of profit-sharing, and sometimes with good reason, for they are open to this objection from the workmen's point of view, inasmuch as they impede that mobility of labour which enables a workman to secure the highest price for his services, by tending to confine the workman to the employment wherein he enjoys a share of the profit. But if the employer give the workman an approximately fair share of the profits, this objection properly disappears. It was in this spirit that Sir George Livesey approached his task. His workmen were admitted to the business as shareholders, their representatives were given seats on his board of directors, and, if my information be correct, as I believe it is, he has succeeded in creating a truly co-operative sentiment on the part of the workmen in the conduct of the business.

It is true that in many businesses there are great difficulties in applying the principle of profit-sharing; where dividends are small owing to trade depression or inflated capital, the shareholders are not disposed to surrender any portion of the profits, but these difficulties, though of great moment, are matters of detail upon which within the compass of this article I cannot debate.

The principle of profit-sharing is sound; it is a step towards a larger application of co-operative effort; it does not violate though it may not conform to the principles of Socialism; it tends to the promotion of industrial peace by according to the worker, not a 'living wage,' but an established right to an equitable share in the wealth he produces.

L. A. ATHERLEY-JONES.



## THE DEFEAT OF 'CONTINENTALISM' IN CANADA

FROM A CANADIAN STANDPOINT

EXACTLY a fortnight before the recent Canadian elections there appeared, somewhat obscurely, in the *Times*, a Montreal telegram headed 'Reported Message from Mr. Kipling.' The message turned out to be a vehement appeal to the people of Canada to reject the Reciprocity proposals. Doubtless steady-going readers who read that paragraph felt somehow that an impropriety had been committed. The careless ones scoffed, and even the poet's admirers regretted his renewed incursion into politics. Politics was not the business of poets; let Mr. Kipling keep to his rhymes and his romances. And 'Reported Message from Mr. Kipling'—thus the shocked *Times* sought charitably to cover up the indiscretion; and it was the very last we heard of it in those columns. One or two other journals either doubted its authenticity or referred to it as an aberration in a man of genius.

Apparently not a single newspaper in this country attached any high value to this 'message'; and yet, even then, some of us who knew Canada and the temper of the Canadian people, who realised what the situation was *in esse* and *in posse*, the real character and aims of the two party leaders, the motives that lurked behind the Reciprocity proposals, and the danger to be apprehended if Reciprocity with America were again consummated (as it had been in 1854), we could not believe that such an appeal would fall on deaf ears.

I do not understand [wrote Mr. Kipling] how nine million people can enter into such arrangements as are proposed with ninety million strangers on an open frontier of four thousand miles, and at the same time preserve their national integrity.

It is her own soul that Canada risks to-day. Once that soul is pawned for any consideration, Canada must inevitably conform to the commercial, legal, financial, social, and ethical standards which will be imposed upon her by the sheer admitted weight of the United States.



She might, for example, be compelled later on to admit Reciprocity in the murder rate of the United States, which at present, I believe, is something over one hundred and fifty per million per annum.

Why, then [Mr. Kipling went on to remark], when she has made herself what she is, should she throw the enormous gifts of her inheritance and her future into the hands of a people who by their haste and waste have so dissipated their own resources that even before national middle-age they are driven to seek virgin fields for cheaper food and living?

Whatever the United States may gain (and I presume that the United States proposals are not wholly altruistic), I see nothing for Canada in Reciprocity except a little ready money, which she does not need, and a very long repentance.

We knew, and said so, that our countrymen must be already greatly altered in character if such a downright utterance as the foregoing left them cold. The sage admonition, therefore, of one London journal only provoked laughter :

Mr. Rudyard Kipling [it said], who has achieved a considerable reputation by his literary talent, would be better advised if he left politics severely alone for the future. His lecturing to Canadians about their fiscal affairs will be deeply resented.

For it was all part and parcel of the British misapprehension of the situation that, although Canada's soul was at stake, most of the commentators, in the Press and on the platform, thought it was merely her purse.

Not until after the elections had brought Mr. Borden triumphantly into power did we know how fully our prognostications had been realised, or how universally throughout the Dominion Mr. Kipling's message had penetrated. It will interest British readers now to know that it was printed not as a paragraph, not as a column, but that it filled an entire page in many of the leading Canadian newspapers. Nor is it too much to say that it was read and digested by virtually the whole English-speaking voting population of the Dominion, or that it was discussed more than any single speech or pronouncement by Mr. Borden or Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the whole course of the campaign. Indeed, in celebrity it ranks with some of the most notable public utterances of recent years, even with Mr. Chamberlain's announcing his Tariff Reform policy or Mr. Taft's 'Canada is at the parting of the ways' speech. Yet the celebrity still continues restricted to the other side of the Atlantic; of this interesting and effective manifestation we dwelling in England have heard nothing, or next to nothing. Some of its significance is conveyed to us in the following extract from a private letter written by an influential business man at Brandon, Manitoba, in the very heart of the farming country of the Canadian West. It is dated the 28th of September :



Although I am, as you know, a convinced Liberal and a follower and admirer of Sir Wilfrid, and fully intended to vote Liberal as usual, when it came to polling-day I gave my vote for Aikins, the anti-Reciprocity candidate. It was Rudyard Kipling's letter influenced me, as it must have influenced thousands. We had all heard Borden, Foster, and Sifton, but Kipling and Kipling alone struck absolutely the right note. *We saw how we stood in the eyes of the world as compared with the United States*, and we realised that 'ten to one is too heavy odds.' . . . Out here we are great admirers of Kipling, but only once before in his life, when he wrote the 'Recessional,' has he hit the nail on the head so exactly.

I hasten to say that I am not now intent upon appraising the precise value of all the causes of the Canadian Liberal *débâcle*; nor do I claim for Mr. Kipling more credit for influencing Canadian public opinion than he deserves or the facts available warrant. But the salient point in his message, the reference to Canada's soul (as a consideration apart from her bank account), seems to suggest a factor of the situation which has here been somewhat neglected.

The truth is that the people of the Canadian provinces, separately and jointly, and in differing degree, have been engaged in a moral struggle, often fierce, often seemingly hopeless for them, against the peculiar forces and tendencies which characterise America in the world's eye. What these peculiar forces and tendencies are, a host of cis-Atlantic observers, from Basil Hall to Mr. Wells, from M. de Tocqueville to M. Paul Bourget, have sufficiently specified, and the finer and more candid spirits in the United States admit, while deploring, their existence.

Besides these, there are also national traits, more venial, more superficial, but equally objectionable to British people in general, and Canadians in particular, which account for some part at least of the passionate Canadian prejudice against becoming 'Americanised.' As long ago as 1817 the Abbé Douthier expressed a fear lest the simple, God-fearing French-Canadian *habitant* would suffer loss of character through contact with the loose and irreverent spirits across the border. That fear has been expressed again and again since, and a Canadian humorist has drawn an only too faithful picture of the honest, contented Jean Baptiste Trudeau figuring in another *milieu* as the vulgar, bragging, showily dressed 'J. B. Waterhole of Chicago.'

'Keep the barriers up!' exclaimed Beverley Robinson, now more than two generations ago. 'Why should our ancestors have left the bosom of the American Republic in order to escape contagion, if we allow the Republic to follow us here? We believed in King and Constitution, and they did not. We believed in the British flag, and they did not. We believed in the principles of social subordination, in reverence for our rulers and respect for age and position, in purity in public life, in simplicity, cleanliness,



fair play, and the amenities of private life ; and because we believed that they did not hold to these things we left them. Shall we go back now when their early vices are grown inveterate? Shall we now welcome their principles? Again I say, Keep the barriers up !

Nor can it be said that these sentiments ever degenerated into a mere U.E. Loyalist shibboleth, or that as the century wore on justification for this early attitude became lessened.

'All sentiment,' wrote the American, Oliver Wendell Holmes, when in the fulness of years and wisdom, 'is dying out of our people ; no loyalty for the sovereign, the king-post of the political edifice ; no deep attachment between employer and employed ; no reverence of the humbler members of a household for its heads ; and to make sure of continued corruption and misery, universal suffrage, emptying all the great sewers into the great aqueduct we must all drink from.'

For a long time attempts were made to isolate this terrible disease of democracy, but the Civil War stopped all that. For forty years past every traveller in the States has been struck by the homogeneity of the people. From seaboard to seaboard not only are speech, dress, and deportment the same, but the Press is the same, and public opinion is the same. 'The days of diversity,' writes Professor Sedgewick, 'are numbered. All races are trimmed, lopped, and squeezed into the American mould.'

'Those,' in Mr. Frederic Harrison's opinion, 'who direct the State, who administer the cities, control the legislatures, the financiers, merchants, professors, journalists, men of letters . . . are all of marked American type.'

Five years after the close of the Civil War, that ill-fated attempt of the Southern planters to throw off the despotism of the mobocracy, the late Sir William Butler described America as 'that vast human machine which grinds Celt and Saxon, Teuton and Dane, Finn and Goth into the same image and likeness of the inevitable Yankee—grinds him, too, into that image in one short generation, and sometimes in less. . . . Assuredly, the world has never witnessed any experiment of so gigantic a nature as this immense fusion of the Caucasian race now going on before our eyes in North America.'

This, then, is the 'Continentalism' against which Canada has set her face ; which, summoning up all her forces for a final effort, the finality of which was pointed out to them by President Taft himself, she has succeeded in dealing a powerful blow.

For, notwithstanding innate dislike and distrust, the 'sheer admitted weight' of the States was beginning to tell on Canada. At the outset of the Laurier *régime* the process of assimilation began to alarm the friends of the British connexion. The policy



(not open, not frank, but veiled in fine phrases) which they can never forgive Sir Wilfrid Laurier for is this : that while indubitably recognising that Canada's national salvation lay in maintaining her equilibrium, in her power of resisting the foreign virus, he yet threw all the weight of his office and his personal influence into the American scale. For this he can never be acquitted at the bar of history, which will sum him up as a French-Canadian who was dazzled by the glamour of American material prosperity.

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into office we saw a nation of five millions of people, the same stock as that from which the English nation sprang, struggling for moral independence, struggling against absorption—whose very origins in Canada spoke eloquently of sacrifice; whose ideals were admittedly higher, whose public and private life was purer, and yet whose elected leader, the moment the opportunity offered, was ready to lead his people away from, and not into, their Promised Land.

Far be it from me to assail the fallen, but as a former supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier I cannot help recalling with shame that it was from his lips that I first heard the phrase 'manifest destiny.' 'I am a subject,' he once grandiloquently told a Boston audience, 'of the British Crown; but *whenever I have to choose between the interests of England and Canada it is manifest to me that the interests of my country are identical with the interests of the United States of America.*'

Note the circumlocution—mark the guarded phrase! He knew that material interests were as nothing to a people who long aforetime had sacrificed their material all to a principle. 'Manifest destiny' was often on his lips before he came into power in 1896; afterwards, owing to the circumstances of his election, if he used the phrase less, he laboured for the policy underlying the phrase more.

But we need not here follow him into the labyrinthine divagations of a policy which will duly receive the attention of the historians of the Laurier *régime*. It only needs to say that in the process of preparing Canada for her 'manifest destiny' Canada has suffered greatly during the past fifteen years. Was there not something infinitely sad—infinitely pitiful—in the idea that all the sins and blunders which have combined to make the best Americans despair of their commonwealth should be repeated in Canada? That all the fatal pitfalls that our American neighbours fell into should, after all these years of immunity, also be dug for us? The growth of political corruption during the Laurier *régime* has alarmed his own followers. Even so staunch a Liberal and pro-Reciprocity man as Mr. Joseph Martin, M.P., and others, including Mr. Cahan, K.C., have assailed the political morality of the late administration in unmeasured terms. According to the



former, 'All Government contracts, concessions and privileges, including even the appointment of judges, are put up for public competition, and go to the highest bidder.' Mr. Cahan has dwelt upon the 'widespread systematic and ruthless robbery' of public moneys which has been going on in various administrative departments. Mr. Borden's tremendous indictments of the Government for the reckless handling of public funds in connexion with the Quebec bridge and the new transcontinental railway fill several Blue-books.

And another phase of 'Continentalism' for which Canada will yet have to pay dearly was the system of promoting indiscriminate immigration—one of America's worst blunders, and partly responsible for the lawlessness and the 'murder rate of one hundred and fifty per million per annum.' As if the mongrel hordes of Europe—Sicilians, Czechs, Poles, Galicians, and Huns—would ever really assimilate the manners, institutions, and amenities which our British forefathers so slowly and painfully through the centuries established for us!

Most interesting and instructive is it to note the reception of Mr. Kipling's indictment of America in that country itself. While resenting Mr. Kipling's 'uncalled-for bitterness,' many of the leading newspapers are constrained to admit that the poet's charges are neither novel nor baseless.

'Let us be frank with ourselves,' remarks one journal. 'The time for America's hiding her head in the sand is past. Why is it, with all our efforts for self-improvement, our standard of civilisation is really lower than that of other lands? Would Canada really be contaminated by association with us? or are our critics only animated by petty spite and jealousy?'

Another observes: 'We long ago gave up attempting to please fastidious Europe, but for our one monarchical neighbour to turn upon us and claim an ethnical superiority is indeed a revelation.' The same newspaper recalls the words written by Charles Dickens to John Forster, and suggests that after seventy years they precisely represent the feelings, not of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, but of Mr. Henry James!

I don't like the country. I would not live here on any consideration. It goes against the grain with me. It would with you. I think it impossible, utterly impossible, for any Englishman to live here and be happy. I have a confidence that I must be right, because I have everything, God knows, to lead me to an opposite conclusion: and yet I cannot resist coming to this one.

'If,' says a leading New York journal, the *Sun*, 'there is a growing spirit of lawlessness in this country, there are many reasons to account for it. Some of these go far to palliate



certain forms of lawlessness, while others make it less excusable. The perplexing multitude of our laws, the unwise attempt to interfere with matters that are beyond the province of Government, the attempt to convert economic tendencies into statutory crimes, the increasing complexity of life, the racial deterioration due to undesirable immigration, are some of the many reasons which explain that which is in part only an apparent increase of lawlessness.'

Canada herself might well take heed of this, and even England might reflect upon another cause enumerated by the *Sun*. In its opinion the State is too much towards sentimental leniency with criminals, crime is too often credited to disease, and it is a mischievous error on the part of the community to ignore the wicked purpose and criminal disposition of the offender. It adds:

Mr. Kipling would have less reason to complain of the increasing number of murders in this country if every criminal trial here was conducted with the speed and sanity of the Crippen trial in England.

'It was,' says a writer in the *New York Evening Post*, 'the late Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, who once said in a public address that the rule of the mob in this country had become the habit of the American people. It is a shame and a disgrace that this statement can truthfully be made of us. But it is the truth. And the shame of it is all the greater because the people of the United States pride themselves upon their law-abiding proclivities, a pride not justified by the facts.'

I hope, then, I have succeeded in showing briefly what 'Continentalism' means to Canada. The danger has been great, but the defeat of the Laurier *régime* greatly lessens it. The injury has been signal, but it can now be repaired. Never again, in our time, will a Canadian Prime Minister seek to betray his country to America. Never again will the soul of Canada be subjected to such risk. Reciprocity is an ethical, not solely an economic proposition. Henceforward it should, and will, be the plain duty of our leaders to set the feet of the people upon the right paths; to arrest as quickly as may be the corruption that is already eating into Canada's political heart; to take down the false standards of life and conduct and manners which have been held up to our youth; to purge our Press and current speech of vulgarity; to show us by their example the reverent habits and better ways that were current amongst us before the aliens came. As I have written elsewhere:

We are going to assimilate these alien peoples. Our civilisation will suffer as our neighbour's has suffered; our serenity will cloud for a time, and when the contents of the melting-pot have cooled the alloy may be a



permanent part of our whole national being. But we shall not falter. The curious current gospel of altruism mixed with greed will, nay must, yield to other notions of human and national progress.

The defeat of 'Continentalism' is indeed a step forward towards the realisation of the hopes of Canada's founders. Its success would have doomed all their dreams and efforts to futility and decay.

BECKLES WILLSON.



## LITTLE EXPERIENCES OF A RANCHWOMAN

IN the 'Wonderful Country' of New Mexico—presenting, as it does, in its area of something over 122,000 square miles so much that is varied and interesting—romance would seem to belong to its past. It has been well said that 'the antiquarian will find enough of what is old beyond tradition, yet new to the fourteenth century, to keep him occupied for years in patient research. It is not necessary for Americans to go to Egypt or Persia to find ruins and relics of people who have passed from the face of the earth, they can be found here in New Mexico.'

Tempting as the story is from the days 'old beyond tradition' to the modern days of cattle wars and bad men, I here pass it all by, though with reluctance, to narrate a few episodes coming under my immediate notice while living on my ranch some forty-four miles north of the Texas border line—a sojourn beginning in 1894 and ending in 1907. It is not necessary to give exact dates, as the little histories of the neighbouring mountains and valleys are largely ignored by polite society; but they happen just the same, as every true Westerner, or he who has, voluntarily or involuntarily, been intimately associated with New Mexico life, knows well.

All would seem to be peace in the fertile and beautiful valley in which my lot was cast. And its air of peace does not belie it. The agricultural Mexican is, generally speaking, a peaceable person, and as a rule is more disagreeable in his citified than in his rural aspect, the latter being his natural one. A *peon* who worked for me a number of years—one of the comparatively few who, while speaking English perfectly, still retained certain desirable qualities of the uneducated native—had occasion sometimes to ride to the neighbouring city to bring home a horse of my selection. Before starting he invariably borrowed a revolver from me, and upon his safe return would tell how he had remained in the Texas town only long enough to rest and feed his own animal, and had kept strictly within the precincts of the livery stable. 'Too many bad Mexicans there for me!' he would exclaim, with solemn headshakes.

Mountaineers everywhere are more or less a law unto themselves; and here no allusion is made to Kentucky feudists, but to



the usually inoffensive inhabitants of the Blue Ridge of Virginia and the southern spurs of the Rockies. These do not cherish grudges from one generation to another, and when they commit murder, do so for what they consider lawful and sufficient reason—as a rule. When sheriffs are sent after them, they stand together to a man, cattlemen included; to arrest them in the ordinary manner is next door to an impossibility. But not seldom they proceed to the county town, and give themselves up, serenely confident that no mountain witness will be found to give testimony against them, and their faith is indeed founded upon a rock.

Some years ago a prominent lawyer of New Mexico started with his little son to drive sixty miles across the high ranges from our county town to that of an adjoining county, where court was being held. Cattlemen, great and small, were having troubles of their own regarding the mysterious disappearance of stock from certain ranches, and accredited report had it that the man of law carried with him documents liable to incriminate two or three well-known cattlemen, one of whom was the hero of the mountain country and by no means wanting in admirers outside that magic enclosure. From all accounts nature has suitably endowed him for the rôle of popular idol. Experienced trailers were employed, posse after posse carefully searched the high country lying between the ranch at which father and son had taken dinner and the town for which they were bound, but nothing tangible was discovered. The horses loosed from the empty buggy had announced by their frantic arrival at the ranch house some disastrous occurrence, and from that moment the search set in; but despite sensational reports, nothing, so far as I remember, was ever found but that deserted buggy, the print of a small shoe, a dried pool of blood—later pronounced to be that of some animal—and indeterminate tracks around the vehicle, soon lost in the sandy trail. The details of the whole story, dragged out, as it was, month after month, are too many to relate here. It was as if some winged foe (it was before the days of flying machines) had descended from the blue arch of the sky, and had spirited away father and son. For years rumours reached their home that one or both had been seen in Mexico or elsewhere, but all alike proved to be myths.

Suspicion, justly or unjustly, fastened on the man whom we will call Frank Gray, and on two of his closest allies—all cattlemen. The sheriff and his deputies went up into the mountains after them, but all in vain. The sheriff's chief deputy, who had well earned the name of being the most daring man in that country, assured me himself that they would never catch Frank Gray. 'The mountain people will see to it that he is never without horses, and he and the other fellows can ride around us



just as long as it suits them.' Only once did the posse actually sight the fugitives, to whom no doubt the game of 'I-spy' was an amusing one. My acquaintance, an expert detective as well as sheriff, learned that Gray and his companions were in a deserted house somewhere on the ranges. Thither the posse rode with haste, to find that the house was an *adobe*, and, like most *adobes*, had a low parapet running along the edge of the flat roof. Sure enough three familiar heads popped into view over the parapet at the sound of horses' hoofs. The sheriff rode up, and, after reading his warrant, endeavoured to reason with Gray. He was merely laughed at, and bade to come and get his men. At once shooting began, and one of the deputies fell. Then Gray showed himself again, and pointing out the inequality of such a combat between two parties, one of which was protected, the other in the open, concluded thus: 'Now, I don't want to hurt you, Pat, nor Ben neither. We're all old friends, and I'm sorry I had to do up Jim. But sure as you stay here, neither of you two will leave this place alive!' Unfortunately, the presentation of the case left nothing to be said on the other side, and the disgusted sheriff and his deputy had to ride away, sending later for the body of their companion. The deputy related the anecdote to me himself.

And now we come to my small share in the story. About the time of the lawyer's disappearance, or not long before it, I was looking for a reputable couple to rent the back of my big house, the wife to prepare and serve my meals, as I did not wish to be compelled that summer to sleep away from home. A person, whom I rightly distrusted, recommended a mountain couple who wished to live in the valley awhile, as the husband expected to be away a good deal attending to mining interests in Arizona; but there was a boy old enough to act as protector, if such were needed, and who made his home with the pair. Immediately on seeing the mountain woman's wholesome, good-looking face, all distrust on my part vanished; not only so, but I found that previous to her marriage, a few months earlier, she had long been cook in a family with whom I was on intimate terms, and they had liked her well. And so did I, up to the dramatic close of the episode; she was in no way to blame. Her husband was not often on the ranch; neither do I believe he ever went to Arizona. I learned later that he had left another State, after committing a murder there, and had come to New Mexico, where he had met and married the mountain-bred girl. So far they appeared to be mutually attached.

After the warrant was issued for the arrest of Frank Gray and his companion, or companions, feeling in the valley town ran high. Cowboys and small cattlemen were frequent visitors at my ranch, their horses giving evidence of long riding, and the



men cheerfully proffered pay for their feed while they rested in a spare corral. All these men were chivalry and courtesy itself to the lone ranchwoman, and often I thanked my stars for the peace and ease brought me by these mountain people, after the rudeness and impudence too often served out by their 'educated superiors.' One Sunday in particular, I remember two or three 'mountain boys' were spending the day at the ranch, and the husband and wife were going with them on some all-day trip, ostensibly to visit neighbours. Early in the morning a tramp had taken possession of a small fruit-house on my land, and, turning the key in the door, refused to budge. The wife and I had driven to town to try and get a deputy sheriff to put him out, but the excitement of sending posses into the mountains rendered my personal affairs for the moment profoundly uninteresting. I have no idea now that the 'visit to neighbours' on which the husband insisted, in spite of the wife's protest at leaving me, was anything so innocent, and on the ensuing day there was an air of mystery prevailing evident even to the preoccupied senses of the busy ranchwoman. The hobo and I, however, did not remain in sole occupation of the ranch that Sunday. One of the cowboys chivalrously protested that he was 'not a-goin' to leave a lady alone with a no-account hobo,' and that if I would supply him with a heap of reading with pictures to it, he was there to stay just as long as the tramp stayed—which he did, and longer, as toward evening a deputy appeared and took my unwelcome guest away to gaol. Not many, if any, men in that valley would have sacrificed their Sunday to guarding the ranch and the person of an entire stranger. Buried in books and papers he sat silent for hours, too diffident to enter into conversation, but responding courteously to occasional friendly observations when I returned late in the afternoon from dining with neighbours. A young and pretty woman, or an old, infirm one, might have expected something of the sort, but in this instance neither of the above descriptions fitted; and I may add that all my dealings with mountain people have been more or less of the same nature.

This being so, my own behaviour on the following morning was not so crazy as might appear. When about seven o'clock the wife brought me my breakfast, I remarked that there did not seem to be a man left on the place, with the exception of my Mexican boy, who had been in for orders. She glanced at me rather queerly, and retorted that Bob—the white boy—was in the kitchen. Later I drove to town, to find excitement and partisan feeling at the fever point. In big, bold letters, a reward was offered by the Territorial Government for the arrest of any person or persons implicated in any way in the disappearance of



Judge K. and his son. Search-parties were still engaged in riding out of town toward the high ranges. It may be mentioned that Gray spent a day openly doing some 'trading' in the border city while he was being hunted in the mountains! A friend called to me from her porch, and on driving as near to her as I could she begged me, almost with tears, to go back to the ranch, fetch what I needed, and prepare to spend several days in her house—that every man in town was armed, that trouble was looked for before night, and that the storm would probably break on my ranch. So that was the explanation of the cowboys, I said to myself! For a few moments I was in danger of yielding to my friend's entreaties, but reflection brought wisdom.

'No,' I said. 'I am better protected than I ever have been since living on the ranch. That tenant of mine thinks too much of his wife to permit her to be scared or injured in any way; but if she leaves I will come to you gratefully. Those men around me now are, I assure you, of the kind who look out for women!' On arriving at home I went straight to the wife, and told her all I had heard. Just at first she hesitated as if seeking assistance—then suddenly gave in, and in passionate words declared that 'John' and the boys would not allow a hair of our heads to be touched; if there should be any fighting it would not be near us—'John' would see to that. I was absolutely convinced of her good faith, and after telling her of the security I had felt ever since she and her people had been in my house, said quietly—'Mamie, you know Frank Gray, of course?' She glanced at me half wildly; then burst into tears. Know him? Why, of course she knew him! Wasn't he playing cards at her father's house, and didn't he sleep there the night before that lawyer was claimed to have been murdered? He could not possibly have reached the scene of the crime until long after lawyer and boy had vanished, even if he had kept his horse at a hard run the whole distance—no, it was not possible! I let her talk on. Presently she threw her head back, and, with a fine gesture, cried, her eyes once more filled with tears:

'I tell you right here that my John would give his life for Frank Gray any hour, any day, and think it well given!'

But the peaceful valley, unaccustomed to much 'gun-play,' remained undisturbed; and I shall always believe that Frank Gray, through the mountain form of wireless telegraphy, 'stopped the fuss.' The men returned soberly that evening, only to depart early the following morning. The incident, however, was not closed.

Two or three days later, the deputy sheriff—whom I then knew slightly and came to know very well—the sheriff's right-hand man, and later himself sheriff—walked up to my porch. Doffing his hat



half-way up the path, he began to expatiate loudly on the beauty of the place, the flowers and trees, and as I stood on the edge of the porch he informed me in the same unusually raised tones that he would like mighty well to rent the house himself, as his wife had taken a fancy to it. Would this be convenient? And what rent would I expect? My astonished countenance—for I had no idea of renting—was his sole answer at first; then I exclaimed in amusement at such a proposition.

'Well, let's go in the house and talk it over, anyhow!' he rejoined, at the full pitch of his lungs.

Everything was wide open, according to the New Mexican custom, but after following me into the parlour he shut the door. His voice sank almost to a whisper, and in a few words he explained his real errand. My entire household, with the exception of myself, was under the strongest possible suspicion; in fact, it was practically ascertained that 'John' and every man who came on the place were adherents of Frank Gray, and knew where he was and were in actual communication with him. At this point the colour began to rise in my face under the scrutiny of the sheriff's clear, shrewd eyes; and now that he has long since been appointed special detective for one of the great trans-continental railroads, I often think of that summer morning when I found it so hard to keep the guilty colour out of my cheeks—though why guilty I scarcely know.

Well, to make a long story short, he wished me to spy on these people, in the interest of the Government, and on pretence of driving a bargain about the rent he proposed to come every few days to hear what I had to tell. As I said, I grew to know this man well, and to feel the deepest gratitude for kindness and chivalry extended to me in tragedy and trouble—in short, for a while I depended on him, and never did he fail me; but at that moment, looking out into the radiant garden, flowers and blue sky and bluer mountains were dimmed for me by a sudden mist of indignation. Betray these people, who had been good to me in their own way? Never!

'No, Mr. Thomas,' I said at last, 'I cannot do that. I cannot play the spy.'

We looked full at one another for a few seconds. Then he picked up his hat and rose to go.

'I am sorry,' he said; 'I did not think you would look at it that way. You understand, I am only doing my duty?'

'Certainly I do! But for me it is different. And I know absolutely *nothing*, beyond the fact that the woman declares Frank Gray was at her father's house the night before the——'

I hesitated on the word. The sheriff smiled a queer little smile.

'Yes,' he said, looking down at me kindly but quizzically,



'it's sure hard riding from old man Bent's cow-ranch to where that buggy was found!'

That closed the episode so far as serving my adopted country was concerned. Yet, as I said, the sheriff and I became good friends.

A day or two later the woman came to me in some distress, saying that she had to leave me but did not want to do so. 'John' had a fine offer of work in an Arizona mine. So far as I could ever learn, the couple returned to our own New Mexican mountains, and, according to general belief, at the behest of Frank Gray; further, it was believed that he had placed these people in my house that affairs in town might be watched without attracting observation. But somehow the plan did not work, and they were ordered back to their mountains. After Frank Gray had amused himself 'as long as he felt like it,' he calmly jogged in to town and gave himself up—he and his companions. They were all released on bail, and after the trial were dismissed on the plea of insufficient evidence.

Had I space, I could relate other and infinitely more sensational incidents, in which I was forced to play my part; yet none of these were really calculated to injure the peaceful reputation of our fair valley. And in regard to Mexicans—it can safely be affirmed that no woman could have passed so many days—not nights—alone on a ranch in the Black Belt without molestation. In our valley I was constantly alone with the *peons*, except, of course, for casual callers, and although surrounded by white as well as Mexican neighbours, even a thirty-acre ranch involves a certain isolation from one's kind.

So many unusual and serious episodes led to my friendship with the deputy, or sheriff as he later became, that neither space nor perhaps inclination permit of their recital; but one comparatively small affair may find place here, marking as it did my second meeting with that formidable foe of bad men.

I had re-engaged as cook a white girl, who, after serving me to perfection, not only in the house but aiding me in more arduous duties with fruit-packing, chickens, etc., had been recalled to the city by her mother. Soon after I had drawn my initial breath of relief and joy at her reappearance, I began to notice an alarming deterioration in her, and one morning she was plainly intoxicated. Greatly disturbed by the phenomenon—as it then appeared to me—I drove to town, debating within myself what I had better do. On leaving the post-office, letters in hand, and still undecided, I was confronted with a yet more remarkable phenomenon in the shape of a white man untying my mare for me; and, as he turned, with a lift of the hat, I recognised the sheriff. On pretence of



arranging the lap-robe, after I had taken up the reins, he said in a low voice :

'Wait for me at the big cottonwood on the acequia outside town. I have something important to say to you.'

Amazed but obedient, I had just pulled up in the shade of the tree when he was not only beside me, but in the buggy, requesting that I would drive rapidly until we had put half a mile between us and possible observation. Then we paused again.

'Do you know anything about that girl in your house?' he began.

'Only that she was the best girl I ever had, and is so no longer.'

'Do you know who she is?' he persisted, his penetrating gaze on my face.

'Yes,' I replied, innocently enough. 'Her parents live in the city. I don't know what is the matter with her now. She was drunk when I left home.'

'Now!' he repeated, with a grim kind of laugh. 'I knew for a fact that you were not the kind of a lady—though I have only met you once before to-day—to keep a notorious character like Julie Black in your home—knowingly, that is. How she contrived to behave herself for seven months with you last year beats me!'

And as he proceeded with his horrid recital, it beat me too. Unfortunately, there was no actual legal offence warranting her arrest at that moment; she was not 'drunk and down.' But the sheriff had seen her in saloons late at night with men when I supposed her slumbering in her room at the back of my big house; and in truth I had slumbered alone many a night, with unlocked doors, she having beguiled the neighbour's boy, who also slept in the house, to walk with her the mile to town; he refused manfully to let her use my horses, and, it must be said for him, returned at once to the ranch. When Julie returned it was usually with men—the very thought of whom under my roof caused me to shudder! Of all this the sheriff had made very sure before speaking to me. The nocturnal trips were simplified by the fact that the dogs, large and small, adored her, and knew her step afar, although I could recall subdued growls on the part of the little Chihihuahuas occupying my section of the house, always quicker to suspect the unusual than the larger breeds; also that a heavy door separated my part of the solid adobe building from the back premises, and that, the walls being something like three feet thick and the floors laid directly on the ground, distant sounds did not reverberate.

After I had turned the mare's head towards town, my informant concluded thus :



'It's best for me to leave you here. Go right home and send that woman away. Then go to the city for awhile, and leave the boy in charge; he's straight all right, and has had enough of Julie's doings—give him a gun, and he won't let her set foot on the place! Now don't you worry! I'm laying low for that girl, and have been for a week or more, and it's up to me to run her out of town first square chance I get.'

So home I went, not without trepidation it must be confessed—still, it was the old case of needs must. There chanced to be no work doing on the ranch just then, but the boy was there. Julie was still half drunk and altogether abhorrent, but I succeeded in making her pack her trunk in readiness for the wagon later on. Imagine my horror then when, having bid me farewell quite agreeably, she suddenly whirled outside the door, and poured forth a torrent of abuse, mingled with oaths and assurances that she was not going home—not she! The boy was nowhere to be seen, so, not being the bravest of the brave, I locked the doors, fastened the outside blinds—and trembled. Never shall I forget the puzzled, questioning expression of the two little dogs who had found cause to love that woman, as they sat side by side, with cocked ears, and eyes shifting alternately from my face to the garden half concealed by the blinds—the outer world from whence proceeded those wild, weird sounds. Could that indeed be their cherished Julie? Peeping through the slats, I perceived the big guard-dog sitting on his haunches beside the raving girl, his bewildered gaze riveted on her scarlet countenance, his tail waving dubiously at intervals.

Well, to make a long story short, she marched off. A few days later I was informed by a benevolent neighbour, as I stepped into my buggy at the station, that Julie had been painting the town red in my absence, and sure had it in for *me* all right! This was comforting, especially as it was the boy's dinner-hour, and I shall never forget how slowly I drove up the tree-shadowed drive to my house, dreading every instant a sudden attack at the hands—or perhaps at the gun—of an enraged female. I was sitting in the buggy, making up my mind to descend to the unprotected open of the path and unlock the empty house, the eager little dogs on the seat beside me remonstrating at my extraordinary conduct, when the boy appeared, saying that he had hurried back, thinking I might be scared. And what a tale he had to tell of Julie's doings! And what an eternity of weeks it seemed before the sheriff was in a position to 'run her out of town'! It was surmised that she really was, in her way, attached to me in our former considerably more agreeable association, and that her bitterness where I was concerned was intensified by this fact, and by her fury



that I should have found her out at last. 'Poor woman!' I was compelled to ejaculate, in spite of all—in memory of the days when she had served me so loyally and well.

It was not long after this little affair that the sheriff deemed it necessary to teach me how to use a 'gun.'

EDITH NICHOLL ELLISON.



*RECOLLECTIONS OF SEVENTY YEARS*

THOSE of us whose memories extend back to the reign of King William the Fourth have this advantage at least over a younger generation, that we have a more lively appreciation of modern conveniences than our juniors. To have lived through the Victorian age, witnessing, one by one, its enormous changes, is to have laid up a store of recollections which have never been equalled in previous generations.

Of all the numberless inventions of the last seventy years, I am inclined to set first as boons to the multitude motors and bicycles. Ten years ago nobody would have ventured to predict for motor traffic the extraordinarily rapid development we have seen. The motor-bus, van, and cab threaten to oust their horse-drawn rivals altogether, and, in a sense, to annihilate distance. Travel has been so simplified by the new method of locomotion that the results must be more far-reaching than we can see in these days of its infancy. Already the public motor is a serious competitor of the railways that bring workers in tens of thousands to their daily toil in and about great cities; and he were a rash prophet who attempted to foretell the changes that road-travel will undergo in the near future.

Yet the motor had its forerunner—invented before its time had come—in the old steam-carriage which for a short time plied upon English highways. This conveyance was short-lived, its existence overlapping the coach on one side and the railway on the other. It was a combination of engine and carriage, and conveyed passengers and luggage.

I never travelled in the old steam-carriage—it was going out of use in my childhood—but my old friend Mr. Tegetmeier, the veteran naturalist, now in his ninety-fourth year, has told me that he did so; the longest journey he made was one of forty miles. These vehicles were neither fast nor comfortable; they were noisy, dirty, and jolting; offering no particular advantage over the well-horsed and well-appointed coach, they gained little popularity, being regarded in much the same spirit as the dust-raising motor was regarded ten years ago.

As regards the bicycle, the service this invention has been to all classes is incalculable. The first 'velocipede' proper, as the



machine was called, attracted a great deal of notice when it was shown at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in Hyde Park. It was a four-wheeled contrivance to carry two persons, and, I remember being told, could be driven sixty or seventy miles a day.

The principal maker of velocipedes was a Dover mechanic, and they were sometimes to be seen on the country roads. The two-wheeled velocipede did not come into vogue until nearly twenty years later; men of middle age remember the old 'bone-shaker,' and the crowd attracted by the enterprising rider. The future that lay before the velocipede was quite unsuspected; and, indeed, the bicycle was to pass through many transformations before it arrived at the high-g geared, rubber-tired machine of our own day.

It crosses my mind that had England been the possessor of better roads in the days of the Regency, the bicycle might have been evolved from the old 'dandy-horse' known to us through contemporary prints. This was a bicycle of the 'bone-shaker' type in practically every respect, with the important exception of the pedals. The rider sat astride his 'dandy-horse' and, resting his weight on the saddle, drove it along with his feet on the ground.

Returning to the ancestor of the modern bicycle, many people must remember 'The Velocipede Derby,' as it was called, held at the Crystal Palace in the spring of 1869. The affair was sadly marred by wet weather, but it served to show that the bicycle had then established its hold on popular favour in England. The races at the Crystal Palace were arranged to demand skill in the rider rather than speed; the course was winding, and competitors had to make a sharp turn round a post to return along the course to the winning-post. A French cyclist, Mons. Biot, was the winner; and, disliking as I do the sight of young men bending double over their handles, I like to recall the fact that Mons. Biot's upright seat on his machine was the subject of general and favourable remark. Many English riders still adopt the doubled-up attitude; these might profit by the example of lady cyclists, who invariably preserve an upright posture.

One cannot touch upon the subject of road travel without recalling the days of dog-draught. The use of dogs for draught-work was prohibited, so far as London was concerned, in 1839; but it remained legal in the country for another fifteen years, and I well remember the numbers of dog carriages and carts that plied on the Essex high-roads and lanes. They were as common in England then as they are in Belgium to-day, perhaps more common.

All sorts and conditions of men used dog carriages; the small farmer to carry his milk or vegetables to market, the tradesman



to distribute his goods, the pedlar to hawk his manifold wares about the country, the carrier of parcels and the poorer people who had to cover considerable distances and could not afford to keep ponies—for sixty years ago we had not begun to import thousands of cheap ponies from Russia and elsewhere.

The dog was the poor man's pony and his most valuable ally in his business, cheaper and faster than the ass which, to some extent, replaced him. Most of the dogs were sturdy mongrels, as big as a foxhound but stronger and more heavily built; you might see carts drawn by two, three, or more of them, but a pair, as I remember, was the most usual team. With a well-balanced load on two wheels, the proprietor's weight often regulating the poise, a pair of dogs got over the ground at a wonderful pace, racing down the hills at a speed impossible to horses.

Dog-draught was abolished in deference to agitation raised by people who knew very little about the subject. No doubt there were cruel dog-owners, but these were the exception; public opinion in the country was on the side of the dog-users, for it was unusual to see the dogs other than kindly treated and well cared for. They were seldom overworked; in his own interest, the owner saw to it that they were well fed, and up to the work required of them. The battle for the retention of dog-draught was hard fought.

The coaching interest, still powerful in the 'forties and 'fifties, was dead against the dog carriage, and fomented agitation among the ignorant; there was no love lost between the coaching fraternity and the owner of the dog team. The dog-owner deprived the coach of a goodly share of the revenue to be earned in the parcel traffic; plying, as the dog carriage did, along byways off the coach routes, it was largely patronised by those who liked to have parcels delivered at their own doors instead of sending to obtain them at the inn or office where they were left by the coach.

If the coach-owner had reason to look askance at the dog carriage, the driver of the dog team gave the coachman further reason for dislike. The highways were narrow; many old coach-roads were made only wide enough for one vehicle, with occasional sidings scooped out of the bank to allow of passing another (these are still to be seen in many parts), and the dog-driver could, and often did, revenge himself by 'holding up' the coach which might come behind him. Nothing angered the coachman, bound by a time-bill, so much as wanton obstruction of this kind, and the feud between driver of horses and driver of dogs ran high.

Had it not been for the agitation fomented and encouraged by the coaching people the dog carriage would have been with us longer—I dare not say 'until to-day,' having regard to the sickly sentimentality which seems to be the ruling spirit.



One of my earliest recollections of great changes is the opening of the Great Eastern, then called the Eastern Counties, Railway, in the summer of 1839, and the detestation with which it was regarded. How well I, then a schoolboy at Chelmsford, remember the long lines of trucks discharging their loads of earth to form the railway embankment! As the construction of the line progressed, the hostility of all classes increased. The then Lord Braybrooke, through whose park it was to be carried, would not have it on the surface on any terms; and the company, perforce, made a tunnel where they might have run on the surface without even a cutting. The line as first constructed stopped at Spellbrook, between Sawbridgeworth and Bishop Stortford; there is no station there now, nor has there been for many years.

The original plan had been to carry the main line past Saffron Walden, but local opposition was so strong that the route was altered, and that town and its neighbourhood were left many miles to the east; Walden is fed by a short branch-line now. Waldenites must regret the attitude adopted by their fathers, but it was that of the vast majority when the first railways were being made.

When the line was brought on to Bishop Stortford the trains were boycotted; people would not travel by them, continuing their allegiance to the coach, which held its own stoutly notwithstanding the blow it sustained by the transfer of mail contracts to the railway company.

I do not think the antipathy of the eastern counties to the railway was overcome until the Great Northern line to Cambridge was opened a good many years later; and then the train owed the patronage it received to the cut-throat competition upon which the rival companies embarked. Many a time did I buy for half-a-crown a return ticket between Bishop Stortford and London when, in their eagerness for custom, the companies reduced fares almost to vanishing point.

It must be allowed that the accommodation, particularly third class, was of the rudest description. The open, roofless passenger-trucks were soon done away with, but the long 'cattle-pen' carriages are remembered by travellers much younger than myself. The luggage was piled on the railed roof, after the fashion of the slow road-coach, and might be covered over or might not; one needed a stout trunk to withstand the usage of the railway in its early days.

The trains were slow, the permanent way indifferently laid, and the lighting of carriages, when that improvement was made, wretchedly bad; altogether, the traveller of the 'forties and 'fifties had some reason for preferring the coach with ills he knew to the railway with ills he knew not.



From the railway to the telegraph is a short step. The first telegraph-line for public use was that set up along the Great Western Railway from Paddington in 1838 or 1839. The telegraph was not very generally patronised in its early days, and with good reason; the business was in the hands of private companies, and there was much delay in the despatch of messages, while the frequency of error was the cause of complaint.

The number of places from or to which a message could be sent increased very slowly; in 1865, when there were over 10,000 post offices in the country, all the telegraph offices of all the companies numbered only about one thousand. Rates for messages varied. One company sent fifty words for a shilling a distance of 100 miles; but I think it was the same company that charged five shillings for twenty words if the distance was over 100 miles. Charges were regulated by mileage; a shilling for twenty words sent 100 miles, two shillings for 200 miles, and so on. A telegram to Ireland cost from three shillings upwards. Over and above the actual cost of the message, too, were sundry charges which amounted to nearly as much as the original cost. The telegraph-wire was not freely used, even by business firms, in the 'sixties; it was, as I have said, unreliable both as regarded expedition and accuracy.

Writing of the telegraph recalls the notorious murder in 1845, for the wire in that case played the same part as wireless telegraphy in the arrest of the murderer Crippen last year. John Tawell, the 'Salt Hill murderer,' administered prussic acid in a glass of porter to a woman named Sarah Hart in her cottage at Salt Hill, near Slough. The groans of the poisoned woman in her agony attracted attention, and neighbours going to her assistance saw Tawell leaving the cottage. Suspicion being aroused, a telegram (or 'message by electric telegraph,' as it would then have been called) was sent to London; and Tawell, when he reached Paddington, was met by a policeman. The use made of the telegraph-wire in effecting the man's arrest naturally drew public attention to the then new convenience and caused a great sensation.

The trial of Tawell may be remembered for the endeavour made by his counsel, Mr. F. Kelly, to prove that the prussic acid found in the victim's stomach was derived from the pips of apples. a line of defence which procured for him the nickname 'Apple-pip Kelly.' It was said that Mr. Kelly wept while pleading his client's cause.

The successful laying of the telegraph-wire between Dover and Calais was a great event, but the excitement over the business was as nothing to that aroused when it was known that the third attempt to lay a cable between Valentia and Newfoundland had



1911

succeeded. People talked of little else, and the papers were full of the new wonder. How short-lived was the Valentia cable is a matter of history, and when it ceased to carry messages, only a month after Queen Victoria and President Buchanan had exchanged congratulations by telegraph, men who condemned the work as beyond human power were of course not wanting.

The last and permanently successful attempt to lay an Atlantic cable caused little sensation, as was natural enough; the enterprise had failed so often that when the new cable was laid in 1866 most people thought that its failure was only a question of time.

Turning to another subject, closely allied to traffic, what a change has come over the streets of London since I first knew them in the later 'forties! The City streets, or most of them, were paved with stone setts, and the West-End thoroughfares were macadam. I don't know that the paved streets were much better than others. It must have been in the early 'sixties that, when I wished to bring a very small Shetland pony home to Essex, I was afraid to take him along Cheapside lest he should break his legs in the numerous holes among the stones. The difficulty was overcome by taking him through the City in a cab.

Experiments had been made with wood-paving in some of the streets in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, but it did not answer; the wrong wood was used, and, as the art of laying it had not been mastered, the streets so paved soon were in a much worse condition than macadam. The results in no way repaid the expense, and wood was abandoned, to be tried again and successfully in the 'seventies.

So commonplace a proceeding as the lighting of a cigarette invites mention of one enormous convenience which was practically unknown in my childhood. Friction matches had been invented, but were little used. Nearly everybody used the tinder-box, with its flint and steel, troublesome as the thing was by comparison with the reliable match of a later day; undependable in wet weather, however carefully kept from damp, at the best of times it was a tedious business to get a light.

The flint-lock gun long survived the tinder-box, and the production of flints provided work for many hands; flint-making was a large industry in Norfolk, whence the best came, and flints for export are still produced there. I well remember seeing flint-lock guns in the hands of sportsmen long after percussion caps had been invented; percussion guns did not gain much acceptance until Eleys produced their damp-proof caps, and even then there were many who continued to shoot with their old flint-locks. The change took place more gradually than that from the muzzle-loader to the breech-loader.

Almost every action of modern life suggests a change; the act



of writing these words, for example, recalls the fact that, though quill pens are still in use, I remember the time when one seldom saw any other kind. Steel pens in their early days were expensive and ill-made, and few people used them. The paper we had seventy years ago may have been partly to blame: it had neither the substance nor the surface we take as a matter of course nowadays; high postage rates operated against such a luxury as thick letter-paper.

It is interesting to recall the whole history of photography as one may do who has lived through the Victorian era. The daguerreotype was only invented after Queen Victoria's accession, and for a time it held much the same place as a miniature. One need not be very old to remember the early days of photography; the stained hands which were the 'trade mark' of the photographer in the days of wet plates; the travelling operator with his little black tent who went about the country taking portraits and pictures of their houses for his patrons.

There was one curious use of the photograph which prevailed for a time and seems to have been forgotten; I mean, the fashion—introduced, I believe from Paris—of printing the owner's photograph on his or her visiting-cards. This craze—which had a certain convenience, perhaps—came in some time after the Crimean War, but it did not last very long, nor was it very generally followed.

I remember when envelopes came into use, and what a boon they were considered after the old system of closing letters with wafer or sealing-wax. Before envelopes were invented, letters were always written with an eye to the position of the wafer or seal, a blank space being left to correspond with the place where this would be put on the outside, lest the written portion should be torn in opening. The introduction of another convenience occurs to me—namely, perforated sheets of postage-stamps; before this innovation we had to cut our stamps with scissors.

Apropos of letters and postage-stamps, the first pillar-boxes I saw in the streets after my return from the Crimea were still regarded with interest and curiosity in London.

Some changes which have taken place during my recollection crept in quietly and gradually, but none the less add enormously to the comfort of life. It is difficult now to imagine a decent house without its bathroom; but it is not so very long since the fixed bath with its hot and cold water supply was a novelty, a thing visitors were invited upstairs to examine and envy.

The occasional outbursts against vaccination are unaccountable to one who remembers the old days. When I was a lad the number of people whose faces were pitted with smallpox was legion; 'Blind from Smallpox' was on the card worn by most of the unfortunate street-beggars who had lost their sight.



The anxiety of parents to have their daughters married at an age which would now be considered almost scandalously immature was one by-result of the frequency and severity of smallpox; if a girl's face were marred, her prospects of matrimony were of course impaired, and the ambition of mothers—so common was smallpox—was to see their daughters safely married before they caught the disease.

Among sensational discoveries, I suppose few were more discussed than chloroform when the doctors made known its properties. When a medical student, my friend Mr. Tegetmeier, of whom I have made mention on an earlier page, saw and assisted at many amputations and other operations without chloroform; his anecdotes of sights seen in the hospitals would hardly bear repetition.

As regards the general public, discovery of the method of keeping meat fresh in a low temperature deserves a high place among inventions. This discovery was a timely one, following, as it did, the terrible losses of cattle from plague, which had forced up the price of meat, milk, and butter.

Preserved—not frozen—meat arrived from Australia at that time, but ingenious minds were at work upon the freezing problem, which, it was confidently believed, could be solved. The first cargo of frozen meat from Australia proved a total failure, and for a few years nothing more was heard of the great scheme which was to provide everybody with cheap fresh mutton and beef; but the inventors were busy making experiments, and in 1877 the influx of frozen meat began.

The electric light, as an application of science to domestic use which we are accustomed to regard as quite modern, is one of the discoveries which were made before the time was ripe. Professor Tyndall used an electric light to illustrate a lecture at the Royal Institution in the 'fifties. The abortive experiments made in lighting the Houses of Parliament, Billingsgate Market, and the Thames Embankment with electricity are within the memory of a much younger generation, as is the telephone, which, by the way, was also invented before the world was ready for it. A 'speaking telegraph' was made as long ago as 1848 or thereabouts, but the device was laid aside for thirty years, until Professor Graham Bell perfected his invention.

Posterity 'scores' over the older generation. Our descendants may, a century hence, hear the words of great orators and singers preserved by the phonograph. What would not we give to hear from a gramophone one of the great speeches of Gladstone or Bright, to look no farther back! The phonograph for practical business purposes is still at its beginning; but so useful an invention cannot fail to have a great future before it.



I doubt much whether anyone would venture to predict a great future for the aeroplane, except perhaps as an instrument of war with which men may properly accept risks otherwise scarcely allowable. It has always appeared to me that the future of the dirigible balloon is by far more certain than that of a machine whose ability to remain in flight depends upon so many factors, both within and beyond human control. But after the experiences of my lifetime I hesitate to suggest that those who come after us will not gain the knowledge of air currents and the other, now obscure, conditions which should eliminate one set of risks.

Professor Wallace, a few years ago, wrote a book called *The Wonderful Century*, and never was book-title better chosen. Those of us who saw the last coaches and have lived to see the motor-car, the dirigible balloon and the aeroplane, who saw the earliest public telegraph-wire and have lived to the day of wireless telegraphy, may find some satisfaction in the thought that we have seen an era such as no previous generation saw, and such as can hardly be rivalled by eras to come.

WALTER GILBEY.



1911

*PATRIOTISM HERE AND ELSEWHERE*

WHEN in Roumania some six years ago, I chanced one Sunday morning to be passing a church just as the service came to an end. It was in a little market town that lies between Campina, the great petroleum centre, and Sinaia, where King Carol and his Queen, Carmen Sylva, spend much of their time. The whole countryside seemed to have turned out that morning : crowds of men, women, and children trooped forth from the porch, in their smart national dress of white linen embroidered with blue, orange, and red ; and there was much saluting, much exchanging of greetings, and chattering. For a few minutes the little square before the church was thronged. Then the men and women began slowly to wend their way homeward, followed by the girls and young children, while the boys marched off straight to a field a few hundred yards away. And there they stood quietly waiting with an odd solemn look in their great dark eyes. So grave was the expression of their faces, indeed, that had it not been for a certain alertness in their bearing, I should have taken it for granted at once that some religious ceremony in which they were specially interested was going to be held. They were a fine set of lads, although most of them would have been all the better, perhaps, for a little more flesh on their bones. Not one among them was 'chubby' ; not one was listless or dull. On the contrary, they were all thin, several of them as thin as thin could be ; and they all had bright, intelligent faces. From the lofty fashion in which they held their heads they might have been the sons of kings or princes, yet poverty was stamped on them in unmistakable terms. Their much-embroidered clothes, although clean, were terribly hard worn ; while as for their shoes, some of them were the merest frauds.

The eldest of the boys was hardly fourteen, while the youngest was certainly not more than ten, yet there was something quite manly about them. The very way they set down their feet betokened a sense of responsibility. Evidently they had, or thought they had, work on hand of great importance. Just as I was wondering what this work could be, a drill-sergeant appeared ; and in a second every boy was a soldier. They fell in—still with that odd solemn look in their eyes—they saluted, they marched,



they formed square, and went through the most varied movements. And in all that they did they showed not only a certain skill, but boundless zest and ardour, their faces glowing the while with proud enthusiasm. From first to last their whole demeanour was in exact accordance with their expression : even as they stood at ease these boys looked for all the world as if they actually were officiating at some religious ceremony. This Sunday drill was for them, I found later, a religious service, if not a ceremony, just as much a religious service as the Mass in the church that morning. They looked on it, indeed, as the second part of the Mass, its complement. In the little church they had prayed that Roumania might be defended from her enemies, and in the field they were learning how to defend her. Roumania is to them something sacred, it must be remembered : something which it is not only their duty to defend, but also their highest privilege, their keenest joy. This, although they are only poverty-stricken little peasants—the grandsons of serfs.

'It is a fine thing to have a country to defend,' a Roumanian once said to me ; 'it makes all the difference in life, even to our children, our having a land of our own to fight for. When I was a lad Roumania was a Turkish province.'

No sooner had the boys left the field, than men began to make their way there. They came in twos and threes, quite a goodly company, all in their fine church-going clothes, all holding their heads high and stepping out briskly. There was nothing preternaturally solemn about them, however. On the contrary, they came as those who are well content to come, as those on pleasure bent, laughing and talking and bandying jokes. They belonged evidently to the same class as the boys, the peasant class ; and they were for the most part in the prime of life, between twenty-three, perhaps, and forty, although there were some among them who seemed younger. They, too, had come to be drilled ; and the moment the drill-sergeant took up his station, they fell in in single rank before him. Then laughing and talking ceased at once ; every man settled himself down in the most business-like fashion to doing his work. There was not one among them, indeed, who seemed to have a thought in his head beyond doing his work well.

The older men were already trained soldiers, that was easy to see ; they had been taught how to fight, and well. They could shoot straight, and they went through their drill with a precision that would have won for them applause even at Potsdam. For they had served their time in the regular army and were reservists. They had turned out that morning, not as their younger comrades and the boys, to learn how to defend Roumania, but to ensure themselves against forgetting how to defend her efficiently. And they had turned out every whit as eagerly as the boys, without a



doubt in their minds but that it was a privilege, as well as a duty, to keep themselves fit to defend her.

Now, this Sunday drill entailed no expense on anyone, it must be noted; no real sacrifice either of time or anything else. No one's work was left undone while it was being held, no one's business was going to rack and ruin. For on Sunday mornings there is practically no work to be done, no business to be attended to. These men would at best have been only loafing had they not been at drill; while as for the boys, they would probably have been getting into mischief. And being drilled is certainly more wholesome, both for body and mind, than either loafing or getting into mischief. Nor is this all: these Roumanians would have laughed aloud in sheer amazement had anyone suggested that it was hard on them that they should be called upon to give up part of their Sundays to fitting themselves to fight well for Roumania. Why, for them the great thing in life is that they have a Roumania to fight for. Besides, their drill was for them evidently a pleasure as well as a duty; they enjoyed it much more thoroughly than even the most ardent of London footballers enjoys a football match. They would not have laughed, however—for that they would have been far too much shocked—had anyone suggested that they might spend their Sundays more profitably than in learning how to fight. For the first of all duties is, they hold, after serving their God, to serve their country; and how could they serve it if they could not fight?

Another day, a weekday, I was in a large Roumanian town when the balloting for soldiers was taking place. The road leading to the préfecture was thronged with young men, the elder brothers, perhaps some of them, of those boys I had seen in that field. They, as the boys, were not only clean, but spick-and-span, with every hair in its place; and they had donned their best clothes evidently for the occasion. They, too, were a fine-looking set, alert and active, with earnest, intelligent faces. Yet they were only what we should call Hodges; they had spent most of their time theretofore digging and delving and tending cattle.

On the balloting at that time depended whether those who balloted should become at once regular soldiers, and be drafted off to some great barracks for two years' hard service; or whether they should join the regular army only for a week now and then, and spend the rest of their time at home, working as usual on weekdays, and being drilled on Sundays. One might have thought, therefore, that before they balloted, there would have been anxiety among those young men; and after, lamentation among such of them as had drawn regular-service tickets, and rejoicing among such as had drawn the non-regular. There was not a sign, however, of anxiety, nor yet of lamentation, although



there were many signs of rejoicing. They who must start off for their two years' barrack service seemed quite content, more content, if anything, than those who must remain at home. No one grumbled, no one seemed depressed; on the contrary, all round cheerfulness was quite the order of the day, and with it a sort of instinctive joyful gratitude.

Now, in another country I had once witnessed a balloting for soldiers, and it was a very dismal business, one fraught with tears and growls. I inquired therefore why things should be different in Roumania; why all these young men should seem so glad to become soldiers.

'Because they are glad, heartily glad,' one of their compatriots assured me very emphatically. 'Although they are only peasants, they love their country, love it as they love their own mother; and they have sense enough to realise that if they did not become soldiers they might soon have no country to love. And in their eyes to have no country is the most terrible of all calamities, the most degrading and demoralising. For they know all that it means, you see; their fathers and grandfathers have taught them that—I wish you could hear some of the tales they tell. Sixty years ago Roumania belonged to Turkey, and her peasants were serfs, mere chattels, whom anyone might pillage at will, anyone might kick. When we think of those days, the most sluggish among us becomes a fervent patriot, and counts it as naught to give up two years of his life, a fraction of his Sundays, too, to guard against such days ever returning. Roumania is free now, strong enough to hold her own against all comers, but only because her sons are soldiers trained to defend her. This is a fact to which every little schoolboy here is alive. Can you wonder, then, that our young men become soldiers gladly?'

In Switzerland not only do the young men become soldiers gladly, but they regard it as the greatest misfortune that can befall them if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. No one who has been sent to a reformatory, a penal colony, or a prison, is allowed to enter the national army; and this even for a loafer is a more severe punishment than years of hard labour. For it stamps him for life as one judged unworthy to fight under his country's flag, or even to wear his country's uniform; and with such a man no decent Swiss will willingly consort. I once found in a penal institution in Switzerland, a great strong fellow of about twenty who was eating out his very heart with shame and grief, not because of the crime for which he had been sent there, but because he would never be able to be a soldier. Life was not worth living, he seemed quite convinced, unless he could take his place side by side with other lads of his age, and fight with them for the Fatherland should the chance ever come.



1911

In Switzerland, as was the case in Roumania six years ago, even schoolboys are taught soldiering; but whereas the little Roumanians wore their church-going clothes while being drilled, the Swiss wear uniform provided for them by the community, and it makes them look the veriest miniature warriors. As soon as a lad is ten he may begin to be regularly trained, on scientific principles, not only to march and go through evolutions, but to shoot. From nineteen to twenty he is specially drilled by State-paid officers; and at twenty he must join the national army if he is normal, non-criminal, and in fairly good health. There he goes through a regular course of military training, which turns him, so far as in him lies, into an efficient soldier as well as a crack shot. When his training is over, he is free to return to his usual work on weekdays, but he must still continue to be drilled and practise shooting on Sundays. For until he is forty he is at the call of his country, and he is required by law to keep himself fit to defend it.

In Switzerland most of the drilling is done on Sundays; not only the drilling of the reservists, but of their younger comrades and the boys. Excepting for the young men going through the regular military course, indeed, all of it is done on Sundays or Saturday afternoons. For the Swiss, being both intelligent and economical, see no reason why young folk should be allowed to waste their time and fall into loafing ways on Sundays and holidays, when they might be more usefully employed, just as pleasantly, too, and more reverently, fitting themselves to defend their country. And on this point the young folk are in cordial agreement with their elders, as their faces show when they turn out for their Sunday drill. It is one of the most significant sights in Switzerland to see them trooping off to the shooting-range, or making their way to the exercise-ground. They are all so glad to go, so eager to learn how to fight for Switzerland, to defend her, should she ever be attacked. Were you to say to them that being drilled on Sundays was a hardship, they would assuredly decide forthwith that you were mentally afflicted. For there is nothing on earth they enjoy quite so much as learning how to shoot. Watching a football match would seem to them very poor sport indeed compared with soldiering.

In Bulgaria the man who did not wish to learn soldiering, or who grudged the time in which to learn it, would be regarded as 'uncanny.' His neighbours would look on him as one with whom there was something wrong, in whom there was something lacking. For a normal man must love his country, they hold: and loving it must be eager to learn how to defend it. They would look on him, too, as an irreligious person; for they are as firmly convinced as their neighbours that the first of all duties, after serving God, is to serve the Fatherland; and that



the way to serve it is to learn how to fight. They would, therefore, instinctively treat him as a pariah, and hold no intercourse with him lest the punishment due to him should fall on them. They love fighting for fighting's sake, it is true, for they are a warrior race; but stronger even than their love of fighting is their feeling that it is a sacred duty to fit themselves to fight. They have not only a country to defend, it must be remembered, but a country to deliver, one which, as they all believe, it is their mission as a nation to deliver. Even poor little peasants dream dreams in which Macedonia and Bulgaria are united, and no Macedonian need ever again see, unless it be his own wish, either a Turk or yet a Greek.

As soon as a Bulgarian is twenty-two, he says good-bye to his homestead and trudges off to the nearest military station. For the State ordains that he must spend two years of his life, from twenty-two to twenty-four, in the national army, being regularly trained as a soldier.

And he does spend them there without a murmur; although none too cheerfully, perhaps, for he is of the sort that takes life seriously. Long before he is twenty-two, however, the average Bulgarian is already a skilled fighter, one well able to hold his own against most trained soldiers. Lads of sixteen have done yeoman's service for Bulgaria before to-day; while once a lad of eighteen had already made his mark throughout the Near East as a military leader. For in almost every village in the land there is a society that makes it its business to train and drill boys while they are still at school; and to fit them to fight for Bulgaria even before they join the army, should the necessity arise. And both trainers and trained delight in their work, and are never quite so happy as when doing it, even though they must do it for the most part on Sundays.

These societies are, as a rule, organised by the peasants themselves, reservists, who combine the rôle of apostle with that of drill-sergeant, and preach patriotism while teaching how to fight. These peasants are, of course, none too rich—many of them indeed are extremely poor; none the less, any money they need for their juvenile troops they take out of their own pockets. This is a notable fact; for the Bulgarians are thrifty by nature, as thrifty as the Scotch, as prone to ponder well before parting with even a bawbee. They pinch and save the whole year round, by choice, too, as well as necessity. They seem to grudge every penny they spend, indeed, unless it be spent for Bulgaria. But for Bulgaria nothing is too good, nothing too costly; when she is in question they are as lavish with their money as with their time and strength. The most churlish among them would go without his dinner any day, and make his wife and children go dinnerless.



1911

too, rather than that she should not have the very best guns that can be bought. If Tsar Ferdinand has to-day an army of which even Great Powers stand in awe, it is because Bulgarian peasants hold that no sacrifice is too great to make *pro patria*.

In Montenegro there is no real need for drilling at all, as every Montenegrin is born a soldier. None the less, as soon as a baby-boy can toddle, he begins to be drilled *con amore* by some other baby, one probably that can only just walk. And on Sundays and weekdays alike, to his life's end, he continues to be drilled, or rather, for most of his time to drill himself. Again and again when in Montenegro I came across quite little boys conducting with infinite zest military manœuvres; and on one occasion I found, in an out-of-the-way place, a party of school-boys practising elaborate movements which they were planning to carry out against the Turks, with a view, oddly enough, to giving a helping hand to an English fleet supposed to be off Antivari. This was during the Sinai Peninsula episode, when hopes were running high in the Balkans that there might be war between England and Turkey. 'If war comes we shall, of course, be on the side of England,' more than one Montenegrin informed me quite jubilantly. 'You surely do not think that we could stand aside with folded hands while Englishmen were fighting against Turks.' And on the mere chance that war might come, they straightway began to drill themselves more vigorously than ever, without waiting for even a wink from the authorities. In one village I found a thousand men all in battle array.

A Montenegrin boy is already a crack shot at an age when an English boy is not allowed to touch a pistol. By the time he goes to school, indeed, he is often a trained soldier, and always a past-master in the art of scouting. For soldiering is the chief business in life of the whole male population of all ages alike, and that through love of Montenegro. From sixteen to sixty every man belongs to the army, and may be called upon to go on active service at any moment. Even after sixty every man with the strength to carry a gun is a reservist, and holds himself gladly in readiness to go, whether called upon or not, as soon as ever there is the chance of a fight. From one year's end to another they have always their pistols within reach, in their belts during the day, by their pillows at night; and they never allow many hours to go by without giving a glance to make sure that no foe is approaching. For it is a tradition among them, one founded on the bitter experience of their forefathers, that the Turks—for Turks read Schwarbs to-day—may come creeping up their mountain-side any night; and were they to come and find her people napping, Montenegro might cease to be free. And rather



than that, let all else go, they hold; let the land be left untilled, or tilled only by women, nay, let men and women alike be left unfed. For better a thousand times that they should all die than that the stranger should hold rule in Cetinje.

Cetinje is the only Near East capital over which the Turkish flag has never waved. 'The Sultan's troops built mosques in Vienna, but they never built a mosque in our city,' is a Montenegrin boast.

'Our city,' it must be noted, is what we should call a little country town, for its population all counted is well under 5000. Montenegro itself, indeed, is a mere dwarf among countries, so far as size goes; for it is not much more than half as large as Yorkshire, and a good third of it is barren rock on which not even tufts of herb will grow. Little and poor though it be, however, never was there a land so idolised, so faithfully guarded and watched over. For hundreds of years its menfolk gave up their lives entirely to defending it against all comers, contenting themselves with bread and water that they might have the wherewithal to buy powder and guns. And even to-day there is not one among them but holds that his first duty is to his country. Not only is his own life, but the lives of his wife and children are as naught in his eyes compared with Montenegro's safety.

A Montenegrin once told me that, in given circumstances, there must be war between his little country and a certain Great Power; and that when war came, if it came, men, women, and children would all turn out and fight.

'But what could you do against so many?' I asked, for Montenegro has only a quarter of a million inhabitants, babies included, whereas this Power has an army of two million trained soldiers.

'What could we do?' he replied, looking at me in surprise, 'why all that any nation ever can do. We could do our best to defend our land; and, if we failed, we could die.'

This he said quite simply, as if dying *pro patria* were the most natural thing in the world.

It is not only by being always on the alert to fight in its defence that the Montenegrin shows his love of his country; but also by watching over it, taking thought for it, and interesting himself keenly and personally in all its concerns. When I was driving about in Montenegro, the coachman, who was only a peasant, would draw up from time to time, get down from his seat, and come and try to make me realise the diverse ways in which he thought my country might be of use to his. Sometimes it was a bit of land he wished us to transfer from Turkey to Montenegro—it was Montenegrin land which the Turks had stolen, he always gave me to understand. Sometimes it was



1911

from Novibazar that he wished us to drive the Schwarbs—in the Near East the Austrians are known as the Schwarbs—but more often it was from Herzegovina. 'If only the Great English nation would help us to reconquer Herzegovina!' It would be the easiest thing in life he seemed to think. Almost always he began by telling me that the renowned Gladstone had declared that the Balkans belonged to the Balkaners; and, as a rule, he wound up by announcing that, come what would, Montenegro must have new provinces. He would never drive past a beautiful view without stopping to remind me that that was Montenegro; and his whole face would gleam with delight as he looked at it. Evidently his country was to him a personal possession, one which he revelled in as in something infinitely precious.

'Has the new English consul come?' another peasant asked me one day, to my infinite surprise. For he lived in a poverty-stricken little hut in an out-of-the-way district, and his clothes were nothing but rags. Yet he spoke with real anxiety in his tone, as if the coming or not coming of an English minister to Cetinje—all foreign representatives are known there as consuls—was a matter of vital importance to him personally. And when I was forced to admit that no consul was come, both he and his wife seemed genuinely distressed. 'Why has he not come?' they kept asking me, 'why does not your King send us a consul? Is there some trouble between your Government and ours? It will not do at all, you see, for us to be left without an English consul.'

I learnt later that even the peasants in Montenegro had been much impressed by the withdrawal of the English Minister from Belgrade after the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga; and that they were, therefore, sorely troubled when, the English Minister in Cetinje having been transferred, there was some little delay before his successor presented himself.

Would it ever occur to a Nidderdale farmer, let alone a Sussex labourer, to trouble his head if we had not a foreign consul of any sort in London? Did one Briton in five hundred indeed, nay one in five thousand, care a whit about the Franco-German conflict, which might have plunged us into war any day last summer. In Montenegro I never came across a man, no matter how poor he might be, who did not take a lively personal interest in the foreign affairs of his country. What was more surprising still, I hardly met one who did not know something at any rate of the home affairs of other countries. Again and again I found not only functionaries and officials, but peasants and priests, who were quite wonderfully well-informed as to what was going on in St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, and Vienna, especially in Vienna. Some of them told me curious stories of the Schwarbs and of their



spies, and of all that they were plotting, years and years before Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed. Then 'Jel je istina da ce Kralj Edward posjetiti Cara?—Is it true that your King Edward is going to pay a visit to the Tsar?'—I was asked again and again by men who I should never have dreamed would have known that there was either a king or a tsar. 'We do hope it is true,' some of them would add, 'it would be a great thing for us if your King and the Tsar were friends.'

That peasants should worry themselves about the movements of foreign sovereigns seemed to me most extraordinary, even more extraordinary than that they should worry themselves about the non-coming of an English consul. But when I said so to one of their chief men, he promptly declared that to him it seemed by no means extraordinary, only quite natural and right.

'A visit from your King to the Tsar is a matter that concerns Montenegro closely,' he informed me; 'and it would be a bad look-out for her if ever her people did not worry themselves about everything that concerns her. For it would mean that they had ceased to interest themselves in her, had ceased to love her in fact. For one must interest oneself in what one loves.'

I thought of the Montenegrins when I read in the *Westminster Gazette* that little story of the two Tynesiders who met during the January 1910 General Election.

'Well, Bill, what do you think of the Budget?' asked the one.

'The Budget,' replied the other, 'wot's that?'

'Why, man, it's that thing that's going to wreck the Empire, if it gets passed,' his pal explained.

'Oh, a—a divvent care a hang about that,' retorted Bill, 'a—a arlways gan to the Pavilion.'

We are often told in this our day that we here in England do not know the meaning of the word patriotism. Not so very long ago, indeed, I heard a popular preacher declare in all earnestness that the great mass of latter-day Englishmen are so completely demoralised through their selfishness, sloth, and love of pleasure, that nothing short of a foreign invasion will ever rouse them to a sense of the duty they owe to their country. I was both startled and shocked at the time, for he actually seemed to think that it would be a good thing on the whole if we had a foreign invasion; as until we have, and our streets are flowing with blood, there is no hope for us as a nation.

Now the story of the two Tynesiders might tempt one to think that this preacher was right, whereas as a point of fact he was wrong. For even supposing he was right in his contention that the average Englishman knows nothing of patriotism, he was fundamentally wrong, surely, in arguing as he did that this



1911

was because of the average Englishman's selfishness, sloth, and love of pleasure. For latter-day Englishmen are certainly not one whit more selfish, slothful, or pleasure-loving than Roumanians; not one whit more selfish, or slothful than Montenegrins; or more selfish than Bulgarians or Swiss; and these four nations are all renowned for their patriotism. A man may have many vices and yet be a fervent patriot, may have many virtues and not know the meaning of the word patriotism. For whether he is a fervent patriot or not depends—or so it seems to me—on whether his country is, or is not, in danger; unless, indeed, he has imagination enough to realise that, even though it be safe to-day, it may be in danger to-morrow. The nation that has to fight for its country, to defend its frontiers against its foes, or that knows what it is to have no country, or to fear that it may not have one, is the nation among whom patriotism flourishes. This is a point which no one who knows the Balkans will dispute.

That Tynesider who, when he heard of the Empire, thought instinctively of the music-hall, would at once become a fervent patriot were he to know that a foreign fleet was on its way to South Shields; and so would every man or boy in those huge heedless crowds that flock now on holidays to football matches, or revel in cricket. They would all keep watch then as diligently as the Montenegrins keep watch; they would all be as eager to learn how to fight as the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, or the Swiss; and they would all be broken-hearted when they found, as they would find, that it was too late to learn when the foreign fleet was already on its way. All classes alike would then have but one thought in their heads, What can we do to save England? but one desire in their hearts: let England be saved, be the cost what it may. We English folk should be just as patriotic as the Near Easterners, or the Swiss, were our own country in danger. For our love of England is not dead, only it is somewhat drowsy. If we stand aloof from her now, refusing to learn how to defend her, grudging the money spent on her, paying scant heed to her concerns, it is not so much because we are lacking in patriotism, as because we are lacking in imagination. We know that she is safe to-day, in no actual need of our services; it is hard for us, therefore, to realise that she may be in danger and in sore need of them to-morrow. Yet she may.

If the fact that she may be in danger to-morrow could be brought home to us, and it might surely without the help of a foreign invasion, every man and boy in the land would assuredly flock to the drill-field or shooting-range, even on Sundays, more eagerly by far than they flock now to football fields on Saturday. And the gain would be great all round, for themselves as well as for England. As things are, Sunday is none too happy a day,



at any rate for the average working man or boy, unless he be young enough to be a Boy Scout. It is the dullest day in the week for him, indeed, and the most demoralising; for he has nothing to do as a rule beyond loafing and drinking, or perhaps playing pitch-and-toss. The result is, when he goes back to work on Monday morning, instead of being more fit than when he left it on Saturday, he is less fit, less vigorous both in body and mind; and therefore less able to do well what he has to do, more prone to quarrel. Surely it would be better for him, physically, morally, and in all other ways, besides being infinitely pleasanter, to spend part of his Sunday learning how to do his duty and defend his country, than to spend the whole of it, as he does now, just loafing.

EDITH SELLERS.



1911

## *THE NEED FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY*

HAVING in a former article dealt with 'the need for a re-creation of our Constitution,' it may not be out of place to indicate the means whereby that desirable end may be accomplished, and to consider which of the two great parties is most likely to provide the builders necessary for so great a constructive work. For reasons which will become apparent, the most fitting instrument is to be found in the Unionist party, provided that party can sufficiently enlarge its horizon, can make the necessary sacrifices, and can attune itself to the greatness of the task.

Unionists being in opposition their primary duty is to oppose—to oppose legislation to the bitter end, and by every means, until the Government carry out the terms of the Parliament Act. Reconstruction of the Upper House is the first object announced, definition of its powers occupies a secondary position. The Government have, for reasons best known to themselves, put the cart before the horse. By scandalous misuse of the prerogatives of the Crown they have suspended the Constitution and have thrown the legislative machinery out of gear. One estate of the realm is, as the Prime Minister admits, as dead as Queen Anne. No legislation is constitutional until that estate of the realm is revived; no legislation should be facilitated until the machinery is again in order. Mealy-mouthed fastidiousness is out of place. Violence must be met by violence. The most brilliant conventional play with the dialectical foil is useless against an antagonist who wields a brutally unconventional club. In a crisis such as now exists all weapons are legitimate. All devices should be employed to harass a Government that ignores its pledges, and to compel them to fill in the preamble of the Parliament Act. Obstruction is the policy to be immediately pursued; but if the Unionist party devotes itself to rebuilding—if it hopes to save the nation, it must realise that reconstruction of the House of Lords is but one item in a great national policy, it must be capable of much self-sacrifice, it must reconsider its attitude towards some matters of which it has hitherto disapproved, and it must overhaul and reorganise the party machine. It must, in short,



subordinate everything to the great work of salvation, and must equip itself for the task. What is the situation in which the nation finds itself placed? Government by party has collapsed. The balance of the Constitution has been destroyed. Trade Unionism has been captured by Socialism; and in obedience to its behests an unchecked House of Commons aims, as a preliminary operation, at undermining the foundations upon which society rests. That is the situation.

That government by party is the best possible method in the best possible Parliamentary system has been so long and so frequently asserted that it has come to be considered axiomatically correct. Whether that be so or not the theory is so engrained in our nature, has become so inseparable from our conception of Parliamentary rule, that for practical purposes it must be accepted as true. Government by party was for some time carried on, and on the whole successfully, by means of corruption. In later and cleaner times the system worked well so long as two parties divided the community, and the community accepted the politics and principles of a few leading families on either side. The representation of localities without reference to population in the Commons House of Parliament, with all the anomalies attached to such a system, was of little consequence at a time when a dozen great houses constituted, for all practical purposes, the two parties that alternately ruled. With the great Reform Act of 1832, the decay of government by party set in, and that method has, under the conditions existing at present, utterly broken down. Parties have disintegrated into groups animated by divergent principles, pledged to distinct policies, but capable of forming alliances for temporary purposes. So long as the House of Commons is composed of representatives of localities without any regard for the population comprised in them, the Parliamentary strength of any one group or of a temporary combination of groups may obviously be out of all proportion to the real strength of the group or combination of groups in the country. It may well be that a perfectly insignificant body of opinion among the electorate can dominate the whole situation in Parliament. An administration representing a minority of the electorate may find itself with a majority in the branch of the Legislature elected by the electorate. A group of say forty members representing perhaps less than one hundred and forty thousand voters may neutralise forty members representing four or five times that number.<sup>1</sup> The tendency is for the members of the smaller constituent parts of the United Kingdom to act together. Ireland, Scotland, Wales send more or less homogeneous groups to Parliament, and, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> One half of the House of Commons represents 5,414,357 electors, while the other 335 members represent 2,489,418 electors.



Wales, the power of the group in Parliament is a gross exaggeration of its electoral sanction.

According to population England should return 512 members instead of 465, Scotland 68 instead of 72, Ireland 59 instead of 103, and if rateable value be taken as a basis instead of population the disproportion would be far greater. The spread of Socialism in the direction of State control evidences itself in the tendency towards departmental independence of Parliament, and the creation of useless hordes of officials owing allegiance only to the State.<sup>2</sup> Under these conditions—with six or more 'parties' in lieu of two, with a House of Commons non-representative of numbers, with an obvious movement towards bureaucracy subject to oligarchical control, government by party can no longer be deemed even remotely analogous to government by the people. It has hopelessly broken down, and it can never again work even fairly well until the numerical strength of parties in the House of Commons bears at any rate an approximately correct proportion to their numerical strength throughout the electorate. Redistribution and fairer representation are essential for the continuance of the party system, and for reconstruction of the Constitution; but, for the following reasons, reform is at present impossible. For the sake of convenience I confine myself to Ireland.

Ireland should send fifty-nine members to Westminster, but by the Act of Union she is guaranteed 103. That representation was part of the price paid by Great Britain to the Irish Parliament as an inducement to it to surrender its separate existence. To repudiate the bargain would be an act of treachery too incredible to contemplate. In parting with control over her own affairs Ireland demanded, and was given, a certain defined amount of control over the general affairs in which her individual interests became merged. To defraud her of that advantage would shock the susceptibilities of the most unmoral politician. Her representation cannot be reduced save with her consent; and her consent to forgo the power she now exercises at Westminster cannot, and will not, be given except for fair value received in the shape of the restoration of control over affairs which are purely her own. The House of Commons should be a miniature of the Commons, a mirror truly reflecting public opinion. The reconstitution of that body with a view to a fair representation of parties, be they few or many, and to a just representation of the views of the electors, is the first duty of Constitutionalists; and to fulfil that duty the creation of a subordinate body in Ireland is an absolute necessity.

The restoration of the Commons House to a condition of

<sup>2</sup> Under the Finance clauses of the Finance Act of 1909, 1548 officials have been employed, at salaries amounting to at least £250,000, to collect about £1200.



efficiency will not alone suffice. The most perfect machine must break down if fed with more raw material than it can possibly make up. No House of Commons, however constituted, can deal with the mass of business that now comes before it. It must either delegate full authority to Committees and be content to exercise as a whole merely perfunctory control, as, for instance, has happened in the case of the American House of Representatives, or it must surrender itself to the domination of a Cabinet, as has happened to us. The consequences of either alternative will, under our system, be the same. The House will be degraded. It will cease to be truly representative. The democracy will not really rule. In devolution or delegation of authority to subordinate statutory Parliaments lies the only sound, sane, and sufficient remedy for congestion.

The same line of argument applies, though with less force, to reform of the House of Lords. Reform of the House of Lords demands the abolition or modification of the hereditary principle as affecting that body. So long as an Act of Union stipulating for the maintenance of the Irish hereditary Peerage, and guaranteeing a certain representation of that Peerage in the House of Lords remains intact, adequate reform of the House of Lords is impossible. Reformers of the Upper House must for that reason alone reconsider their attitude towards Home Rule.

But other and more cogent reasons exist for reconstruction of the Upper House—reasons which apply equally to the attitude of Constitutionalists towards Home Rule and of Home Rulers towards Constitutional reform. The House of Lords is, or rather was, an ideal Second Chamber, but an anachronism. The unlimited rule of a patriot king may well be an ideal form of government, but the conception is so inconsistent with our principles as to be unthinkable; and, for the same reason, an Upper House constituted as is the House of Lords has become unsuitable for the due performance of the functions entrusted to it. The House of Lords must be judged not by its merits as a legislative body, but by the moral authority it exercises over the minds of the people. The numerous creations that have been made of late years, for which Radical Ministers are mainly responsible, the misuse of the House as a convenient political shelf, and of a peerage as a recognition of party services of an occult character, have all tended to undermine the authority of the House of Lords; but the fatal blow was given by the House itself. Its functions as a Second Chamber were to reject or amend all Bills it deemed to be dangerous or unwise unless and until the people had, after consideration, expressed their approval of them. Its business was to exercise its own judgment on the merits, but to bow to the will of the electorate. That conception of duty is a sound one,



and, albeit the House of Lords as at present constituted is an anachronism, it might have lasted long had it acted consistently on that conception. It lost itself in allowing considerations of strategy or tactics to influence it. So long as men asked themselves two questions only, 'Is the measure to the advantage or detriment of the people?' 'Have the people made up their minds about it?' their action even though resented commanded respect. It was certainly patriotic though possibly mistaken. But the moment another question obtruded itself, 'In combating this particular Bill have we selected the best strategical position for a fight?' the House forfeited that respect. Its action had the semblance at any rate of selfishness, of opportunism, of regard for its own existence. Moral authority was lost, and can never be regained by the House as at present constituted. A strong Second Chamber in the Central Parliament is essential to the well-being of any local Parliament deriving power from it, for local bodies affected by the gusts of passion and sudden changes of an unregulated House of Commons would be subject to conditions under which they could not long exist. An efficient Second Chamber is necessary for the well-being of local bodies, and the creation of local bodies is necessary for the establishment of an efficient Second Chamber. Neither reform of the House of Commons nor reconstruction of the House of Lords is possible under the Act of Union as it stands. Putting aside all questions of sentiment, justice, right and wrong, and ignoring the patent necessity for applying to Ireland the moral tonic of responsibility in order to create healthy material development, I submit that for the practical reasons above mentioned any party addressing itself to the reconstruction and preservation of the Constitution must address itself to the question of devolution also. The problems are inseparable. If Unionists are determined to create and maintain a stable Constitution, it is necessary for them to modify their views on Home Rule; and Home Rulers, if they are earnest in their aspirations, should realise that they cannot be indifferent to Constitutional reform.

To discuss reform of the House of Lords would be out of place here, but this much may be said. The situation does not immediately demand a cut and dried, hard and fast, ready-made written Constitution. No doubt a dozen talented Constitutional lawyers could produce a dozen Constitutions without overtaxing their brains, but the adoption of any one of them, however perfect, would be inconsistent with the character of a nation that has ever moved slowly, tentatively, step by step. Nevertheless, reform should be vigorous. The pruning knife must be keen enough, and the hand that uses it strong enough to cut away all dead wood, and the work of construction must be conducted on original lines.



No example of federation or devolution can be found in ancient or modern history of very much guiding value to us. Something may be learned from the Constitutions of our Oversea Dominions, and from the greatest federation of all times—the United States. It is to the history and development of the Constitution of the great Republic that men's minds will naturally turn in contemplating reform of the Constitution of the United Kingdom. But the problems which the framers of the Constitution of the United States had to face were very different from those confronting us. With them the main question was, in fact, the converse of the main question presented to us. Centralisation was their object. Decentralisation is ours. They sought to create a central authority strong enough to secure homogeneity in all great national affairs without unduly encroaching upon the local authority of existing independent States. We desire to delegate to localities authority sufficient to enable them to manage their own affairs without unduly encroaching upon the power of an existing central authority. The federating States were not so dissimilar in population and wealth as to preclude the creation of an Upper House based on equality of representation of territorial units—an impossibility for us. With a clean slate before them the founders of the American Constitution segregated and apportioned legislative, executive and judicial functions as they thought fit. Our slate cannot be sponged clean of the indelible markings of a thousand years. The American Constitution, therefore, offers us but little direct light and guidance, but a warning and an example may be gathered from it, and courage, which perhaps we lack, may be derived from the contemplation of an herculean task bravely undertaken and successfully accomplished. The ill effect upon a directly representative assembly of the delegation of power to committees or other bodies within itself is demonstrated in the House of Representatives, and the good effect of moral authority is proved in the case of the Senate. It is in its moral authority rather than in its constitutionally defined powers that the strength of the Senate consists, and it may not be an exaggeration to say that, in considering the cognate questions of reform of the House of Lords and definition of its powers, the evils of restriction are in inverse proportion to the weight of authority exercised by that body. Limited suspensory power in the hands of a Chamber enjoying universal respect would be more effective in securing stability than unlimited power yielded by a body that did not command that respect.

Reconstruction of the Constitution is impossible without devolution. It is only by proceeding on federal lines that the errors in the Gladstonian schemes of devolution can be avoided. Federal Home Rule will preserve the dignity of the Crown, will



settle the Second Chamber question, will reduce the representation of Ireland to its proper limits, and will remove the Irish grievance of English control, and the English grievance of Irish control. It will clear the way towards Imperial unity, and will bring about a better understanding between all portions of the English-speaking world. The *non possumus* attitude which Unionists seem disposed to adopt, and the strenuous campaign against Home Rule undertaken by Sir Edward Carson and his subordinate war lords are, therefore, deeply to be regretted. It is, of course, perfectly right for those who genuinely believe that devolution involves a retrograde step in National and Imperial development to state the grounds of their belief. The general line of argument would, I take it, be that the tendency of all communities is towards solidarity, and that federation in Canada, Australia and South Africa is but a step towards the amalgamation of the parts in the whole; that the unity of the British islands is essential in order to form a nucleus with attractive force sufficient to draw the Dominions towards union with it; that solidarity is an accomplished fact in the British islands; and that therefore devolution is contrary to natural law, is a step backward in the development of the nation, and on the march towards consolidation of the Empire. Of what lies hidden in the womb of time it is useless to surmise. We have got to deal with the facts before us, and with them in view the fallacy of the argument is plain. The three Kingdoms are not really united, and cannot be until union rests on something more solid than a legislative enactment sanctioned by force. There are bounds to the effective capacity of all forms of government. The rule of an individual is, if it be beneficent, limited to the cognisance the individual can have of the needs of the people he rules over. Both direct and indirect rule by the people are subject to the same kind of limitation. No one Parliament or other body can deal satisfactorily with Imperial, National, and International affairs, and also with the intimate requirements of vast multitudes of people. A real union of the British islands, based on common interest, and cemented by mutual affection expressing itself in an Imperial Parliament free to occupy itself with Imperial matters—that is the one and only core round which the Imperial idea can crystallise into definite shape.

The attitude adopted by Unionist leaders towards the principle of federation involves, in all probability, a tactical mistake. It is too obviously a move in a mere party game. It lacks the stamp of genuine conviction, and is not likely to succeed. If it does succeed, the future of the party, and perhaps of the State, will be sacrificed for a temporary triumph. It cannot be denied that the Conservative party has—and not for the first time in its history—



shown a disposition to negotiate the Home Rule fence. That fence must be taken. The party may scramble over or be dragged through it, but somehow or other it must land on the other side if it is to be of any future service to the State. Unionists must either modify their conception of Unionism or must abandon the fight for a Constitution, for Constitutional re-creation without devolution on federal lines will be found to be impracticable.

Against opposition to Home Rule without consent of the people there is nothing to be said, and those who are honestly convinced that Home Rule would prove ruinous to Ireland are, of course, entitled to do all they can to make good their case; but let it be by fair argument. Let us have done with all the nonsense about separation, Home Rule the equivalent of Rome Rule, the persecution of a minority, and all the contentions derived from imagination, and serving only to obscure sound judgment and inflame the passions of men. Sir Edward Carson preaches open rebellion against all authority. He appeals to arms against the will of the people. The object of so ferocious a war cry is obviously to stampede the British electorate, and it is well calculated to do so. The announced determination of a large number of hard-headed citizens led by a man of Sir Edward Carson's standing to resist an Act of Parliament by force of arms may possibly persuade unthinking people that fiction is fact. They may argue that unless it is true that the condition of the Protestant minority would under any scheme of Home Rule be intolerable the Protestant minority could not possibly have come to so desperate a resolve. But the device will fail. The majority of people do think—a little; and when they find that the attitude of Ulster resolves itself into the simple formula 'We won't because we won't,' they will come to the conclusion that a small minority cannot be allowed to stand in the way of Constitutional reform or to trip up the nation in its march toward Imperial unity. The rights, and so far as it is possible, the feelings of minorities should be respected; but rights and feelings must be run through the sieve of criticism. Equality must be purged of ascendancy, and sentiment must be stripped of prejudice. Minorities must state and make good their case. Why cannot moderate men in Ireland, Unionists and Home Rulers, meet, and in a national endeavour and an unprejudiced spirit try to devise general lines of agreement whereby the majority could be satisfied without danger to the minority and without detriment to the principle of union? At the worst, they could but fail, and if they did the opposition to Home Rule would at any rate be placed upon substantial ground.

Reconstruction of the Constitution is of paramount importance, but a party confining itself to that problem and ignoring social



and economic questions is not likely to carry and hold the country. The patent fact that a shilling will not buy as much as it did must be considered. The organisations, which under the name of State socialism and syndicalism advocate robbery under statute, or robbery under arms, have combined to capture Trade Unionism. How far the late industrial disturbances are due to that cause it is not within the scope of this article to discuss, but it is certain that the seed of Socialism would not have taken root and spread as it has had it not been cast upon soil congenial to it. Discontent pre-existed. The question of wages is the tap-root of social discontent. I am an individualist, but I accept collective bargaining as compatible with individualism. I am sure that no better way of distributing wealth has been found, and I believe no better way can be found, than through the payment of a fair wage; and I hold fair and open discussion, honest bargaining to be both legitimate and right. Social disorder arises from a conflict of opinion between capital, composed of money and natural or acquired organising business capacity, and capital, consisting of labour and natural or acquired technical skill, as to what constitutes a fair wage—a just apportionment of profit. So long as our fiscal system differs so completely from those in force in competing countries no satisfactory settlement is likely to be arrived at. We must assimilate ourselves to them, or they must assimilate themselves to us. The latter is beyond our power, the former is not. Labour in England does by combination keep the price of labour above international competitive value. The standard is higher with us than it is elsewhere. Labour is blunderingly right. The blunder consists in a strange inability to see that labour and the products of labour are economically the same thing. Labour does not perceive that capital, whether owned and administered individually, co-operatively, or collectively, must have fair play or it will leave the country. It is blind to the fact that a lasting agreement as to the relative proportion of profit due to capital and to labour cannot be arrived at until capital can be invested at home on a stable basis; and that stability cannot be secured so long as capital invested at home is subject to the precarious and disturbing influence of capital invested abroad under more favourable conditions. Capital and labour are not naturally antagonistic, they are allies. The introduction of the products of cheaper labour is more detrimental to the community than the introduction of cheaper labour itself, because in the latter case wages are spent at home, in the former they are not. Capital seeks profitable investment, and labour seeks profitable employment. Capital is fluid, and can be easily moved; labour is not so fluid, and cannot be so easily moved. An expanding market is necessary for expanding employment; the most elastic market is



to be found within the Empire. Capital, however, owned and administered, is necessary for employment. In order to adjust profits equitably between capital and labour, the manufacture or trade in which capital and labour is employed must be secured against external elements of disturbance. When the people grasp the truth of these facts, and not till then, employment will expand, and a reasonable and lasting settlement of the comparatively easy question—a just division as between employer and employed—may be confidently looked for.

Which of the two great parties will take up the gigantic task of Constitutional reconstruction, and subordinate all else to it? The Radical party is indicated by its attitude towards Home Rule; but in no other respect will it 'fill the bill'; and, indeed, it remains to be seen whether its conception of Home Rule and of the conditions, social and economic, essential to its success, is sound. The grant of self-governing power to any community in which a great and beneficent social revolution had been arrested half-way would be a gift of very doubtful value, and yet, in order to save an insignificant yearly payment, the present administration put an end to land purchase. Judging by their interest in the material welfare of Ireland and their land-purchase policy, by their views on fiscal reform, by their devotion to a balanced Double Chamber system, and by their Imperial instincts, the Unionist party would seem to be the most fitting agent to be employed if it can make the necessary sacrifices, and can fit itself for the task.

If Unionists can rise to the height of the occasion they must adopt a tolerant attitude towards Home Rule. If the party accepts the responsibility offered to it, it would be wise, I think, to reconsider its distinctive name, and it must reorganise its machinery.

There is much in a name, and if Unionists devote themselves to the task of salvation, they should adopt a title descriptive of the great mission entrusted to them. 'Unionism' is, as a title, misleading. It may be adopted by the stoutest champion of Home Rule, who, nevertheless, accepts the supremacy of an Imperial Parliament, and stipulates for the representation of Ireland therein, or by the most case-hardened opponent of delegation of authority of any kind. But it has come to represent mere negation—an inflexible attitude towards any policy of devolution, and any scheme of National or Imperial federation. It is confined to the narrow field of politics, and in that area connotes conservatism only. It precludes construction, and ignores economic and social reform. If Unionists have the manhood to enter into the struggle they would do well to raise a banner bearing some device descriptive of the nature and the grandeur of their task.

The whole party machinery needs reorganising on democratic



## NEED FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY

1911

lines. A living chain must be created between leaders and organisers in the capital and in the remotest country districts—a chain so sensitive as to convey from end to end, from top to bottom, and from bottom to top, the thrills and currents of sentiment and opinion flowing between the chiefs at Westminster and the rank and file. Conventions must be representative conventions, and country organisers must be brought in touch with the headquarters' staff. For six years the Conservative party has been practically without any definite constructive policy, and recently it has become revealed as a party without loyalty to its leaders. During the whole course of its history there has probably never been a time when the organisation of the party was so completely out of sympathy with those upon whose votes the party depends; and it would even seem that under the present management party spirit and individual talent are stifled. It is inconceivable that all these years of opposition to a Government intent upon a gigantic social and Constitutional revolution would not have produced more energy and more talent for political warfare in the party were it not for some defect in the party machine.

But the most perfect mechanism is useless without recognised control. Loyalty to leaders is essential to success. The policy of a leaderless party becomes a mere succession of petty tactics. The nation is sound and solid in its qualities, and it regards with suspicion mere tactical political warfare, and views with aversion disloyalty and opportunism. If the present leaders enjoy the confidence of the mass of Unionist voters, their leadership should be loyally acknowledged. If they do not then, however perilous the operation may be in so critical a situation, other leaders should be chosen, and chosen quickly, for the present *impasse* must at all costs be brought to an end. To make its machinery effective is, in a sense, the first duty of the Unionist party if the Constitutional problem is to be solved by it, for without effective machinery no policy can be carried out. On the other hand, without a definite energising policy the best machinery is useless. To secure fairer terms for labour by insisting upon fairer terms for capital; to bring about such social reforms as do not conflict with the natural rights of free men; to recast the Constitution and reconstruct the Parliamentary machine; to aim at Imperial unity, and the development of the resources of the Empire—that is a policy which appeals to the Conservative, Constitutional, Imperial instincts of the people, which cries for the sympathy of all men who love liberty and progressive national existence, and that demands the active assistance of all responsible men who dread the consequences of a Single Chamber tyranny. The people are, it is said, apathetic. If true, it is not strange. Inaction begets apathy; 'Sit still, and wait the turn of events' is not an inspiring cry.



Nov. 1911

men are to fight with enthusiasm they must have something to be stirred the blood to fight for. The fate of the nation lies in the hands of the moderate men, and there are moderate men in all parties. It may be that for the moulding of the future a new party will arise, consisting of men willing to sacrifice many cherished opinions in a supreme effort to save the State. Why should one failure discourage them? Why cannot moderate men of the great parties meet, and try to see whether, in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, concessions and compromise on matters which, however important in themselves, are subsidiary to the vital issue are not demanded of them in order to save the State? The question focussed to a point is this. Are we to be governed under a Single Chamber or a Double Chamber system? It lies in the lap of moderate men to decide—of men who, differing widely on matters hitherto deemed incapable of adjustment, are united in fierce insistence on a balanced bi-cameral Constitution. By making great concessions, by great self-sacrifice, and by that alone, they can prevail. If Single Chamber government means in any circumstances 'death and damnation,' surely the unchecked rule of a House of Commons constituted as is ours at present means double death, and worse than damnation. To save the nation from such a fate is a noble mission. The sacrifice of opinions on smaller matters is both justified and demanded under the pressure of an issue so vital—the *force majeure* of a necessity so overwhelmingly great.

DUNRAVEN.

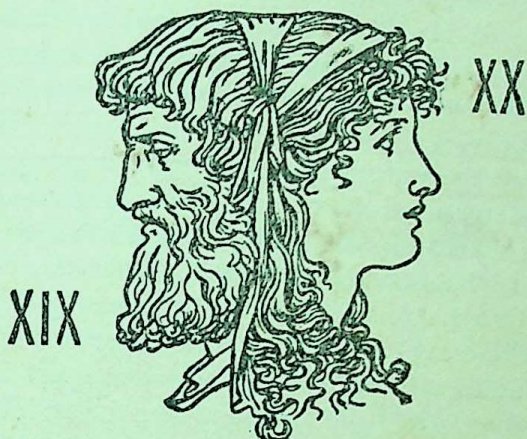
---

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*



# NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

(29)



No. CCCCXVIII—DECEMBER 1911

## MR. BALFOUR AS LEADER

To Mr. Balfour's friends the news of his resignation was no surprise. The strain of public life is enormous, and has told with visible effect upon many politicians counted robust, much younger than our late chief, and whose service in prominent positions represents in months what his has been in years.

Pitt and Canning were prematurely worn out by labour and care; in more recent times no one who observed him could doubt that the life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was shortened by toil far less prolonged. Lord Rosebery suffered painfully under the enormous responsibilities which for a brief period devolved upon him. Peel, Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone were giants in physique, but fortunately for them there were spaces of leisure in their long and strenuous careers. Great intellectual powers combining grasp of general principles with a truly amazing quickness of apprehension, and nerves of iron, have enabled Mr. Balfour, a man of no great bodily strength, to bear the enormous burden of leading his party in the House of Commons for nearly a quarter of a century. But the task, though never made by him the subject of reproach or complaint, has not been accomplished



without physical effort which at times seemed almost intolerable, and was borne only by the sustaining forces of courage, unselfishness, a sense of duty, and a chivalrous loyalty to his comrades.

The country and the House of Commons will happily still have the help of his counsel and his experience in a position that does not carry with it the daily and hourly personal worries and responsibilities of leadership. From that burden, carried with such risks, release was abundantly justified, and it is entirely characteristic of Mr. Balfour's unselfishness that the moment selected for taking it was one when his successor and the party may reasonably expect brighter days than those which of late have been their lot.

Retirement from the foremost position in party politics at the age of sixty-three needs no excuse. Mr. Gladstone from 1877 to 1893, by his superb physical energy, vindicated the powers of old age; yet many thought, and still think, that his own strong instinct and desire for a much earlier retirement was right. Our political conflicts, though at present no substitute for them seems available, create conditions of life which no man, even apart from considerations of health, ought to be obliged to face for an indefinite period. For the individual there is a certain unfitness in using the late years of life in the unceasing and organised quarrels of party. For the nation there need be no loss in the long run by the withdrawal of great men after long service from the turmoil of political strife into a comparative leisure, and a statesman of ripe wisdom and experience will perhaps give even more to his country, when he can pronounce upon great political issues unhindered by the necessity for immediate decision, his mind undisturbed by the unceasing clamour of controversy.

In an address delivered to the members of the Press Gallery, at a banquet given by them in his honour, Mr. Balfour once said: 'Like other politicians I have those who criticise my views, those who applaud them, those who understand them, and those who explain them. I have no quarrel with any of those various classes of commentators except perhaps the last. I am sure I am always more or less happy when I am being praised, and not very uncomfortable when I am being abused; but I have moments of uneasiness when I am being explained.'

I desire to avoid the temperate censure here implied upon a certain class of commentators, but on the other hand, I wish to dwell for a time on some of the factors which have created for Mr. Balfour ineradicable confidence and regard in those who have so long served under his chieftaincy.

At the bottom of their hearts most Englishmen place courage in the very forefront of a statesman's virtues. Mr. Balfour's administration in Ireland proved to the whole world how pre-



eminently that virtue was his. Brave men before him had faced the daily peril of assassination, which told even upon the nerve of Cromwell, with fortitude; but Mr. Balfour, partly perhaps from the detachment due to a disciplined mind and a strong will, faced that peril not only with fortitude, but with a serene indifference. I remember driving with him, I think in 1888—a dangerous moment in Dublin—in his brougham, when our coachman, confronted with an unexpected obstacle, was compelled suddenly to relax speed. Almost immediately a tremendous blow was delivered on the back panel of the brougham, half stunning me and scattering broken timber and glass throughout the carriage. I was thoroughly startled and a good deal discomposed, believing that a shot had been fired, but Mr. Balfour was entirely unmoved and greatly amused at my discomfiture and at the discovery that the accident was due, not to the bullet of an assassin, but to the zeal of his detectives who, following us too closely, had driven the pole of their car through the back of our brougham.

Before Mr. Balfour had been a year in office as Irish Secretary the delusion sedulously fomented by his political opponents, that he was a *dilettante*, an indolent man of fashion, etc., etc., was completely dispelled. The presence of danger, the necessity for decisive action, the constant opportunity, dear to a chivalrous nature, of supporting and sustaining followers and subordinates in a desperate struggle, the joy of the conflict in the House against Nationalist opponents, as clever as they were fierce, summoned and strengthened every faculty, and seemed, like a tonic, actually to fortify his physical constitution. Many years after, a colleague of Mr. Balfour's was battling in the early days of his official life on behalf of a policy as fiercely assailed as was his own when he confronted and suppressed disorder in Ireland. 'What luck for X!' was his comment. 'It is the opportunity of a lifetime.'

If the Irish administration proved to the world his courage, decision, and power as a leader to arouse the enthusiastic devotion of his followers, Mr. Balfour's legislation in Ireland no less established his permanent fame as the far-seeing and wise architect of constructive reform. He did much himself, but he also inspired and supervised the series of great measures passed by Mr. Gerald Balfour, culminating in the Purchase Act of 1904, the work of Mr. Wyndham. The combined effect of this administrative and legislative activity has given great and single-minded Irishmen like Sir H. Plunkett opportunities, splendidly used, to organise and stimulate Irish industry and character, and after twenty years' experience has left Ireland so pacified, that the most inflammatory agitator is powerless to arouse any general discontent. And yet these reforms were initiated without rhetoric



or advertisement, without attacks on individuals or classes, and without outbursts of sentimental optimism which so often lure the ignorant into hopes quickly dissipated by experience. Mr. Balfour's anticipations in Ireland were moderate; his achievements are solid and permanent.

Mr. Balfour's career in Ireland as Irish Adviser and Legislator permanently impressed his fellow-countrymen and laid a strong foundation for the confidence and respect which he has ever since enjoyed. Meantime practice and experience were equipping him with the weapons of a parliamentary debater which he has since wielded in a manner unsurpassed in the history of the House of Commons. The term debater is advisedly used, for the stimulus of the vigour of an opponent's speech, except in very rare instances, is absolutely necessary to call forth Mr. Balfour's full powers. There was a period in the House of Commons when this stimulus was lacking, and his speaking abated in vivacity and force. But when his opponents regained excellence in debate Mr. Balfour at once showed a corresponding ascent. Platform speeches, or introductory speeches in the House expounding large subjects, and designed to brace men's minds to a new policy, really demand, when possible, careful preparation, not only of the thought, but of the form. This preparation Mr. Balfour rarely gives. To think aloud before 5000 people for an hour or an hour and a half is an amazing feat, and it is one that he has often successfully performed. But it must be admitted that such speeches, though going to the very heart of the subject and always awakening deep interest, have not, with large audiences, the unhindered force of chosen words. Nor, again, does Mr. Balfour get the stimulus which some unstudied speakers derive from their hearers. He has not what may be termed a faculty of oratorical reciprocity, the attractive though dangerous gift of giving out in vapour and taking back in flood from his audience, which belongs to unprepared speakers of passionate and emotional nature. For him the passions are too common, and the emotions too intimate, for public use. Compensation for the defects referred to, if defects they be, is found in Mr. Balfour's astonishing readiness of resource and reply. The more a speaker relies on preparation the less is he disposed to abandon the matter which has become irrelevant by the turn of the discussion, and to deal with the argument which the debate itself has produced. Never in his whole career has Mr. Balfour failed to move with every phase of the controversy. Those who do so fail become the objects of his satire. I seem to remember his reply to a brilliant phrase-maker, whose intelligence had obviously become entangled in a manuscript: 'The right honour-



able gentleman has made an admirable oration, but he has unfortunately not addressed himself or replied to the arguments of the speaker who preceded him. He has mounted a destructive siege-gun, and trained it upon a road up which the invading army has not advanced. The fusillade has been hot, but quite innocuous. May I respectfully suggest that the right honourable gentleman should learn to make his artillery a little more mobile.'

This unique power of felicitously dealing with difficulties at the moment when they arise, has perhaps a little unduly disposed him to postpone framing concerted schemes of attack and defence, which men of slower minds like to consider well beforehand. The late Duke of Devonshire must have had Mr. Balfour prominently in mind, when he pathetically observed that throughout all his political life he had to deal with men who thought three times as quickly as he did. An admiral should remember that the safety of his fleet depends not only on the fast cruisers and destroyers, but on the massive and slower-moving battleships.

Much has been said, but not too much, of the peaceful victory won by Mr. Balfour in the House over his opponents in 1906, who for some weeks alternately jeered and bawled when Opposition leaders were speaking. He always insisted that they were no worse in manners than many others newly elected of whom he had had experience. There were, undoubtedly, in that Parliament many clever but somewhat uninstructed men, who, as soon as they felt that their great opponent could teach them interesting things, began, though at first reluctantly, to lend him their ears. Before long the reluctance gave place to willingness, and ultimately they fell almost to a man under the wand of the magician. The faculty which gained him this ascendancy has been described in somewhat hackneyed phrase as the power of lifting debate to a higher plane of discussion. Commenting on this phrase, a writer in *The Times* (10th of November 1911), in a passage of subtle but illuminating analysis, observed :

There is a tendency sometimes to miss the intimate connection between Mr. Balfour's faculty for doing this and the unique impression that he makes alike upon friends and foes and the indifferent spectators of the world at large. It is just in this peculiarity that resides his power to defeat antagonism without leaving bitterness or arousing enmity. It is the higher plane that keeps personal feelings in abeyance in the antagonist as they are in abeyance in Mr. Balfour himself. It is the habit of illuminating his subject by viewing it in relation to great principles and to world movements that gives to his arguments an air of inevitability and makes an unconscious ally of the antagonist's own better nature and better knowledge even when he chooses to fight his own battle on the lower plane. It is an incalculable loss to a deliberative assembly not to include men capable of making this appeal frequently and naturally. Such men are never too common, and we do not know that the House of Commons now contains



anyone having that peculiar gift to a degree even remotely approaching Mr. Balfour's habitual recourse to the higher and more universal envisagement of his subject.

This power must indeed cause a feeling akin to despair in less gifted men; but it may be said that these, even if they cannot attain to such heights, can, at any rate, emulate the urbanity and courtesy which—so it is thought—are within any man's reach. In a sense this is true; but even in the sphere of Parliamentary manners, great intellectual gifts give a man an unfair advantage. To feel instinctively that an opponent's arguments are wrong, and to be unable immediately to perceive a true answer to them, is a state of mind from which it is hard to expel anger, and—as something has to be said—the expression of it in rude and violent words. Such words are often the outcome of inability to meet argument, rather than of ill-feeling. Those who have had the happiness of hearing the late Lord Bowen poise the question which disintegrated an ingenious argument, will understand why it is easy for a disputant to make controversy polite and graceful when he has no difficulty in detecting a fallacy, and, in always felicitous terms, exposing it. What Lord Bowen was on the Bench Mr. Balfour was and will be again in the House of Commons. The one had both the logical acumen and the delicate epigrammatic stroke of the other, and in the lists of the intellect both carried the same weapons. The destruction of a fallacy became a fine art with these knights of debate, and the defeat of the fallen champion brought a moment of enjoyment even to his adherents.

Great caution and wariness are not often associated with unequalled quickness of apprehension, but both are admitted to be part of Mr. Balfour's equipment. I have seen him on occasions when a subject which had not been discussed, and involved difficulty, go all round it in debate, touching it very lightly, now here, and now there, anxious when his own mind was not fully made up to feel the pulse of his audience and, by thinking aloud, get time to arrive at a decision. Once when a very important matter, which had previously been acrimoniously debated, came up again for discussion, he was disposed to use an argument which two able men had already employed. A friend pointed out that this argument had been received on both those occasions with marked disapproval by the House. 'Will you trust me to use it?' was his reply, to which, of course, assent was made. The speech was given in his very best style, produced a great effect, and, when his hearers were in a good mood to receive it, he hazarded once again the dangerous contention. It was listened to in icy silence even by his supporters. In an instant the topic was abandoned, and the speaker, before his audience had appreciated the



situation, was vigorously expounding another and safer defence. Again, where questions of fact and detail are concerned, as to which he always professes the infirmity of his memory, close observers recognise how wary he is in committing himself, even though he may have obtained information from the most accurate source. Where opportunities for verification have not been open to him his statement of fact is always prefaced by such phrases as : ' I am given to understand,' ' I am subject to correction, but I am informed,' etc. In the statement of principles his method is different. There his steps are quite firm, and his mind works with complete confidence, for his principles have been built up solidly, and bear the hall-mark of long-pondered thoughts. This quality must not be regarded as proof that Mr. Balfour is not interested in facts. On the contrary, in his intercourse with others no one has a greater aptitude for new facts or a swifter faculty—to the great pleasure of the contributor—of placing them at once in their proper place in the scheme of the universe. These characteristics explain why, once he has thought out and proclaimed the principles of a policy, his followers may be quite certain that he will not depart from them. At the beginning of the fiscal controversy, though Mr. Balfour was a trained economist before some of those who lectured him were born, he was rebuked and ridiculed for averring that his convictions were not settled upon many of the points at issue. This and the subsequent movement of his opinion in the direction of Tariff Reform will perhaps be urged as subversive of the opinion above expressed as to the unchanging nature of his principles. But it should be remembered that the doctrines of Free Trade and Protection are not absolute truths, but are relative to the changing conditions of a country's position and development. The facts which underlie the economic condition and relation to others of a country like Great Britain are extraordinarily intricate and voluminous, and nothing would have been more deplorable for the leader of a temporarily-divided party than the crude slapdash which ignores the necessity for the study of more facts and the education of the nation in them, unless it were the pedantic dogmatism which holds some acute minds in thrall and erects into a matter of principle what is really one of practical expediency. I have not the slightest doubt that the wary policy of postponement in 1903 and 1905 did in fact enable the vast majority of the Unionist Party, which was at first greatly severed upon the question, to consider and assimilate the facts and reasons which led them ultimately to adopt the new opinions. But the time was gained and party union preserved, at a heavy cost, and only by the exercise of a courage and self-effacement to which the history of party leaders furnishes no parallel.



Mr. Balfour exhibited during this controversy certain very characteristic qualities, which have been remarkably well expressed :

'Neither the optimism of Mr. Chamberlain nor the optimism of the extreme Free Traders were possible to him. Neither the future nor the present were ever in his eyes golden, yet the peculiar limitation of his pessimism made him work with a certain enthusiasm for the practicable—for making the best of things. What other keen man of action among our public men can dispense with the idealising tendency to see things simply as they are? What pessimist, on the other hand, would work endeavouring to make the best of a rather bad job, as hard as an optimist who hoped to realise golden dreams?'<sup>1</sup>

It has been imagined quite erroneously that the brilliant gifts upon which I have dwelt were devoted to matters of high policy only, and that Mr. Balfour held himself aloof from the dead grind and the dusty details of a politician's life. He could not avoid and did not flinch from facing troublesome and laborious duties; where his intellectual power chiefly told was in the freshness and ease with which, despite those labours, he dealt with the larger and newer problems which the ever-shifting panorama of politics brought to his notice.

By universal admission, no leader has been more assiduous in attendance at the House of Commons than Mr. Balfour, and I think I may add that no one has spoken more constantly in debates embracing every kind of subject. Again, platform speeches are a very heavy labour to all who have any sense of responsibility for what they say; but this labour is greatly increased in the case of the leader of a party, who, like Mr. Balfour, is always reported in the first person, and is expected to cover a wide field. In addition to the constant strain of speaking in the House of Commons, he delivered, in 1909, before his illness in December, twenty-five platform speeches; in 1910, which included two General Elections, thirty-seven; in 1911, till the time of his resignation, twenty-five. An ordinary day for the Leader of the Opposition would begin with the receipt of an average of seventy or eighty letters, largely added to by subsequent posts throughout the day. Answers to these were dictated between 10.15 and 11.15 A.M. Callers were received from 11.45 till luncheon, and generally included colleagues with important matters for consultation, the Chief Whip of the House of Commons, the Principal Agent from the Central Office, and representatives of local interests. From time to time distinguished persons came on university, foreign and Colonial business. Luncheon was often employed as

<sup>1</sup> *Ten Personal Studies.* Wilfrid Ward.



an opportunity for seeing private members of the House, and scientific, literary and other learned guests. From 3.15 till 11 o'clock at night, with the interval of dinner, the debates in the House claimed his attendance, subject to interruptions by committees of his colleagues in his private room, interviews with members, deputations, etc. As First Lord of the Treasury and as Prime Minister in the House of Commons Mr. Balfour assumed responsibilities never attempted by his immediate predecessors. Neither Disraeli, Northcote, or W. H. Smith ever undertook the detailed preparation, and ultimate conduct in the House, of Bills of importance. For instance, though Mr. Balfour had no official staff<sup>2</sup> the London Government Bill, 1899, was practically his sole work. The same may be said of the Education Bill of 1902, except that in this case he, of course, had the assistance of a Department. The Licensing Act was discussed by a Committee of the Cabinet, of which he was the chairman for a long period, and owed much of its form, even in matters of drafting, to his initiative.

It was the invariable practice of Ministers before 1895 to let Supply drag over to the end of the Session. The result was, that with this instrument in their hands, the Opposition had a formidable advantage of the Government in the final stages of their Parliamentary Bills. Supply had to be got, and the time required furnished the most effective weapon in arresting the progress of legislation in the dog-days of the Session. Things reached such a pass that Supply under the old system was often practically not discussed, and its rapid passage in July and August was little short of a public scandal. On one occasion, under the leadership of Sir W. Harcourt, all the Army votes were passed in a single sitting. For this abuse Mr. Balfour instituted a system by which twenty-three days, with power to have four more (Thursday is the regular Supply day), are appropriated to the business of Supply, and the custom which he initiated of leaving to the official Opposition the right of getting priority for those votes on which critical discussion is most needed, has become well established. Only those who know the complexity of procedure, and the intense conservatism of the House of Commons and its officials regarding it, will appreciate the labour and mastery of detail which this and other reforms of procedure involved. Perhaps Mr. Balfour's greatest administrative achievement was the formation of the Council of Defence. That Council consists of the Prime Minister as Chairman, and the political heads of the War Office, Admiralty, India Office, with the Chief of the General Staff, the First Sea Lord, and Directors of Naval and Military

<sup>2</sup> This requires a reservation. He was assisted by Mr. Thring, the Government draftsman, and Mr. Sandars, his friend and private secretary: almost a department in themselves.



Intelligence. Mr. Balfour's view has always been that the Prime Minister should be at liberty at any time to summon the representatives of a Department concerned with problems under discussion, and any individual from this country, or from the Dominions, whose counsel might be valuable. He instituted the appointment of a permanent staff attached to the Committee, charged with the responsibility of keeping accurate records of the proceedings, in order to maintain continuity of policy from Government to Government. The general scheme has been considerably extended upon the lines of the original plan, and I think I may say that it has no warmer admirers than Lord Haldane and some of his colleagues. For a short time Mr. Balfour took the place of Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, and ever since has maintained a great interest in foreign affairs, to which, when Prime Minister, he gave assiduous attention. It will thus be seen that few ministers have had so varied an experience; for in addition to this temporary tenure of the Foreign Office, Mr. Balfour has been President of the Local Government Board for Scotland, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and First Lord of the Treasury. The Education Act of 1902 lent him a deep insight into the whole policy and machinery of that great Department, and the Council of Defence gave him a close familiarity with modern naval and military problems.

As Prime Minister, he freely lent this wide experience to the service of his colleagues. Every departmental chief has from time to time to defend subordinates who have acted injudiciously or carelessly, and support decisions of the Cabinet without being always able, owing to reasons of State, to adduce the arguments which really justify them. Again, in carrying great measures through Parliament, compromises have to be made which are almost impossible to maintain logically in public. There are leaders who, though not purposely absent on the occasion when a colleague is wrestling with situations such as these, are not zealous to be present. Our late chief was attracted, as it were by a magnet, by an awkward Parliamentary occasion, or by the news of a comrade in difficulties. Like Henry Dundas, Mr. Balfour 'went out in all weathers.'

Throughout all these laborious years Mr. Balfour has never lost that graciousness of character and manner which has invested his personality with an indescribable charm. A little more than a century ago Fox died at Chiswick. In a sense his life had been a failure. His fortune had been dissipated in gambling, his health impaired by excess; only at very rare and brief periods had he been able to influence and guide his countrymen or inspire them with trust in his political faiths. Yet his temper was unembittered, and alike over friend and opponent, he maintained the



ascendancy of his winning and delightful nature. Not even the stalwart Tory, Johnson, could resist the 'vile Whig.' 'I am,' he exclaimed, 'for King against Fox, but for Fox against Pitt.' Only one of the great statesmen of the last hundred years has possessed in like degree this magical quality, in his case unhampered by the disfigurements of an undisciplined temperament or a disordered judgment. I should disobey the injunction laid upon myself at the beginning of this Paper were I to attempt to analyse that which is, after all, beyond analysis. Mr. Balfour's charm certainly does not consist in anything approaching to indiscriminate geniality, or in any conscious efforts to attract others to him. The circle of friends whom he admits to his confidence is not large, though his 'intellectual hospitality' is unstinted and is extended to all genuine inquirers. His colleagues and comrades obtain from him not merely the most chivalrous support in public but, a far rarer thing, the intimate loyalty of his thought. For them his acute mind holds a general retainer for the defence.

In the heaviest stress of work Mr. Balfour finds in music, even of the severer schools, rest to mind and body. He is an independent judge and patron of art. In times when personal frictions and worries are quite unavoidable, he is wont to keep them in their true perspective with the universe by writing metaphysical treatises, from the study of which he absolves some, at any rate, of his friends. He is at all times enamoured of mechanical inventions and skill. This led him to a somewhat painful struggle with the early bicycle, and its successive developments, the free-wheel and the motor-cycle, and has given him a sympathetic association with his chauffeur in diagnosis of the mysteries of motor breakdowns. His friends are a little surprised that an aeroplane is not yet in his garage at Whittingehame, but much may be hoped from his leisure. In earlier days he was an excellent shot with the rifle, and very active 'on the hill.' No better comrade in games lives; his style at tennis is perfection, and he is a good golfer in the full meaning of that often rashly used term. Like other human beings, he has been known to make bad strokes, but a really critical situation on the links, as in other greater games, never fails to call forth the height of his powers. He is deeply interested in the human comedy, loves the company of young people, easily wins, and greatly respects, their confidence. He is amused and pleased by a certain kind of dainty gossip, and by the lesser competitions of life. Of the deeper resources of his friendship and sympathy this is no place to speak.

Lord John Townshend directed in his will that his tombstone should be inscribed with the following words: 'The friend and companion of Mr. Fox; a distinction which was the pride of his



life, and the only one he was desirous might be recorded after his death.'

So monumental a tribute would be a constant source of uneasiness and annoyance to Mr. Balfour, and even an expression of the devoted attachment and loyalty of his followers might embarrass his fastidious reserve. Such feelings, however, though they must remain dumb, will not fail to endure.

ALFRED LYTTTELTON.



## *PUBLIC OPINION AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST.*

THE strikes of 1911 have inaugurated a new era in the history of industrial disputes in this country. Until lately the news of industrial violence on the Continent has affected the British public much as the howling of the storm outside affects a man comfortably seated by his own fireside. Any fear that the dangerous forms assumed by labour revolts abroad might be imitated at home has been tranquillised by the belief that our Trade Union system and the traditional common-sense of the nation would be a sufficient protection against industrial revolution.

The outbreak last summer has dispelled this confidence, and has shown that here, as elsewhere, the never-ending conflict between Capital and Labour has entered upon a new and alarming phase which menaces the prosperity of trade and the social institutions of the country. The results of the old method of collective bargaining, by which masters and men have for so many years adjusted their differences, no longer satisfy the aspirations of wage-earners. The spread of education and of democratic feeling, the increase in the world's wealth, the vicissitudes of the wage-earners' position due to the fluctuations of trade and to changes in the real value of wages, and the incitements of labour agitators—all these and other causes, some due to human imperfections and some to natural conditions beyond the control of man, have combined to arouse the feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction which now appear to pervade the wage-earning classes, and which have produced a condition of dangerously unstable equilibrium in the labour world. Under the influence of these feelings wage-earners listen readily to wild schemes for giving effective expression to their demands, and a golden opportunity has been provided for those who believe that a necessary preliminary to the regeneration of society is the destruction of that which now exists.

Anarchists, Socialists of all denominations, and Syndicalists vie with each other in their eagerness to seize the occasion for exploiting the physical forces of labour to further their own ends. The workmen themselves are innocent of any real knowledge of the various nostrums for the reorganisation of Society they are



urged to support; they have been imbued with a conviction that their labour has been and is being exploited by their employers, but they have no clear idea how this assumed wrong is to be remedied. The well-known psychological effect of a crowd in destroying for the time the individuality of its members—making them readily responsive to the emotional appeals of the orator who addresses them and eager to adopt with enthusiasm the action he recommends—is a formidable ally for the enemies of the order, whose theme is the wrongs of labour and whose text is the advantage of the general strike. As a means of terrorisation and coercion, the efficacy of this form of 'direct action' is easily intelligible to uneducated men, who can also readily understand that the solidarity of labour is a necessary condition for its effective use: it was the general adoption of this doctrine—new to this country—which distinguished the late strikes from all their predecessors. Dr. Gustave le Bon asserts that the peaceful or revolutionary character of working men's associations is determined by nationality, and so recently as 1910 he writes that in Anglo-Saxon countries 'Trade Unions are occupied with economical objects only and ignore the war of classes, whilst amongst the Latin peoples, on the contrary, Syndicalism has become an instrument of anarchy, its only object being the destruction of society.'<sup>1</sup> This statement, which appeared to be true when written, is true no longer, and the sooner the nation understands that it is face to face with this new and formidable danger, the better is its chance of escaping the disastrous consequences entailed by attempts to create a general strike.

It needs no great effort of imagination to realise what these would be; the Home Secretary, speaking on the 23rd of August last in defence of his action, drew an impressive picture in which the horrors of a general strike were certainly not overstated.<sup>2</sup> It is highly improbable that industrial revolt in this country would develop to the extent he described; but the injury, loss, and suffering inflicted upon the community by a general strike, even when so incomplete as that of last summer, show how necessary it is to guard against a recurrence of the attempt. It may be said that it is an insult to British wage-earners to suppose that they would adopt the ferocious doctrine of Syndicalism, and that there is no real danger of their doing so: the reply is, that while it will be readily admitted that if they foresaw the consequences of their action our working men would have nothing to do with it, yet such prevision cannot be expected from them, and, as a matter of fact, they have shown that they are quite ready to adopt

<sup>1</sup> *Psychologie politique et la Défense sociale*, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Mr. W. S. Lilly. See 'The Philosophy of Strikes,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, October 1911.



the weapon of Syndicalism by doing their best to make a local into a general strike. The workman acts according to his lights, and, as has been pointed out, he can see clearly enough that in the 'solidarity' of labour lies its strength: he is therefore prepared to cease work when ordered to do so by his leaders, without asking the reason or reflecting upon the consequences of his action. He thus becomes a blind agent in the production of industrial convulsions, the outcome of which is hidden from him.

It is obvious that the adoption of the principle of 'solidarity' in labour disputes has prepared the way for the general strike, and implies that the method, if not the ends, of Syndicalism will in future influence the character of our industrial disputes. The result is that in future the revolts of organised labour will be on a far larger scale than heretofore, and will be directed not against individual employers or special industries, but against the nation. The policy of the new movement is to deprive the community as a whole of the means of subsistence and the amenities of life, in order to exploit its necessities in breaking down the defences of capital.

The recent endeavour to promote a general strike was a comparative failure: the organisation of the Unions was very imperfect and the declaration was premature; but the attempt made it clear that when next an industrial dispute occurs a determined effort will be made to extend it into a general strike, and it also proved that a considerable number of wage-earners are prepared to support this policy. The organisation of labour is continually improving, no means of increasing the membership of the Trade Unions are neglected, and we may be sure that the next attempt to bring about a general strike will be better timed and more carefully planned than the last, and that its effects will be proportionately more disastrous.

Besides the actual mischief caused by the late strikes, they left an evil legacy behind them: class antagonism has been accentuated, the relations between capital and labour have been embittered, the predatory instincts of the hooligan class have been encouraged, and a feeling of fierce resentment, which will bear bitter fruit, has been aroused by the unavoidable employment of the military. Even if there should be no recurrence of an attempt to promote a general strike, years must pass before these angry feelings can subside; but unhappily there is reason to fear that a new attempt is imminent. It must be remembered that nothing is so adverse to the policy of militant Trade Unionists as industrial quiescence, and that no inducement is so efficacious in obtaining recruits as the declaration of a strike.<sup>3</sup> Encouraged

<sup>3</sup> A notable result of the late outbreak was the large addition it brought to the number of Trade Unionists.



by recent successes, it is not likely that the active leaders of labour will allow the existing peace to continue for long. The public memory is short, its attention is easily diverted, and there is always a danger that the warning given by the late strikes may be neglected. If this should happen, and efficient measures are not taken to provide against future attempts to create a general strike, the peril of the country will be great. Indeed, what with the menace of Syndicalism, the active propaganda of Socialism, and the political situation, the highest interests of the nation are probably in greater danger now than at any time since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the fact that the danger is internal rather than external makes it more insidious, and therefore the more to be feared. The enemies to the peace and prosperity of the country are of its own household; many of them are members of the Imperial Parliament and of our municipal bodies, and so occupy a position of vantage for carrying on their work of undermining and destroying the institutions of the country. A house divided against itself is always in danger of falling, but if civilisation and education are more than empty names there must be in this country a great body of persons who can appreciate the folly and danger of attempts to regenerate Society by throwing it into the cauldron of revolution, and who are quite numerous and powerful enough to checkmate these attempts if their forces were concentrated. The most formidable obstacle to co-operation for defence is the fact already referred to—that Society is permeated by persons hostile to the present order of things, who, although comparatively few in number, are from their position able to do much to hamper and nullify movements, public or private, which seem likely to thwart their schemes. If threatened by foreign aggression there would be no hesitation—the whole nation with one accord would resist to the uttermost; but when the question is one of combined action to resist the equally dangerous menace of social disorganisation there are many influences, social and political, which tend to split up and weaken the forces of resistance. It is probable that the effects of a general strike would be the most efficacious remedy for this disastrous want of cohesion, but it is doubtful whether the experience of last summer was sufficiently drastic to effect a cure. Signs, however, are not wanting that the shock administered to the unsuspecting public by the recent strikes has done something to arouse the community to a sense of its peril. But nations, like individuals, seem to consider that to deal with the symptoms of a disease is sufficient, and are apt to neglect the causes of the malady which produces them. Some effort is being made to provide protection against the disastrous effects of a general strike, but, however fully this object may be achieved, it will be



a mere palliative, and the hope of permanent industrial peace must rest upon the amelioration and ultimate removal of the causes which now militate against it. Whether this is possible time alone can show; but, as a preliminary step towards the establishment of harmonious co-operation between the two indispensable factors of human advance—Capital and Labour—it will be well that the country should consider the nature of the obstacles that now stand in the way.

When two parties are at variance the restoration of peace depends quite as much upon the spirit in which they approach the questions at issue as upon the questions themselves. Whatever may have been the case in the past, employers have for some time shown an increasing disposition to meet the claims of labour in a generous spirit, so far as economical necessities permit. Unhappily, there has been no corresponding development of a conciliatory feeling on the side of wage-earners; on the contrary, concessions by employers are met by increased and impossible demands, and class hatred, from which this country has hitherto been so free, appears to have an increasing influence upon the conduct of industrial disputes. It is indeed only too clear that the general attitude of the labour world towards its relations with capital has materially altered of late years; it has, in fact, become intransigent, and it is this that is now the great obstacle to industrial peace.

On the whole, the position of the manual labourer has greatly improved during the last half-century, both in respect of wages, conditions of labour, and the amenities of life, and although during the last few years wages have, from various causes, ceased to rise, it cannot be reasonably maintained that there has been a change for the worse in the position of the wage-earner which affords any justification for the increase of discontent or for the recent outbreak of violence. The obstacle to reconciliation is therefore chiefly psychological. Various causes have contributed to produce this mental attitude, and amongst them the influence to which the wage-earner is exposed during his early life is one of the most important. Our elementary school system, under which parents are relieved of all responsibility, moral and financial, for the education of the children they bring into the world, seems to have been devised with an entire disregard of the ethical as well as of the practical objects of education. Whilst enormous sums of money and immense labour are expended upon cramming a child's mind and burdening its memory with comparatively useless knowledge, but little attention has been paid to the things that really matter—the formation of moral character, and the development of the perceptive, reflective, and reasoning qualities. A sense of the fatal defects of this system seems of late to have



penetrated the public mind, and energetic attempts to improve it have now been in progress for some years; but the dead weight of forty years of error is not easily thrown off—the present teachers cannot be expected in their maturity to free themselves at once from the influence of the system under which they have been trained—and more than one generation must pass away before educational reform can affect the character of our people or have any material influence upon the conduct of industrial disputes.

After nine years of school, the children are thrown upon the world to make their way as best they can, having learnt little or nothing that is of practical use to them, and with their moral nature altogether undeveloped and undisciplined. On leaving school a boy can usually obtain immediate employment which, although well paid, leads to nothing, which flatters his sense of independence and importance, and satisfies his natural desire for pocket-money; and his parents, keen to increase the family income, generally urge him to take it. This employment may last for three or four years, and at the end of that time he is again plunged into the struggle of life, for which he is still quite unequipped. If by a fortunate accident he has picked up a knowledge of some trade he becomes an artisan; if not, he is compelled to be a labourer. He has now become a man, with the rights and duties of a citizen: one of the individuals upon whose character and conduct the prosperity and safety of the nation depends. The State, ignoring his parents, has assumed the charge of his early training, but at fourteen leaves him entirely to his own devices, having done little or nothing to fit him to take a useful part in the life and work of the community. As he grows up he learns that when he marries the State will educate his children and will feed them if he does not do so himself, will provide for his old age, will help him to find work and insure him against accident while doing it, will regulate hours and conditions of work in his favour, and will interfere in his interest with the wages he is paid. He naturally imbibes the idea that when he wants anything he need not exert himself to obtain it, that he has only to ask and an omnipotent power will supply it, and that when he finds the natural duties of life irksome the same mysterious entity will relieve him from the responsibility of performing them. This is what the community has done for him by way of education, and when he takes his place in the world of labour the natural effect of this early teaching is expanded and accentuated. If he becomes a trade unionist he is told by his leaders that the old conciliatory method of securing advantages by collective bargaining is out of date and useless, and that the solidarity of labour and the general strike are the only means by which he can hope to obtain his rights, and he is warned against honest and strenuous work by the pernicious



doctrine of 'ca-canny,' which for years has been sapping the self-respect and energy of our organised workmen; at the same time he is assured by the Socialists that all wealth is due to his labour, that the capitalist system is an iniquitous device for robbing him of his share, and that in its destruction lies his only hope of getting fair play; and now the Syndicalists are beginning to urge him to adopt their doctrine of violence and plunder.

Thus the influences to which the wage-earner is exposed as he grows from childhood to maturity combine to weaken his sense of personal duty, encourage him to rely upon others to supply his wants and discharge his responsibilities, and teach him that in order to obtain the improvement in his position he naturally and properly desires he must resort to agitation and violence. It is difficult to see how by taking thought the community could have devised a *milieu* for its young citizens less calculated to develop the higher side of their nature, or one better adapted to encourage feelings of discontent and unrest and to prepare the way for industrial and social revolution.

Who or what is responsible for this? A nation has the Government it deserves, and its social organisation is its own creation. The authority which ultimately directs its action and moulds its institutions is public opinion; and the Public who, possessing this supreme power, has by its supine indifference tolerated the continuance of so inefficient a system of education and permitted the growth of these malignant influences, so hostile to its own well-being and to the welfare of its poorer citizens, must hold itself responsible for the inevitable results which are now becoming so manifest. The legislation dignified by the question-begging name of 'Social Reform,' joyfully adopted by both the great political parties as an admirable method for combining philanthropy with vote-catching, which so effectually teaches the easily learnt lesson of doing nothing for yourself when you can get others to do it for you, would have been impossible had it not been sanctioned and encouraged by public opinion. This approval of legislation so contrary to the character of the British people is probably largely due to the wave of sentiment which in recent years seems to have submerged the traditional common-sense of the nation; but its adoption has been much assisted by the rapidly growing influence of a social theory for which we have not even a name, but which is only too well known to our French neighbours as '*Etatisme*.' To its votaries it is a religion in which the State takes the place of conscience as the guide of men's lives and actions, and of the Deity as the dispenser of all things good for humanity. State Socialism or Collectivism is its final expression, and constant encroachments upon liberty, and the huge additions now continually made to the burden of



taxation<sup>4</sup> and to the army of officials, mark the rapidity of its progress towards that goal.

Another formidable obstacle to reconciliation has been raised by the capture of the Trade Unions by the Labour-Socialist party, and to the result of this victory the existing industrial unrest is largely owing. This capture was really effected by skilful manipulation of the Trade Unions' electoral machinery, and was not due to the acceptance of the doctrine of Socialism by the men; but the brilliant hopes held out by Socialists in their endeavour to proselytise the rank and file of the Unions naturally excited a feeling of discontent with existing conditions, which was emphasised when the men discovered that there was no chance of the realisation of these dreams. The outlet for discontent which was formerly provided by collective bargaining was seriously interfered with by the dismissal of the old Trade Union officials, by whom this system had been so skilfully and successfully handled, and by the fact that the amicable arrangement of disputes had no place in the policy of the new leaders of the Unions, to whom the antagonism of Capital and Labour is an asset of the greatest value. Their object in securing the control of the Unions was not to further industrial conciliation, but to make use of the political strength thus acquired in carrying out their policy of introducing Collectivism by the aid of 'Social Reform' legislation. Their political power depends upon the numerical strength of organised labour, and since each trade dispute that is settled tends to deplete the ranks of the Unions, and since collective bargaining is the most effective method of securing such a settlement, the new leaders naturally regard it with an unfavourable eye, and have effectually discouraged its use. The political power of the Labour-Socialist party would obviously be very greatly increased if they were in a position to command or restrain the outbreak of a general strike, and great efforts have been made to secure this vantage. For this it was necessary that the principle of the solidarity of labour should be emphasised by the Unions, and that they should acknowledge no authority other than that of the Labour-Socialist party. The events of last summer showed that although considerable progress had been made towards the attainment of the first of these conditions, the second was far from being secured, and it soon became evident that the obedience of the rank and file of the Unions to their orders could no longer be counted upon. Sporadic strikes developed into a widespread disturbance culminating in the railway strike without regard to the authority of the Labour-Socialist leaders, and their efforts to

<sup>4</sup> Even so stout a Liberal as Lord Welby confesses that he is 'extremely alarmed' at the present rate of public expenditure, which he says is 'enormous'. Free Trade lectures, Central Finsbury Liberal and Radical Association. *The Times*, October 20, 1911.



assume the command of the movement were unavailing. Loss of control of the Unions would practically reduce the party to political impotence; the situation was therefore full of embarrassment and danger for the leaders, and they soon became aware that the solidarity of labour which they had been so carefully organising might be turned to other ends than that of creating a powerful and docile instrument for use in their political manœuvres. It was evident that the men were more attracted by 'direct action' than by the indirect and tedious policy of their political leaders, and lent a willing ear to its advocates. Worse still, the idea of the general strike is inseparable from the idea of Syndicalism, and, as the Labour-Socialist leaders well knew, nothing could be more fatal to their cause than the spread of this doctrine amongst the rank and file of the Unions. Whether the defection of the Unions is permanent or not, their refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Parliamentary leaders last summer was a severe blow to State Socialism, and this and other signs make it probable that this doctrine, which has been so prominent of late, is now losing ground. The advent of Syndicalist ideas and the general strike have gone far to destroy the glamour of Socialist visions in the eyes of wage-earners as well as in those of the general public, and the wave of sentiment which both in and out of Parliament has been so efficient an ally of Socialism is apparently beginning to lose its force.

The perturbation of the Labour-Socialist party at the turn events have taken appears very clearly in the pages of its organ, the *Socialist Review*. In Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's recent articles in this publication, Syndicalism—of which he does not appear to know very much—is abused, 'peaceful' picketing is of course defended, and the disadvantages and drawbacks of the general strike as a method of industrial warfare are dwelt upon: a general strike he thinks is justified if declared 'perhaps once in twenty years.' May we hope that he will establish a claim on our gratitude by endeavouring to secure freedom from industrial revolt on a great scale for that period?

His views upon the general strike appear to be similar to those held by so many persons upon protective duties—that they would be extremely valuable, not for actual use as a weapon, but as a threat to frighten the enemy into concession. But to contemplate the employment of so hideous a weapon even as a bugbear seems scarcely in harmony with the spirit which, according to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, defined the object of the formation of the Labour party to be to 'enable the moral character of the soul of the people of this country to flourish and become strong and beautiful.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Speech at Oldham. *The Times*, November 13, 1911.



Mr. MacDonald professes his confidence that just as phagocytes protect our bodies from the incursion of hostile microbes, so the guardians of the body politic will make short work of the microbes of Syndicalism. The same analogy is used for a similar purpose in 'Syndicalism and Labour';<sup>6</sup> but while in the book referred to the phagocytes are supposed to be equally hostile to all pernicious intruders, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald assumes that they would deal faithfully with the microbes of Syndicalism but would welcome those of Collectivism—an assumption which falsifies the analogy and for which it is difficult to see any ground. No doubt recent events have seriously weakened the position of the Labour-Socialist party, and their irritation is intelligible; but they should recognise that this result is due to their own action, and might have been foreseen as the natural consequence of the policy they have pursued.

The nation is confronted with a difficult problem, and failure to solve it will entail a terrible penalty. The great and general increase of material prosperity has created conditions favourable to the growth of civilisation and the development of moral feeling, and has brought comforts within the reach of the artisan class which not long since were either unknown or only procurable by the wealthy. This beneficent change is entirely due to scientific discoveries and a skilful employment of capital and labour by exceptionally able individuals, urged to exertion by personal ambition and by the hope of gaining wealth for themselves and their children. No doubt there are men, whose presence amongst us is of happy augury for the future of humanity, who require no incentive to exertion except the desire to benefit their fellow-creatures; but at present they are the exceptions, and their existence does not affect the question. The dream of democracy is the equality of all men; it dislikes and discourages the pre-eminence of individuals, and the tendency of democratic legislation is always towards the realisation of this ideal, which in the nature of things is unrealisable; the vain attempt to secure it leads, as M. E. Faguet so ably shows in his book, *Culte de l'Incompétence*,<sup>7</sup> to the suppression of talent, with a consequent retardation of human progress to an extent measured by the degree to which interference with and discouragement of individual enterprise and initiative is carried. Although advance would be checked, a nation cannot stand still, and movement would continue, but it would be towards universal poverty and a reversion to barbarism. How, then, can the spirit of democratic equality be reconciled with the conditions necessary for social

<sup>6</sup> By Sir Arthur Clay. John Murray, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> *The Cult of Incompetence*. Translated from the French of Emile Faguet by Miss Beatrice Barstow. John Murray, 1911.



advance? This is one of the great problems which lie behind the industrial troubles from which we suffer, and each year that passes makes the necessity for its solution more pressing.

Want of space makes it impossible to refer more fully to the various legislative forms assumed by State interference with the liberties of the individual, but it is evident that a social policy of this nature will not help us to solve the problem referred to. So far from encouraging the independence, self-reliance, and initiative of the people upon which the advance of the community depends, the tendency of this policy is to weaken these qualities and thus to encourage the feverish discontent which is so ominous a feature of the time. It is not intended to imply that there are not good grounds for the dissatisfaction of wage-earners with their present position—the contrary is only too manifest, nor is it intended to deprecate the existence of discontent, without which all improvement would cease; but it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the methods which wage-earners in this country now seem ready to adopt in order to secure compliance with their demands are obviously incompatible with the continued prosperity of the nation of which they are a part, and tend to injure, if not to destroy, the source from which alone any real and lasting improvement in their condition can arise.

Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his very interesting and suggestive article on 'The Philosophy of Strikes' in the October number of this Review, says that he believes the root of the evil 'is in the obliteration of belief in the moral law.' Whilst fully agreeing that want of morality, in the dealings of men with each other, is the real cause of the existing industrial trouble—as indeed it is of most of the evils from which humanity suffers—I venture to think the implication that the nation has fallen from a higher to a lower standard of morality is unwarranted and unduly pessimistic. Our recent social history appears rather to show an increased respect for moral considerations, but, as might be expected and as certainly ought to be the case, the improvement is most evident in the better educated classes; indeed, the demoralising legislation to which reference has been made is largely attributable to the marked increase of altruistic feeling which has made it popular with the classes without whose consent it could not have been passed and who are taxed to supply the needed funds. But the advance of morality is infinitely slow, and amongst the wage-earning classes in this country its progress has certainly received no assistance from the collective action of the community. Consideration on one side begets consideration on the other, and it may be hoped that the increasing perception of their moral responsibilities by the employing classes, and their increasing readiness to sympathise with and support legitimate



demands for improved conditions of labour, may evoke a responsive feeling on the part of the wage-earners. But many years must pass before moral considerations on both sides will be the determining influence in the settlement of industrial disputes.

One of the most discouraging features of the present situation is the general failure to understand that economical factors dominate the situation. Not only workmen and their leaders, but politicians, Socialists of all descriptions, economists with Socialistic proclivities, and the benevolent public, all appear to take it for granted that the only obstacle to a rearrangement of profits satisfactory to the wage-earning class is the greed of employers and the imperfections of our social organisation, and draw the inference that it is within the power of Parliament to remedy the trouble and to satisfy the demands of labour without destroying the trade or arresting the advance of the nation : the unseen but insurmountable obstacles to such a solution of the difficulty, interposed by the ineradicable instincts of human nature and the inexorable laws of economy, are altogether ignored.

Amongst subsidiary causes which now make for industrial trouble is the reduction of the proportion of older men employed, which is one result of recent industrial legislation. The effect is that it is the younger men who now decide the issues of peace and war in trade disputes ; and youth is always in favour of strong measures. These young men are not acquainted with social history, and do not know how vastly superior their own position is both with regard to wages and conditions of labour to that of their forefathers : knowledge of this fact, although it would not and ought not to interfere with their desire for further improvement, might at any rate make them somewhat less impatient, and less ready to believe that violent action is likely to improve their position. But the community does not attempt to instruct them about the improved conditions of wage-earners, or to teach them the simplest economical truths about the necessary inter-dependence of capital and labour ; they hear only one side of the question, and have no means of detecting the fallacy of the statements by which they are misled.

It might have been expected that at this stage in the history of humanity the constantly repeated experience of the futility of attempts to regulate and direct the lives of men in accordance with Utopian theories would have been laid to heart ; unhappily, the experience so painfully acquired by one generation is generally ignored by its successor, and ages must pass away before men can hope to escape from the weary round of futile experimentation trodden by previous generations. The existing social organisation is the result of the continuous operation of natural causes, and under its sway civilisation has made a great advance, how-



ever slow and intermittent this progress may have been. Its many imperfections reflect the frailties of the human units of which it is composed, and will gradually disappear with the advance of morality; but progress will certainly not be hastened by the substitution of a social system founded upon the theories of doctrinaires for one based upon natural law. Men are slow to realise the power of forces they cannot see, and, it may be feared, the public will continue to imagine that the invisible laws by which human life is conditioned can be successfully defied, and that progress may be hastened by political devices which ignore their existence.

I have attempted to show that the present industrial unrest is due to a sinister change in the mental attitude of the wage-earner, and that for the existence and continued operation of the causes for this change public opinion is responsible. It is the Public that has tolerated the continued existence of so inefficient a system of primary education, and has tacitly approved or actively encouraged legislation that weakens the moral fibre of the nation. It is the Public that has permitted the assumption of dictatorial powers by one class in the country, and has seen with placid indifference the widening breach between Capital and Labour—an indifference which turned to sudden fear and anger when during last summer the conditions it had permitted to grow unchecked culminated in an outburst which seriously interfered with its convenience. The anger then so loudly expressed by the Public would have been more justly directed against its own neglect rather than against those who took part in the revolt. I repeat, it is the Public that is ultimately responsible for the present condition of things, and it is the Public that must apply the remedy.

The opinion that directs the conduct of a nation is the expression of its soul as well as of its will, and the character of this opinion is an indication of the degree of civilisation—in the moral sense of the word—which the community has reached. If the upward progress continues the causes of industrial unrest will in time cease to be tolerated by public opinion, and, together with other social evils which have their root in moral shortcomings, will disappear. In the nature of things this progress must be slow; but there is one phase of public opinion which of late years has materially encouraged the development of industrial unrest in which it is not Utopian to hope for a change in the near future: this is the lax sentimentality that now pervades all classes, to the serious detriment of the wholesome spirit of sturdy independence that used to characterise our people and which forms so solid a basis for morality. For many years our ancient Constitution, our comparative freedom from bureaucracy, the independence and self-reliance of our people, and the temperate character of our labour



disputes have been the envy of foreign nations—the books of French writers on social subjects abound in expressions of admiration for the British character and British institutions. To read these eulogies now is humiliating : the country has of late seemed determined to divest itself of the characteristics which called forth these encomiums. Our Constitution has been thrown into the melting-pot, bureaucracy is advancing with giant strides, our people regard continual legislative encroachments upon their independence with apparent indifference, and our wage-earners have shown themselves ready to adopt the ferocious expedient of the general strike to gain their ends. But notwithstanding these discouraging symptoms there is hope : national character changes with extreme slowness, and the sentimentality which of late has influenced public action has appeared so suddenly and is so alien to the historic character of the British people, that in all probability it is no more than a temporary fluctuation of opinion, due to a general relaxation of the moral fibre of the nation—the result of a long period of peace and great commercial prosperity. If this is so, reversion to the typical character is certain to occur before long.

But the misfortune is that, whilst the danger is pressing, the remedies that promise to be effectual can only come into operation very slowly, and much time must pass before they can materially affect the relations between Capital and Labour. The reaction in public opinion which may be hoped for, although signs of its approach are not wanting, is as yet only a hope for the future. Co-partnership again, which seems to offer an ultimately satisfactory solution of the industrial problem, is as yet in its infancy, and is in some danger of being strangled in its cradle by the hostility of Trade Unionism. In the meantime, unless measures are promptly taken to protect the country against the result of attempts to create a general strike, there is constant and grievous peril. It is only too evident that the agreement patched up with the Railway Unions last summer is no more than a truce, a mere suspension of hostilities, which may come to an end at any moment. The great railway companies are now arranging for a considerable increase of wages to certain classes of their *employees*, but thus giving practical proof of their desire for conciliation ; but however well justified this step may be, it seems possible that in place of assisting the re-establishment of peace it may have the effect of precipitating a renewal of war. In a controversy of this nature nothing is so dangerous as ill-timed concessions, and this increase of wages, following so closely upon the railway strike of last summer, may appear to the men not as a token of a real desire for conciliation, but as evidence of the efficacy of the general strike and of the fear it has produced in the minds of the directors :



and so may induce labour leaders to think that a repetition of the strike will secure official recognition of the Railway Unions and acceptance of the men's programme of wages and conditions of work. The probability that this may be the view taken is supported by the fact that the leaders of the Unions promptly met the announcement of the increase of wages by making fresh demands which they know well cannot be granted; but to formulate and present demands which are certain to be refused is tantamount to a declaration of war. At present counsel seems to be somewhat divided amongst the leaders, and at the moment of writing the issue is still in doubt. In addition to this menace the country is now threatened with a national coal strike. Here again there seems to be a chance that an amicable settlement may be reached. But it is intolerable that a civilised community should be exposed to a constant menace of civil war at the pleasure of a comparatively small number of men who do not even make a pretence of regard for any interests except those of organised labour. Their assumption that they are entitled to bring the life of a great nation to a sudden standstill, to inflict loss and suffering upon countless innocent people, and to coerce and intimidate all who interfere with their action, would be incredible were it not that this monstrous claim is deliberately adopted and acted on. That anyone in these days should be capable of advancing such a claim is startling evidence of the power of personal interest and class antagonism to blind men to the most elementary principles of morality and the requirements of civilised social life; but not only do the leaders of the New Unionism assert their right to dictate the terms on which the rest of the community shall be permitted to live and carry on their business, but they are consumed with fierce indignation when the Government, in the performance of its elementary duty of protecting the lives and the property of its citizens, interferes with the exercise of the tyrannical authority they arrogate to themselves.

The suggestion that protection against a railway strike might be secured by the nationalisation of the railways is not a hopeful one. Apart from the public loss and inconvenience that would be caused by the incompetence of the State as compared with private management of a great industry, the political pressure exercised by the men as *employés* of the State would be far greater than that they can now bring to bear, and the difficulty of prompt and decisive action when a railway strike is threatened would be greatly increased if the strikers were Government servants: the successful expedient of mobilising the reserves, by which M. Briand so promptly put an end to the French railway strike of 1910 is not available in this country, and the experience of the French Government in the two postal strikes of 1909 shows that



the fact that they are *employés* of the State has no restraining influence upon the tendency of men to resort to a strike to enforce their demands. The condition into which the Western Railway of France has fallen since its purchase by the Government, and the fact that nowhere was 'sabotage' more prevalent or the worst features of a strike more pronounced than in this railway, ought to be a warning to those who advocate the nationalisation of our railways.<sup>8</sup>

The effect of the new Industrial Council remains to be seen; there seems to be much truth in Mr. Snowden's criticism that its constitution is wholly partisan, and that the public who suffer so severely from strikes upon a great scale are unrepresented—he might have added that men who are not members of any organised body, and who form the vast majority of wage-earners, are also without any representative. Mr. Snowden points out with much force that Sir George Askwith's success in settling disputes has been due to the fact that he is an outsider with no prejudices and no partialities—qualifications which certainly are not possessed by the members of the new Industrial Council. The impossibility of enforcing compulsory arbitration in this country appears to be recognised by the Government; even in the Australasian Colonies, where the number of men to be dealt with is comparatively insignificant, it appears to be proving a failure as a means of securing industrial peace.

The experience of Stockholm during the great Swedish strike in 1909 showed how much a well-organised service of volunteers can do to mitigate the worst consequences of a general strike. No doubt the huge population of London, and of the great provincial towns, would make the efficient organisation of volunteers in this country far more difficult, although by no means impossible: as has been said, efforts are being made in this direction, but it will probably need a far nearer approach to a really general strike than that of last summer before the British public is sufficiently aroused to take the trouble necessary for efficient organisation. In fact, at the present time the only real protection against the terrible consequences of industrial revolt upon a great scale is prompt and resolute action by the Government of the day. Weakness and irresolution of the Cabinet is the opportunity of the enemy, and probably if labour leaders were convinced that the authorities would resolutely intervene at once on the declaration of a strike to enforce the preservation of order and provide really efficient protection for all who desire to work, the knowledge would effectually prevent any attempt to create a general strike. But is it likely that either the Unions or the public can feel any certainty that this elementary duty of the Government

<sup>8</sup> See *The Economist*, November 11, 1911.



will be promptly performed? The hesitation shown by the authorities last summer and Mr. Asquith's reception of the suggestion that grossly misused powers conferred upon Trade Unions by the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 ought to be curtailed, does not inspire much confidence that national welfare will outweigh the influence of political exigencies when next the Government is called upon to deal with industrial revolution.

In this country proletarian revolt however general will certainly be suppressed, but the suffering and loss caused by it will increase in geometrical progression with the time it lasts, and its duration is in the hands of the Government. Prompt and resolute action will minimise the mischief; timidity and weakness will enormously increase it. It is to be hoped that when the time comes the pressure of public opinion will force the Government to act with courage and energy.

ARTHUR CLAY.



## THE COMING DELUGE

"Money is perhaps the mightiest engine to which man can lend an intelligent guidance. Unheard, unfelt, unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life, that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits or good fortune may fairly entitle him; or, contrariwise, to disperse them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice, and perpetuate a succession of social slaveries to the end of time."—ALEXANDER DEL MAR.

IN no period of British history has the national conscience been more keenly alive to the disabilities under which great masses of our population labour, or more genuinely anxious to alleviate those disabilities by the introduction of practical measures of reform, than at the present day. And nobody who visits the great mining and manufacturing centres of British industry, or inspects the poorer quarters of our largest and most famous cities, can doubt for a moment that there is much scope for the reformer's activities. At the same time, while there are many ready and able hands working at the amelioration of the social, industrial and political conditions amidst which we are living, there is one factor in our national life—perhaps of greater importance than many others put together—to which the bulk of our people give little or no attention, yet which is at the present moment undergoing a change calculated to vitiate much of the good reforming work being done in other directions. I refer to the purchasing and measuring function of the nation's money.

To appreciate clearly the vital importance of maintaining, as far as possible the stability of our great purchasing and measuring instrument and standard of deferred payments, it is necessary to recall the fact that practically every transaction of our daily life—private, public, personal, corporate, national, imperial—is carried through directly or indirectly by the aid of money, and that any fluctuation in the value (*i.e.* purchasing-power) of money must therefore affect each and every individual in the State more or less seriously. The sudden arbitrary changing of the pint measure to three-quarters of its ordinary capacity, or the extension of the standard yard to forty-six, or fifty-six, or sixty-six inches would inflict far fewer and less serious injustices upon the community at large than the shrinkage of the sovereign from



1911

a purchasing-power of twenty shillings to, say, that of only fifteen shillings. Nevertheless, it is a fact that a sovereign nowadays only goes as far as fifteen shillings did a little while ago. Our pound sterling has in reality during the last fifteen years lost more than a quarter of its purchasing-power! Moreover, there are good reasons for believing that this shrinkage will continue. It is quite possible that the distortion of our monetary measure now in progress is but the beginning of a movement that may conceivably prove more revolutionary than anything that the most extreme Socialists have yet imagined. Indeed, if the movement be rapid and continued in a marked degree, many forms of accumulated wealth must of necessity disappear, and in a way more complete than could be effected by the most drastic of class legislation. At the same time, if such a shrinkage in monetary values should come to pass, the rewards of labour would also slip through the fingers of the poorer classes. For prices always rise before wages in such circumstances, and the labouring man would therefore find himself the victim of a cruel delusion—the seeming prosperity of increased earnings being invariably discounted by a still more rapidly advancing cost of living. What was gained in one direction would be lost in another. And with the result that great masses of our population, notwithstanding every effort to assist and raise them, would perforce, for want of means, remain in the same condition of poverty, degradation and arrested development as that in which we see them to-day.

But, it will be asked, why has our good British sovereign shrunk in value? And what grounds are there for conjuring up this nightmare of a further shrinkage? The answer is simple. Like every other commodity in this world, although in a different way and to a different degree, gold is subject to the laws of supply and demand—an increased demand tending, all other things being equal, to raise its value, and an increased supply to diminish its value. During the last half-century there has been a vastly increased demand for gold, practically every great nation in the world abandoning silver as a chief monetary instrument and adopting in its stead the more precious yellow metal. *Per contra*, in England, and in certain other Western countries, very great economies in the use of gold have been effected by the continued development of banking, of cheques and bills of exchange, and of credit facilities of all kinds. At the present moment, with mints open to free coinage of gold, the value of every ounce of new gold unearthed is determined by the purchasing-power of the gold coins already in use. At the same time the purchasing-power of the gold moneys in use obviously bears some relation (though a relation difficult to define mathematically) to the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, in the possession of mankind and actively employed. Exactly what this



amount is nobody can say with any degree of certainty; nor is there any need for us to attempt an estimate at the moment. Suffice to say the output of new gold from the mines of the world during the last few years has altogether eclipsed anything known in history. Moreover, there seems every probability of the output increasing. With an immense flood of the precious metal of unprecedented magnitude pouring into the centres of civilisation, commerce and government, can we feel surprised that, notwithstanding the additional demand for gold, its value all the world over is steadily diminishing?—that its purchasing-power is shrinking?—in other words, that prices generally, measured in gold, are everywhere advancing?

The same thing has happened before, and with precisely the same results. The middle of the sixteenth century was marked by extraordinary discoveries of silver in South America and Mexico. The precious metal was shipped across the Atlantic, and slowly found its level in the currencies of Europe, with the result that the purchasing-power of money dwindled in an extraordinary way. Sir George Evelyn, in his paper contributed to the Royal Society in 1798, attempted to prove that between 1550 and 1795 the level of prices rose 400 to 500 per cent. Although his conclusions have been severely criticised by Hallam and others, there is no doubt whatever that prices at least doubled (in other words, that our monetary measure shrank by at least one-half) during the period referred to, the greater part of the change occurring within a hundred years of the discovery of Potosi.<sup>1</sup>

During the first half of the last century, when the effects of a greatly reduced output of gold and silver from the mines of the world were emphasised by the rejection by Great Britain of silver as a chief monetary instrument, prices dwindled very seriously—over 45 per cent. according to Mr. Sauerbeck, and nearly 60 per cent. according to Jevons. Then came the marvellous discoveries of gold in California and Australia. The effects were at once apparent. Prices quickly swung round, and an upward movement set in, traces of which can be discerned till nearly the middle of the seventies. The distortion in our monetary measure was very marked at first, the sovereign losing some 25 per cent. of its value between 1849 and 1857. Subsequently a partial recovery took place; but there is no question that the increased output from the mines materially affected for a number of years the value of all the gold and gold money then existing, seriously distorting its purchasing and measuring functions, and inflicting corresponding injustices upon all those dependent upon fixed wages, incomes, pensions and the like.

Astounding as the flood of gold from the mines of California and Australia seemed to our fathers, it was, as a matter of fact,



1911

quite a small matter in comparison with the great deluge of precious metal that is now steadily spreading over the surface of the civilised world. The average annual production of gold for the first half of the nineteenth century was only about 3,150,000*l*. Then came the most wonderful discoveries ever known up to that time. The world's output for the next ten years was approximately as under :

	£		£
1851 . .	16,600,000	1856 . .	29,520,000
1852 . .	36,550,000	1857 . .	26,650,000
1853 . .	31,090,000	1858 . .	24,930,000
1854 . .	25,490,000	1859 . .	24,970,000
1855 . .	27,010,000	1860 . .	23,850,000

Can we feel surprised that the whole world became delirious with excitement—many forsaking all, and rushing in flocks to the gold-fields; others foreseeing dire disaster and social chaos in the monetary revolution that seemed inevitable. And yet, what was that production compared to the output that we have been receiving during the last ten years? Here are the figures :

	£		£
1901 . .	53,544,000	1906 . .	82,569,000
1902 . .	60,869,000	1907 . .	84,904,000
1903 . .	66,650,000	1908 . .	91,450,000
1904 . .	70,688,000	1909 . .	93,000,000 <sup>2</sup>
1905 . .	76,675,000	1910 . .	94,000,000 <sup>2</sup>

Nearly eight hundred millions sterling of new gold added to the world's stock in the last ten years, as compared with the 267 millions added in 1851-1860! Where will it end? And where will it land us all?

The relation between money and price levels has been the subject of innumerable disquisitions during the last hundred years. It is only necessary to mention such names as Jacob, Tooke, Newmarch, Cairnes, Macculloch, Ricardo, Chevalier, Bagehot, Jevons, Giffen; such Professors as Lexis, Rogers, Walker, Nicholson, Foxwell, Marshall, Price; such index-number specialists as Dr. Soetbeer and Mr. Sauerbeck, to recall the wealth of expert knowledge that has been brought to bear on this question. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the relation was no doubt a comparatively intimate one (as it is to this day in India and other parts of the East, where but little advance has been made by the people at large beyond the stage when metallic money forms the chief instrument of purchase); but with the growth of banking and the multiplication of credit-spinning devices such as those with which we are familiar at the present day, the connexion between price levels and the volume of metallic

<sup>2</sup> Partly estimated.



money in use has become greatly obscured. So much so, that there are not wanting advocates of the theory that credit, and not metallic money, is now the determining factor in the problem. Whilst in highly-developed States the relation between the instrument of purchase and the commodity purchased is admittedly most difficult to define, there can be no doubt that the relation is there. The connecting link, as has been proved by Bagehot, Giffen and others, is to be found in the banks' reserves. In its issue of the 21st of January last the *Statist* published a table showing that the gold holdings of the chief central banks of the world, and treasuries which act as central banks, had increased from 500,267,000*l.* on the 31st of December, 1900, to 886,447,000*l.* on the 31st of December, 1910—an increase of over 77 per cent. These increased gold reserves imply a great expansion of credit. So that, whether we regard credit or metallic money in active use as the determining factor in the adjustment of price levels, an inflation of prices (*i.e.* a fall in the purchasing-power of money) seems now inevitable. As a matter of fact, this inflation of prices is at present actually in progress, as the index numbers regularly published by the *Economist* and other authorities clearly prove. As the regular annual output of gold is now of unprecedented magnitude, and as there exist no reasons whatever for anticipating any serious diminution in this phenomenal output, the conclusion seems inevitable that the fall in gold must continue. Again we ask, Where will this distortion of our public measure of value end? And where will it land us all?

In view of the exceptionally grave nature of the possibility before us—the shrinkage in wealth of many of our capitalists and property-owners, and the arrest of material progress and social betterment so far as the great majority of our population—the fixed-wage-earning classes—are concerned, it may be well to consider what policy is best calculated to avert the consequences of the deluge of gold that is now threatening to submerge us. Thereotically, two courses are open—to increase demand and to restrict supply. Practically, we can only attempt the former; for although over 55 per cent. of the world's supplies of new gold are obtained within the British Empire, it is beyond the range of practical politics to check the economic development of South Africa, Australia, Rhodesia, India, Canada and other portions of the King's oversea dominions, in respect of gold-mining, no matter what the consequences of the golden deluge may be. (By the way, it is perhaps not generally known that over two thousand millions sterling in gold has been proved to exist in the main reefs of the marvellous Witwatersrand alone. Heaven only knows what may be discovered hereafter in other parts of the Transvaal or of Rhodesia. The whole country is highly mineralised. Australia and Central Asia, too, have hardly



1911

been scratched yet, as a whole; so there are many possibilities in the direction of still more gold discoveries). Unable, then, in any way to influence supplies, we are thrown back for our remedy on the only other economic alternative—an increased use and consumption of the precious metal. Here, fortunately, it may be possible to set machinery in motion that might conceivably correct, in some degree, if not wholly, the distortion now taking place in our public measure of value. Thus Government, if backed by public opinion, could not only make a far larger use of gold itself in England, and in other parts of the Empire, but it could, by legislation, compel those who trade in money and make a business of receiving and safeguarding the nation's ready cash, to afford the public a metallic security more adequately proportionate to the magnitude of their liabilities than is at present customary. In these days the demands for gold could undoubtedly be considerably increased, greatly to the benefit of the people at large.

A satisfactory feature of the policy here outlined is the fact that it exactly coincides with the course urged by many patriotic and eminent thinkers on entirely different grounds. Thus, the political necessity of a substantial war reserve in gold is a point which we alone, of all the great nations of the earth, deliberately neglect. Germany, Russia, France and other countries hold immense reserves of gold for political ends; we trust entirely to private interests for the 'sinews of war,' and expect the great banks and finance houses to shoulder our monetary liabilities in times of national emergency. This they will no doubt do, as far as they can, and for a consideration. As has been very forcibly pointed out by Mr. Edgar Crammond, in Manchester last year, and again before the London Chamber of Commerce a few months ago, financial preparation for war forms as vital a part of our scheme of imperial defence as naval and military preparation. Why, then, should we neglect this most important factor? Why should we continue to expose ourselves to the tender mercies of an enemy who, profiting by Napoleon's miscalculations in this respect, and by the additional knowledge now available to all who care to imbibe it, would have no difficulty in engineering a very formidable raid on our private reserves of gold, thereby creating trouble and confusion in our midst at the very moment when we should require all our money as well as all our wits? It has been said that if such a raid failed, we should make matters extremely uncomfortable for the would-be raiders. The same might be assumed of any raid—naval and military, as well as financial. Further, it has been argued that if Government created a special political reserve of gold, there would be great difficulty in preventing the business world from utilising that gold for its own purposes. Possibly so. That would depend upon the strength



and *personnel* of Government. Be this as it may, there are at least two reasons of great weight why Government should hold a substantial reserve of gold of its own for political emergencies.

So, too, there are reasons why Government should hold another reserve of gold in connexion with its commercial obligations. Against the liabilities of the Post Office and trustee savings banks Government holds practically no reserves at all, only a little till-money—some 300,000*l.* And yet the total due to depositors (exclusive of Government stock held on their account), exceeds two hundred millions sterling! Just as in the case of Imperial defence, Government look to private financial and banking institutions to supply them with cash in time of stress. And here, again, Shylock will no doubt do all in his power—at a price. We obviously have no right to expect financiers to work for nothing. At the same time a serious run on the Government savings banks would of necessity very greatly inconvenience the money market.

The laxity of Government in the matter of its own political and commercial reserves of gold is doubly dangerous, in view of the admitted insufficiency of the gold reserves at present held by the Bank of England and other private banking and financial institutions. From the days of Jevons and Bagehot up to the present moment, every experienced economist has warned the nation against the inadequacy of its gold reserves. Newspapers of every shade of political opinion, from *The Times* downwards, have urged that the Bank of England's gold reserves are insufficient in comparison with the current liabilities of the banks of the United Kingdom. The trading public, through the agency of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, have over and over again hammered at this subject, but without practical result. Politicians, even, have joined in the cry. Thus, Mr. Asquith, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a bankers' dinner in London in May 1906, said that this question of the gold reserves was 'a matter of grave and increasing importance, and it was at that moment engaging his most serious attention.' The late Lord Goschen followed at another bankers' dinner in July 1906: 'Here we are with enormous liabilities, and with a smaller stock of gold than any other country holds. . . . It is not a satisfactory situation.' . . . Yet, in spite of this unanimity of opinion, nothing has been done. The one and only remedy is legislation that will compel all who deal in the savings and cash reserves of the people to hold a certain proportion of their liabilities in gold. In this way private reserves of gold of a substantial volume would be accumulated and available in times of emergency. The dishonest practices now resorted to by certain banks of borrowing some thirty millions sterling from the Bank of England in the last week of December



1911

for a few days, simply to show to the public substantial balances in 'cash and at the Bank of England' at the close of each year, when accounts are published, could be abandoned for ever. The public would see for itself that each bank's cash reserve came up to statutory requirements.

Here, then, we have three new demands for gold calculated to add materially to the nation's political and economic strength, and also, though possibly in but a small degree, to correct the serious distortion in our monetary measure that is now threatening us. The demand that could confidently be expected to arise from an extension of Government's gold-using policy to other parts of the Empire would be very much more effective, and might perhaps in itself be relied upon wholly to correct the shrinkage in gold values that is the subject of the present inquiry. In this connexion we have the experience of the past to guide us—an experience identical with that through which we are now passing, and invaluable to us therefore in our effort to find a solution to the present gold situation. When, in the middle of the last century, gold commenced to pour over the world from the mines of California and Australia, the economists and learned societies of the day were filled with alarm lest the flood of metal should so depreciate its value as to sweep away property and accumulated savings, and reduce the Western world to a condition of chaos. The writings and sayings of Chevalier, Cobden, Jevons, and others are well known in this connexion. The gloomy forebodings of the economists, however, were not fulfilled, for although there was a very marked depreciation of gold, the fall was soon arrested. How it was that the best economists of the day proved to be so far out in their prognostications has been the subject of many inquiries since. Their theories were unimpeachable, and most of the facts upon which they based their conclusions were also beyond question. There were two or three matters, so it turned out, the importance of which Chevalier and others failed to appreciate accurately. One of these was the magnitude of the then existing stocks of metallic money in relation to that of the new supplies; a second was the magnitude of the increased demands for money consequent upon the rapid development of America and Australia. A third, and the most important of all, was the part played by India in this connexion. Scared at the prospect of rapid depreciation of gold, the Government of India by an Ordinance dated the 22nd of December, 1852, declined to receive any more gold mohurs at their treasuries. The peoples of India were therefore restricted by Government's interposition to silver for their chief monetary instrument. From early times the demands of the East for the precious metals have been an important factor in determining the effects of supplies upon price levels. After the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny,



the trade of India expanded rapidly, and the demand for Indian cotton, consequent upon the deficiency of American cotton during the Civil War in the United States, turned the balance of trade heavily in favour of India. Silver poured into India in phenomenal quantities, so much so that the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in 1864 feared 'that the continued movement of silver to India must bring destruction to the silver standards of all other nations.' As a matter of fact, the enormous withdrawals of money from Europe in response to the demands of India very largely counteracted the effects of the great flood of money flowing into Europe from the mines of California and Australia. In short, it was the unexpectedly heavy demand for metallic money in the East that explains the failure of the economists to measure the probable extent of the fall in gold which the phenomenal output from the mines of America and Australia seemed certain to produce.

And just as India proved the saviour of Europe fifty years ago by arresting a distortion in the public measure of value that might have paralysed large sections of the peoples of the West, so, too, at the present day, when a similar distortion is again threatened, India can once more come to the rescue by drawing off a substantial volume of the present flood of gold. By a strange irony of fate, it happened that the Government of India in the early nineties were once again scared at the prospect of a serious depreciation of their currency—silver, this time—and, backed by the authority of a committee of London experts, they suddenly closed their mints in 1893 to the free coinage of the white metal. A gold standard with, if possible, a gold currency was the policy then adopted. At the time, public opinion in India was by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of this step, but subsequent events—in particular the chronic mismanagement of both reserves and currency, and the complete and constant subordination of India's interests to the requirements of the London money market—have brought the peoples of India to the conclusion that the sooner they adopt gold money, in practice as well as in theory, the better. All the chambers of commerce of India are unanimous in their demands that a substantial portion of the Indian Gold Standard Reserve should be held in gold, in India; whilst so able and prominent a man of commerce as Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey has just proposed, at the Imperial Council in Calcutta, that the use of gold in India should be encouraged by the minting in India of distinctively Indian gold coins of smaller value than the English sovereign—a proposal which the Finance Minister, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, very wisely promised should have his most careful consideration.

Remembering the magnitude of the deluge of gold that is now



threatening the world, remembering that the first effects of this deluge have already made their appearance in a depreciation of the metal—a distortion of our monetary measure that involves cruel injustices to all the poorer classes of the Empire—recalling to mind, too, that Government have declared in favour of gold for India's monetary standard and currency system, and were, in fact, only a few years ago doing their utmost to introduce sovereigns into circulation, it might be thought that the present demand for gold from India would have been received by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe with open arms. Strange to relate, precisely the opposite effect has been produced. No sooner has India definitely decided that she will take all the gold that she can get, than the Secretary of State has exerted every influence in his power to prevent a single sovereign flowing eastward! Treating his annual budgets as so much waste paper, he has transferred from the treasuries of the great dependency in his charge into the coffers of his bankers in London, millions after millions in excess of his estimated requirements, till at the present moment not only is there no reserve of gold worth talking about in India in the Gold Standard Reserve, but over six millions sterling of India's Paper Currency Reserve (a paper currency that only circulates and is redeemable in India) has also been transferred to England and invested in home securities—much to the relief of the London money market.

The explanation of this extraordinary action of the Secretary of State for India—this sudden throwing to the winds of his principles of the last fifteen years, is to be found in the attitude of mind of the London money market. Although the world's output of gold during the last ten years has exceeded seven hundred and fifty millions sterling, this vast volume of metal has not come into the coffers of the British Empire, but has gone elsewhere, chiefly to the United States, Russia, France, Argentina, Italy, and Brazil. Notwithstanding the unparalleled volume of business now being transacted by the aid of the London money market, we stand at the bottom of the list of great nations in the matter of gold reserves. Thus the reserves of gold held by the treasuries and national banks of some of the chief countries in the world on the 31st of December last were as under :

	£
The United States . . . . .	263,241,000
France . . . . .	131,177,000
Russia . . . . .	130,476,000
Austria . . . . .	55,023,000
Italy . . . . .	43,363,000
Argentina . . . . .	37,033,000
Germany . . . . .	33,052,000
Australasia . . . . .	31,820,000
England . . . . .	31,356,000



London being the greatest free market in the world for gold, the world naturally takes much of its gold from that centre. In this arrangement London acquiesces, though not without constant alarms, it being everywhere recognised that, with so huge a superstructure of credit balanced on so slender a basis of gold, the sudden withdrawal of a few millions might affect to greater or less degree the trading transactions of the whole kingdom. That the London bankers, whilst allowing all foreign nations to withdraw from them such gold as may be required from time to time, should use their influence to prevent their largest, wealthiest, and most valuable dependency from enjoying the same facility; that a financial paper of the standing of the *Statist* should lend its editorial columns to the furtherance of this selfish and short-sighted policy; and, lastly, that the Secretary of State for India should join in the game by transferring India's cash balances to London for the convenience of the London money market, thus deferring, perhaps checking, the natural flow of gold to India, can only be regarded as an Imperial scandal, for which we shall inevitably pay a heavy penalty in the loss of the respect and support of the moderate and best leaders of public opinion in India. In addition to and apart from these grave considerations, the policy of attempting to check the flow of gold to the East at a time when a phenomenal output of the precious metal is threatening a serious distortion of the gold moneys of the West, is so stupid, so futile, and so fraught with cruel injustice to the poorer classes of the Empire, as to bring upon the financiers and politicians of Great Britain the condemnation of the whole world, directly the true bearings of their present gold policy are detected and understood.

In the meantime, on rolls the flood in gathering volume, slowly creeping over the civilised world, quietly obliterating effort after effort, and threatening in the end to undermine the very foundations of our social and political existence. During the next ten years a thousand millions sterling or more of the glittering metal will be added to the volume of gold already unearthed. And in the following decade, another thousand millions; and so on. The watery deluge of Biblical record was a swift and prolonged punishment for erring mankind, compared with the prolonged anguish which a wide realisation of the meaning of this golden flood must bring. To the rich minority far removed from the forefront of life's battle, the loss of substantial portions of their accumulated wealth consequent upon the shrinkage in the value of money is not a pleasant prospect. To the poor majority (including those thirteen millions of our home population who are always on the verge of starvation), a continuation of the rise in prices now in progress will mean not merely the stereotyping of



1911

the unsatisfactory conditions amidst which they are at present living, but an increase in the severity of their struggle for existence that can only result in the untimely downfall of large numbers of the more unfortunate.

And whilst this situation is slowly developing, the firstfruits of the fall in gold are already being reaped. The speculator, the financier, the banker, the transporter, the merchant, the employer of labour, and even the labourer himself are all delighted at the improvement in trade. An inflation of prices invariably stimulates industry—at first; and increased industry with increased trade spell increased profits and increased money for all—depreciated money, it is true; but who notices the shrinkage in the *value* of the counters when their *numbers* show such gratifying increases! A fool's paradise is a delightful place to live in—for the fools; but the awakening comes at last with its disillusionment, its disappointment, its despair. And in the case of our shrunken sovereign the awakening may be indeed bitter. Then, the multitude of fixed-wage earners will realise that all their past efforts to improve their condition have been in vain. Then, the unreasoning masses will turn upon the already depleted classes with greater vindictiveness than ever. Strikes, over-speculation, panics and financial crises—these will be the symptoms. And should the deluge still continue, the forces which make for cohesion and order in the State must be seriously dissipated till, at length, our whole Western civilisation may be in danger of a lapse from which it may take centuries to recover.

With some knowledge of what may conceivably overtake us, is it too much to hope that science and patriotism will combine to meet the situation? We do not drain and improve our lands by declining to recognise the excess of water lodged thereon, but by constructing channels to carry off the surplus moisture. So, too, we cannot expect to maintain our economic and social health by shutting our eyes to the unprecedented flood of gold that is now affecting us, but by creating channels and reservoirs whereby the deluge can be diverted and stored for the subsequent use and benefit of mankind as a whole. Such reservoirs and channels are possible in the shape of gold reserves—political and commercial—in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire, and increased facilities and opportunities for encouraging the flow of gold to India and the East. Other tropical dependencies than India might also be introduced to the benefits of the British sovereign, should the offtake by India prove insufficient to keep the flood down. Here is the remedy. It is for Great Britain to apply it.

M. DE P. WEBB.

Karachi, India.



## EUROPE AND THE MUHAMMADAN WORLD

THE invasion of Tripoli by Italy has once more brought to a critical point the political and social relations between the leading European States and that large section of the white, yellow, and black peoples who profess the faith of Islam, and who are thus to some extent—but not perhaps quite so greatly as arm-chair students of political geography believe—united against the policy and the civilisation of Christian Europe.

On the face of it, this sudden attack by Italy on the territory of another European Power without warning, so to speak, without recourse to open negotiations or any reference to The Hague tribunal, has shocked a great many people, Christians as well as Muhammadans. Except on the plea of political necessity, it is indeed difficult to defend the action of Italy, and we are forced to shudder at some of the results, such as the carnage among the unarmed inhabitants of Tripoli and its neighbourhood. Indeed, academically, Italy's action is without any logical defence. But from a practical point of view the Italians seek to justify their abrupt declaration of war on the grounds that if they had delayed taking an action which they have long contemplated, and which after all is one of the revenges of history, they would have found the Tripolitan and Cyrenaic territories placed virtually under the control of one or more European Powers, and to a great extent abstracted from any possibility of eventual dependence on the Italian peninsula. How far true are the allegations to be read in the Italian Press, and the stories which I have recently heard from one or two Italian diplomatists, I cannot say; but the allegation which has already met the eye of the English reader in the home and the Continental Press is that both German and Austrian subjects had been promised by the Porte vast concessions in the two North-African provinces of the Turkish Empire. If Italy, it is argued, had waited till these promises became accomplished facts she would have seen the interests of the two great central European Powers so strongly ensconced in the Tripolitaine that she would have been powerless to push them on one side, nor would she have had any assistance in that direction from either France or Britain. Italian publicists allege that Austro-Germany for the



last two years has been contemplating a commercial and political intervention in the affairs of the Tripolitaine, which if unhindered would have led in course of time (under one or other of those diplomatic subterfuges which have so often stood the European Powers in good stead in their attempts to break up the Turkish Empire with decency) to the creation of a German sphere of influence extending from the coast of Tripoli to the heart of the Sudan, and, by some friendly or unfriendly arrangement with France, to the connexion of this sphere of influence east of Lake Chad with the hinterland of the German Kamerun and the frontier of the Belgian Congo.

If Italy has any ground for such assertions as these (which began to take a very definite form about a year ago when the constitution of an Austrian scientific mission to the hinterland of Tripoli was announced) it would be as well if her publicists or statesmen clearly set forth their allegations, so as to give the Turkish Government a chance of repudiating them if it is able to do so. Because the only excuse which Italy can give for her outrage on international law would be to show that if she had failed to take action immediately after the raising of the Morocco question by Germany, she would have had later on to acquiesce in the *fait accompli* of an Austro-German sphere of influence on coasts of the Mediterranean immediately opposite her shores. Undoubtedly such a position as this would have been detrimental to Italian interests, would have for ever hemmed in Italy as a second-class Power with no chance of expansion. That, at least, is the Italian point of view, though it may be getting somewhat out of date, since a good many thoughtful people in Germany, as elsewhere, are beginning to ask whether to become and to remain a great Power in the world, with widespread interests and a strong voice in the world's affairs, it is necessary to hoist the national flag across the seas over alien lands populated for the most part by races not of European affinities or descent, and consequently more or less unwilling subjects of an intruding European nation.

It is quite possible that far-seeing Germans not taking such an ultra-modern view have entertained the possibility of creating a sphere of influence over Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Fezzan, Tibesti, Kanem and Wadai, which would give them within two or three days' steam of Trieste a gateway into the heart of Africa. They too, then, like Britain in Egypt and France in Mauretania, could have built their trans-Saharan railway to the Kamerun and to that Belgian Congo in which they have strong commercial and sentimental interests. They may even—why should they not?—have contemplated the possibility of Belgium finding her colonial empire too heavy to be borne, and of Germany replacing her (with due regard to British interests) in the Congo Basin; and even of



Germany taking up some special position in regard to Angola, such as the British have adopted towards Portuguese South-East Africa. Indeed, I may as well be frank and say that I have met with not a few Germans influentially placed in the commercial and political world who, in putting aside as impracticable an actual German protectorate over Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, have sought to satisfy the very legitimate longing<sup>1</sup> to found a vast German Empire in the undeveloped regions of the world, by projecting such a dominion to commence with Tripoli on the north and to finish with German South-West Africa on the south. Various developments which have taken place in the Nearer East, and perhaps most of all the solid obstacle to German expansion in that direction offered by the compact and powerful kingdom of Hungary, have somewhat cooled—perhaps only for the moment—the German ardour for any colonisation of the Nearer East, and may have turned German attention once more towards the creation of a united and vast empire in the central parts of Africa. Consequently, the abrupt action of Italy has nowhere been received with such hot indignation as in Germany. Austro-Hungary with Balkanic ambitions, which if brought to fruition by the assistance of Slav and Hungarian forces may be realisable, has soon recovered her equanimity, and is already beginning to look upon the Italian annexation of the Tripolitaine as an episode which was inevitable sooner or later.

Whether Italy will prove to be capable of the task she has imposed on herself is a very different question. Little is known, or at any rate very little has been published, about the present condition of Eritrea, but several German travellers, and I believe one or two Englishmen, have not given a favourable description of the present results of the Italian annexation of the

<sup>1</sup> So far as any right to the exploitation of an undeveloped region can be acquired by dint of peaceful, permitted scientific research, Great Britain had the best claim to interfere with Tripoli; for it was, first and foremost, British subjects and officials who at the expense of the British Government or out of their own resources revealed the geography of the Tripolitaine, the eastern Sahara, the regions round Lake Chad, the lower Shari, and the eastern Niger. But if Britain was first, Germany was a good second, especially after 1869, in which year the great explorer Nachtigal was despatched by the Prussian Government to Bornu. The names of many famous German explorers—Overweg, Vogel, Barth, Nachtigal, von Bary, Krause, Rohlf, Zintgraff, and a host of young contemporaries—are associated with the revelation of the geographical features, ethnography, languages, biology of the Tripolitaine, of its hinterland, of the Libyan Desert, the Tibesti Mountains, Lake Chad, and the Shari basin. And the present feeling of bitterness in Germany that so much of the results of these investigations should go to Italy (who has done little or nothing in this field of research) is at least understandable. Germany has had very bad luck in the allotment of colonies; she did so much to discover and lay bare the southern half of the Congo Basin (though not more than Britain), and yet it has been Belgium which has been endowed with this wealthy territory.



Abyssinian coastlands. Italy's attempt on Abyssinia itself was, as we know, so crushingly defeated that its renewal seems beyond the bounds of practical politics. Italian Somaliland shows as yet no such achievements in colonisation as can be put to the credit of French Somaliland, or to the development of arid territories such as German South-West Africa or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. But the Italy of to-day is a more thickly populated, more prosperous, better governed kingdom than was the Italy of the eighties and nineties. And it is possible that the Italy of the Lombards and Goths, if not the Italy of Rome and Naples, may produce soldiers and administrators, engineers, chemists and agriculturists who will do for Tripoli and Cyrenaica, the Saharan hinterland and the Tibesti Mountains, what France has already achieved in Algeria and Tunis and British officials in Egypt and Nubia. At any rate, Italy, whether or no she has made a false step, must now go on with the task to the bitter end at no matter what cost in men and money, for if she were to confess failure and withdraw, the results would be catastrophic throughout Africa and the Orient. The victorious expulsion of the Italians from North Africa by the Turks, Arabs and Berbers would quite probably be followed by a native rising against British control in Egypt, by revolts against the French in Tunis and in Morocco, by an aggressive attitude towards Christians in Syria and Asia Minor, which would compel the intervention of the Great Powers, and by similar movements in Nigeria, the Sudan, Arabia, Afghanistan, and India, such as would tax severely the resources of the British and French Empires. Nor would either Austria or Germany profit eventually by such a renaissance of Muhammadan independence in Asia Minor and Constantinople or in Mesopotamia; and Russia would feel the effects in Central and Western Asia and in Northern Persia.

It is very hard to have to write in this style against the 230,000,000 of people—many of them of Caucasian race<sup>2</sup>—who profess the Muhammadan faith. Sixty millions of these people, physically speaking, are quite as well worthy of regard as the handsomest and most vigorous nations of Europe. Some of them are of the same racial stocks as the Christian Europeans with whom they are in conflict at the present day: they are Goths, Italians, Greeks, Albanians, Circassians and Slavs, whose forefathers have had Islam forced upon them as a compulsory religion, but who though retaining in an improved form the physical beauty or superiority of the European, have the warped mentality of the Asiatic and the African. In India it may be said almost without exception that the best-looking, strongest, most

<sup>2</sup> It may be roughly computed that there are 230,000,000 Moslems at the present day, of whom about 80,000,000 in Europe, North Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, and North-West India belong, more or less, to the Caucasian sub-species, 44,000,000 to the Dravidian mixed race, while 70,000,000 are Mongols, and 36,000,000 are negroes and negroids.



warlike, and in some directions most enterprising element in the native population, and that which is the least fettered by foolish customs, is the Muhammadan. With the exception of 2,300,000 of Sikhs and 100,000 of Parsis, the really go-ahead, advancing tribes and peoples of that marvellous empire belong to the Muhammadan faith. Sixty-four millions of Muhammadans in India occupy a position of wholly disproportionate importance to the 210,000,000 of Hindus, though if a truthful aspect of the Indian problem is to be presented, it must also be mentioned that 2,300,000 Sikhs count in our purview of the future of India for more than, let us say, 20,000,000 of Muhammadans. It is quite as important for the British at the present day that we should have the whole of the Sikh nation on our side, profoundly convinced as they are of the merits and advantages of British rule, as that we should have ten times their number of Afghans, Baluchis, Panjabis and Hindis as our allies.

Nevertheless the loyalty, the friendship, the co-operation of the whole mass of the Muhammadan citizens of the Indian Empire—some 64,000,000 in number—is a most important asset and may well count for much in the cogitations of British statesmen when they weigh the advantages or disadvantages of siding with Turkey or against Turkey, or by an impeccable neutrality gaining neither friend nor foe in that direction. Yet it would indeed be a pity to purchase the assured loyalty of the Muhammadan Indians by restoring anywhere the uncontrollable political pre-eminence of the Muhammadan religion, or taking any step which should diminish the power for common action of Christianity against the non-Christian world. The only hope of ultimate reconciliation between Christianity and Islam and of the raising of the peoples now Muhammadan to absolute equality, intellectual and social, with the leading Christian peoples, lies in 'the defecation of Islam to a pure transparency' through which may penetrate the only real value yet discovered in religious development: the actual teaching of Christ and of some amongst His immediate disciples. The greatest foe of Islam is undenominational secular education, and at present this is impossible of attainment in any professedly Muhammadan school, college, or university. All human knowledge, especially the most marvellous developments of the human mind in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has to be subjected to the intolerable sieve of the narrow mentality of Muhammad, an illiterate, uneducated, bandit-mystic<sup>3</sup> of the seventh century A.C.

<sup>3</sup> Objection may be taken to the author's definition of Muhammad as a 'bandit-mystic.' Yet let any impartial student read the latest, most accurate, and not unsympathetic summary of the life of Muhammad in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (to say nothing of the standard biographies of this religious reformer) and then ask himself if the term bandit-mystic is unfair.



The mind, the outlook and the principles enunciated by Muhammad and by those immediately around him during his lifetime and after his death are illustrated by the Koran. The Koran has been translated into English several times since the first version published by Sale in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> At a relatively small cost any reader of this Review can purchase a faithful translation of the Koran into English (or into German or French). In the original Arabic it is written in a kind of doggerel verse scarcely superior in music, in clarity of utterance or beauty of thought to the crude translations by Burton in his 'Arabian Nights' of the Arab poems woven into that miscellany. In both cases the desire to end up each sentence with a rhyming syllable governs to a great extent the direction of the thought and the quality of the utterance. The Koran traditionally represents the utterances of Muhammad as heard and taken down by various scribes, prominent among them a Christian Abyssinian slave. Muhammad was an entirely uneducated man so far as first-hand knowledge of the then existing literatures of the world was concerned, or any experience of the world outside the limits of Western Arabia. He derived his knowledge of the Hebrew Bible from oral information imparted by Arabian Jews, and his conceptions of Christian tenets from Ethiopian slaves. He was a man, if you will, of an original genius, and not without great thoughts and great ideas, even though he was probably unable to read and could barely write his name. But he was a dreamer and a self-deceived mystic, who, while on the one hand he wanted to make a position for himself in Arabia, and—the appetite growing with eating—sought to transform the successes of a bandit into the foundation of a kingdom, nevertheless really desired to promulgate a new gospel to his Arab kinsmen and their slaves. Like many of his fellow-countrymen at that period, he was disgusted with the puerilities of Greek and Egyptian Christianity, and was in no mind to adopt the negation of the flesh so strongly characteristic of the odious transformations of Christ's Gospel which took place in North Africa and Syria under the influence of Greek, Persian and Syrian casuists. On the other hand, though greatly inclined towards Judaism, which at that date was receiving into its fold those North Africans and Arabians who were turning against Greek and Latin Christianity, he disliked the personal character of the Jew—that character which has so frequently in the history of the last two thousand years marred the spread of Jewish influence, often of a very noble and purifying nature, in sociology

<sup>4</sup> Sale's translation, first published in 1734, is rather a paraphrase and abridgement than a scrupulously faithful translation, such as that by E. M. Wherry in four volumes, finished in 1886. E. H. Palmer's translation, in two volumes, published at Oxford in 1882, is a useful rendering.



and religion. So Muhammad evolved a religion which was neither Jewish nor Christian, but appertained mostly to the faith and teaching of the Jews. The Koran, like the book of Mormon, was a kind of parody of the Old Testament, combined with the first public utterance of Arab and Babylonian variants of the first myths and genuine historical records.

If I might submit the question to the arbitration of an international court composed of impartial agnostics (many of them nominal Christians, nominal Muhammadans, or religionless Japanese), I do not hesitate to say that the verdict would be that there were very few sentences in the Koran which deserve quotation or which shine with that striking, convincing beauty of truth and practical application which characterises—whether we wish to admit it or no—so much of the wording of the gospels and epistles on which the Christian faith is founded, or the Psalms and the prophetic and poetical utterances gathered together in the Hebrew Bible. If there is any gem of undoubted lustre in the Koran it is borrowed more or less from the sacred books of the Jews or the Christians, or, much more rarely, from the Magian religion of Persia.

At its very best Muhammad's teaching only inculcated a modified form of personal cleanliness, almsgiving to the poor, abstinence from wine, and honesty in trade. Incidentally, it led to some improvement in the treatment of children, as its influence abolished cruel customs of abandoning unwanted female children; but its view of the position of woman was lower than that taken by the Hebrew teachers, and far inferior to that inculcated by Christianity. In Islam lustful man was to find for thirteen centuries a warrant for polygamy and an excuse for uncontrolled sexuality. The greatest disadvantage which attaches at the present day to Islam as a world force is the inferior position to which woman is relegated; and as the woman is the mother of the man so this unequal position of the sexes in religion and society inevitably influences the mentality of the man to whom the woman gives birth. The Jewish religion still assigns to woman an indefinite and scarcely honourable place, since women are excluded from the public functions of religion. But Muhammadanism is far worse in that respect, and it is very doubtful whether Muhammad believed or inculcated that women had souls equally with men. In a general sense they are excluded from the public manifestations of religion, except when they come forward to be married to a man or to be divorced from their husbands.

It goes almost without saying that the whole story of the Koran and the bulk of its teaching are incompatible with the pronouncements of modern science. So also—a Muhammadan reader of this article may observe—are the earlier books (or the



books which are assumed to be earliest in composition) in the Hebrew Scriptures; so likewise are most of the dogmas of Christianity, which, though finding little or no place or justification in the New Testament, nevertheless now form an integral part of almost all manifestations of the Christian faith. I admit these impeachments at once. But somehow or other Jews and Christians have found a way of evading the trammels of their religious beliefs where these, in process of time, grew to be inconvenient or out of harmony with the enlargement of man's outlook and the firmly based revelations of science. The Roman Catholic Church has persecuted here and there, intermittently, the too daring speculators of the Middle Ages, and even of the later centuries down to the twentieth; and yet this religion encouraged learning of a sound order, was not incompatible with the founding of astronomical observatories, anatomical schools, botanical, linguistic, and zoological research. The Popes of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries did much to encourage the exploration of Asia and Africa and to secure the publication of travellers' reports. I should not like to argue that the Roman Church has always acted throughout its history with a twentieth century outlook, or that it has not often checked the advance and freedom of scientific investigation, has not occasionally punished with imprisonment, torture, death, or social ostracism thinkers that were too advanced for the age or the area in which they lived. But similar cruelties and stupidities can be laid at the door of the Protestant branches of Christianity—Calvinists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians—who made a fetish out of the Hebrew Bible, who were just as much opposed—perhaps even more than the Latin Christians—to sanitary and social reform, while they attempted from time to time to strangle the arts, to introduce and to maintain a tyranny in the limitation of man's pleasures which was nearly as bad as the intentions and accomplishments of the Wahhabi sect of the Muhammadans. Yet the Roman Church from the sixteenth century onwards steadily set itself to discourage and to alleviate slavery; it gave an enormous impetus to painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; and it founded hospitals, encouraged the study of languages, created museums, and laid the foundations of the modern drama. From out of the Protestant Churches came such splendid achievements in philanthropy as the work of the Moravian missionaries, of the Quakers, and of the Baptists—work which has really been the foundation of all modern reforms in social and international philanthropic legislation. The Greek Church, indeed, has had a poor record beside the civilising work of Western Christianity. It wages no war against alcoholism, and it stimulates the persecution of the Jews. Yet Christian Russia, with all its drunkenness, its political faults and shortcomings,



stands on a much higher level of civilisation and well-being than Muhammadan Turkey.

In short, judged by the test of output in the way of science and art, literature, material well-being, control of disease, sexual morality, public works, subdual of recalcitrant nature, can any comparison be sustained between the countries professing the Christian religion or governed by Christian nations and the lands which still remain more or less independent under the sway of Muhammadan rulers? On these lines is there any sustainable plea of equality between Hungary and European Turkey, Spain and Morocco, Greece and Asia Minor, Italy and Tripoli, Afghanistan and British India, modern Persia and modern Caucasia? The language of the Christian Magyars and that of the Muhammadan Turks are nearly related in origin, and the Magyars and Turks came from the same ethnic stock; but in the course of history one became Christian and the other Muhammadan. Can any impartial critic maintain that the two peoples at the present day are on the same level of civilisation, or place alongside Hungarian achievements in art, music, architecture, literature, biological science, engineering and political government similar achievements on the part of Turkey?

I do not overlook the fact that when Greek-, Syrian-, and Egyptian Christianity was stifling science and killing all the arts but architecture, the Arabs, Persians and Berbers under the flag of Islam saved some branches of Greek and Roman culture from perdition, revived and extended Greek researches into medicine, chemistry, and mathematics, preserved some Roman notions of engineering and hydraulics, and developed from out of Byzantine architecture exquisite designs in building and in mural decoration. But it must be remembered that most of the great names in the golden age of Islam between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries were not those of people of Arab or Turkish descent, but of Jews, Persians, Berbers, Copts, Greeks and Italians, whose conformity with the Muhammadan religion was that of more or less unwilling converts, if indeed they did not by special favour retain the profession of Judaism or Christianity.

The Arabs and Turks by degrees killed all that was noteworthy in Islamic culture. The Arabs have remained to this day as ignorant, arrogant, and semi-barbarous as they were in the days of Muhammad. It is true that in contrast with naked and absolutely savage negroes they have appeared to be a civilising element in Tropical Africa, to which they have conveyed several useful domestic animals and a variety of cultivated plants, besides elementary notions of decency and comfort. But in matters of architecture, for example, the Arabs have done little or nothing to help Africa. The beautiful Saracenic architecture of the north



was almost entirely developed and spread by Copts, Berbers and Persians; and it is only since the seventeenth century that this architecture has penetrated at all into the Sudan, the remarkable 'Fula' (Songhai) style of building which prevails throughout Nigeria from Senegal to Lake Chad being of pre-Islamic and Egyptian origin. When the rule of the Arab in North Africa had come to an end (a change which really began to take place in the eighth century) the Islamised Berbers, with many checks and interruptions caused by Arab invasions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, revived the arts—especially architecture—and civilised amenities of life till they had raised the North African kingdoms between Tunis and Morocco to a state of well-being and efficiency nearly equal to that of contemporary Spain and Italy; just as Persia had a remarkable revival under the Sufi dynasty of Shia Muhammadans. But in both cases the Turks—more especially the Ottomans—came on the scene and spoilt everything. Greek, Latin and Slavic culture throughout the Balkan Peninsula, the Greek promontories and islands, was drowned in blood by the Turks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the same period the revived civilisation and art of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia (developed by the Persians, the Seljuk Turks, Circassians, the European crusaders, and the Genoese and Venetian traders) were laid in ruins by the same bloody hand. The history of Egypt from the Turkish assumption of sovereignty in 1518 to the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 is practically a blank so far as human achievements go, a miserable period, during which public works fell into ruin, population decreased by millions, and the desert gained steadily on the cultivated land. Equally dreary is the history of Greece under Turkish rule, from the time when the Venetians were driven out of the Greek islands and the Morea to the proclamation of independence in 1821. The same can be written of Servia under the Turks, of Bulgaria and Macedonia, of Syria (until Napoleon rudely called the attention of Europe to that historic land), of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and Asia Minor. What happened to Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli after they were conquered by Turkish pirates and became dependencies of the Turkish Empire? Complete alienation from contemporary advance in Mediterranean civilisation (except as regards shipbuilding), a relapse into semi-savagery of life, a further decay of irrigation works, a steady increase in the destruction of forests, a diminution in horticulture, and a serious advance of the desert sands.

It is true that Morocco fared little better under the Sharifian dynasty of negroid sultans, but Morocco has been a semi-savage country from prehistoric times onwards, large portions of it never having been conquered or assimilated by the Romans, Arabs, or Islamised Berbers. Yet in some respects independent Morocco



prior to the French conquest of Algiers in 1830 remained more in touch with European civilisation than the adjoining parts of North Africa ruled by Turkish pashas, colonels and soldiers. Tripoli, like Tunis, had in the early eighteenth century detached itself almost completely from Turkish domination under dynasties which, though of Turkish origin, had in course of time and intermarriage become practically native to the soil. Under the Karamanli princes Tripoli in the early part of the nineteenth century entered into very friendly relations with Britain, and through this friendliness British expeditions were enabled to penetrate easily across the Sahara into Bornu and Nigeria. But in 1835, frightened by the French seizure of Algiers and the independence of Egypt, Turkey despatched an expedition to Tripoli which brought the Karamanli dynasty to an end, and for the first time in history made Tripoli and Barka real provinces of the Turkish Empire, instead of semi-independent countries acknowledging the political and religious overlordship of the Sultan of Turkey. In all reality the Tripolitaine has only formed an integral part of the Turkish Empire since about 1845.<sup>5</sup> Its capital was taken and its hinterland conquered by force just as Italy is now attempting with no more legal right to annex it to the Italian dominions. Fezzan, Ghadames and Ghat, so far as direct rule goes, have been added to the Turkish dominions at a much later date. But the sole and only use which Turkey has made of the Tripolitaine has been as a recruiting-ground for negro slaves. From this region caravan after caravan has found its way with arms and ammunition supplied from Turkey to devastate or assist in devastating the regions of the Central Sudan, in order that convoys of slaves might be sent across the desert for distribution over the Turkish Empire. Not a single one of the still discernible magnificent public works of the Roman Empire has been restored to utility, no fresh well has been dug along the desert route, and many an old water place has been allowed to crumble and disappear under the desert sands. Tripoli, as a town, contains a few very beautiful mosques, but these date back to the more or less Berber rule and civilisation of the Karamanli pashas; the public buildings actually constructed by the Turks themselves being ugly or paltry. Morally speaking, Turkey has no claim whatever to the Tripolitaine any more than the man in the parable of the Ten Talents had to the talent which he wrapped in his napkin.

By the test which this parable so strikingly illustrates, not only is the human population of the world carried on, but the whole

<sup>5</sup> Owing to native insurrections and guerilla warfare, the Turks were not really masters of the Tripolitaine for ten years after they displaced the Karamanli pashas.



development of life, subject to such slight modifications as arise from the application of other Christian principles. Are we so foolish to imagine for an instant that if 'White' Australia were not defended by the whole force of the British Empire, and if it did not make every reasonable effort to colonise Australia with white people of good physique, the integrity of that island-continent would be respected by Germany, France, China, or Japan? France herself is almost stationary in regard to increase of population, and has shown some relative weakening in power since 1871. What is the result? The steady immigration into France—'peaceful penetration'—of Germanic and Italian people, and a pressure, not unconnected with threats of force on the part of Germany, that France shall open her oversea possessions to German trade without the qualification of protective duties. Holland evinces some lack of energy or capital in developing the marvellous resources of her East Indian Archipelago. What follows? That German and British subjects, with their capital and their energy, are establishing themselves in these regions. Holland governs well and offers no opposition to foreign enterprise in her colonies, consequently there need be no suggestion of coercion in the matter. Spain and Portugal both attempted to close their colonies to the commerce of other nations, and what has been the result, direct and indirect? Not a single square mile of America flies the Portuguese or Spanish flags at the present day. And Portugal will only be enabled to maintain her vast African Empire by allowing the fullest scope to the commerce of all the world. Italian action in Tripoli has been immoral, an outrage on international law; but it is doubtful whether Italy is more blameworthy for what she has done than Britain was in bombarding Alexandria and occupying Egypt, France in invading Morocco, Germany in taking possession of East Africa, or Russia of Northern Persia.

Yet there is an international conscience, but by some fatality it seems to apply only to nationalities that are professedly Christian; and despite this conscience it is only the limitations and the balance of power which have hitherto prevented France or Germany from dividing or controlling Belgium or Switzerland, Austria from annexing Servia, or Britain from enlarging British Guiana considerably at the expense of Venezuela—an achievement which we should certainly have accomplished fifteen years ago but for the intervention of the United States, and an achievement which would have immensely benefited such portions of the vaguely defined Venezuelan territories as came under the British flag.

No civilised man or woman wishes to revive any idea of religious persecution or disability, except it may be in regard to



such religions or religious tenets as by international opinion are voted to be indefensibly cruel and harmful to human development. There is some good in Islam and there is a great deal of nonsense and rubbish attached to Christianity. No European Power that has achieved predominance over a country essentially Muhammadan has, since the eighteenth century, persecuted Muhammadans by forbidding polygamy or compelling them to abandon any of their rites or ceremonies. Muhammadans are free to travel all over Christendom. They may without danger, even without insult, enter any Christian place of worship. Can the same be said for the holy places of Islam whither at the present day no Christian may go except in great personal danger and disguised as a Muhammadan? What about the attitude of the Muhammadan Egyptians towards the Copts of Egypt, Turkish treatment of Christian Armenians, Christian Syrians and Macedonians? We can never hope to make Christians of the Muhammadans by employing force in any form, even by the application of conditions of social disability. Perhaps, indeed, Islam may never precisely range itself under the banner of Christ, just as the Jews will go on for a century or so pretending to ignore the greatest Jew (if He was a Jew) in history. Similarly, during the same period much that is crescent, outworn, pagan, and open to doubt, will drop off from European Christianity. At the rate at which the world is now advancing all civilised peoples in the Old and New Worlds may be agreed fifty years hence on a common basis of religion, the Service of Man; but in the meantime it behoves Muhammadans throughout the world to look closely into the tenets and practice of their faith, and ask themselves whether Islam has conduced to the advancement of their forefathers and to their own present political and social well-being, and whether—however superior it may be to the moonshine of Buddhism and the nightmare nonsense of Brahmanism, the ancestor-worship of China, or the fetish idolatry of Africa—it is a religion which can maintain a people at the same high level of civilisation as that which exists throughout Christendom.

H. H. JOHNSTON.



1911

## MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S NOVELS

It is more than a quarter of a century now since Mrs. Ward's first novel was published, and very little less since she achieved with her second book that commanding success which gave her the position now consolidated by twenty years of sincere and able work. Yet probably few critics would deny that critical opinion has never seriously faced the task of assigning to her writings even a conjectural rank. To this enterprise the issue of a collected edition seems to challenge us; but before attempting it, it is necessary to make clear what is meant here by an absence of critical estimate. There are certain authors (take the late Mr. Marion Crawford as a type), excellent craftsmen in their way, to whom all gratitude is due for many pleasant hours—hours no more wasted than is a day spent in sunshine—yet of whom it may be said without disparagement that the higher laurels never came into the scope of their aim. Others, again, whatever be the ultimate award, have by common consent been recognised as possible candidates for permanent recognition. I pick out Mr. Conrad and Mr. Hewlett at a venture. It makes no difference to the issue that Mr. Hewlett has obtained a vogue probably no less wide than Mr. Crawford's, while Mr. Conrad has been obliged to content himself with a very limited public. Any critic, any man of letters, would agree that in estimating the contemporary art of fiction these two names must be taken into account. Yet from such a survey Mrs. Ward might, I think, very conceivably be omitted, almost by inadvertence. The reason is easy to give. Mrs. Ward created her position by a book whose popularity rested upon qualities apart from its artistic value. And although we have the best authority (her own)<sup>1</sup> for declaring that its success was never in doubt, that success was greatly increased by an article of Mr. Gladstone's in these pages which dealt with it chiefly in its theological relations.<sup>2</sup>

Without discussing here the merits of *Robert Elsmere* as a novel (and upon a re-reading they seemed much greater than I had remembered), it can be affirmed that to the world in general

<sup>1</sup> See preface to *Robert Elsmere* in the Westmoreland edition, which furnishes with each novel biographical notes upon the sources of inspiration, as well as photographs of places which have the honour to be associated with Mrs. Ward's work.

<sup>2</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, May 1888.



the book was the vehicle for popularising a new range of ideas. It interested readers as an article in this Review might have done. The discussions which it raised so abundantly concerned not the story but the material which the story treated. If Stevenson's book *The Wreckers* had filled Great Britain with controversy upon the methods of speculative finance, a similar situation would have arisen. But even if Stevenson had written a novel upon the theme afforded by a clergyman who finds himself obliged to surrender the doctrinal position which he is pledged to uphold, no one would have turned to that book for an exposition of the newest lights on theology. With Stevenson the story is the thing and the sole thing. With Mrs. Ward it is only one of several interests. And it may be added that Mrs. Ward made her success at the very height of Stevenson's intellectual ascendancy, when criticism was dominated by his doctrine of cutting out of the novel all that did not strictly help to advance the tale, and she was therefore unduly discounted by the critical opinion of that particular moment; all the more, perhaps, because, in defiance of the recommended procedure, she had succeeded in interesting those whom no novelist can afford to despise.

I am speaking now of that critical opinion which is responsive and responsible only to the craft itself—which, in fact, very largely reflects the craft's own judgment—and which is always a little prejudiced against the successful artist by certain aspects of popularity. The admiration of those who, admiring Mrs. Ward, admired also Miss Corelli, was in this respect a detrimental asset. Yet, it may be replied, if Mrs. Ward can interest fashionable ladies and other not very intellectual people in things of the mind (as undoubtedly she has done), that is matter for praise: unless her methods can be shown to be illegitimate, unless she has vulgarised and mutilated the thing which she delineates, to bring it down to facile comprehension. I do not think such a charge could be sustained for a moment. Highly trained, indefatigably industrious, her work proves her to be—and not only that, but fair in her presentment of those attitudes of mind which are not her own. The devil's advocate before the tribunal of art would be obliged, I think, to limit himself to this indictment: that she is a publicist rather than an artist; or at least that her success was the success of a publicist rather than of an artist, and that even with developing artistic power she has never learnt to subordinate the accidental to the essential interests of her craft.

The devil's advocate has (as usual) something to say for himself. Mrs. Ward's characters, he affirms, exist too little by their affections or their senses, too much by their ideas; and it is possible to represent her books as only one or two degrees removed from that ungenial thing, the 'symposium' in a review.



1911

She is so well educated (that is indeed the trouble : she is much too well educated) that she knows the proper ingredients for a novel : picturesque backgrounds are provided, plot is carefully planned, incident does not lack, local colour is thoughtfully wrought up. But in remembering her novels, it is not the plot nor the incident nor the characters that one remembers : it is the collision of ideas. Add to this, says the devil's advocate, that Mrs. Ward is admirable as a cicerone to Canada, to Italy, to the home counties, and above all to the highest circles of intellectual and political distinction. Her novels succeed as superior guide-books rather than as human documents.

On such lines the devil's advocate in my consciousness proceeds and would go further if he were let ; but the substance of his complaining comes, I think, to this. People talk of such and such a person having ' had no advantages.' Mrs. Ward has had too many ' advantages' : they stand in her way. There is something of the child in every artist, and it is hard to find in most of Mrs. Ward's books. When you find it, she is unconsciously creative—working in a wholly different mood. Every page that she writes of the north country (where we know that she was bred, and if we did not know we could infer it) tells simply of life lived. She is part of what she writes about, is one with it. Everywhere else we are conscious of experience deliberately pursued, of scenes and environments admirably depicted, but no more. She can describe to us the society in which most of her working life has presumably been passed : she cannot make it live.

Herein she shows inferior to so true yet so pedestrian an artist as Trollope. Trollope made Barchester—made it out of his own consciousness, somehow obscurely informed. It lives, it is all of a piece, it has an atmosphere which conveys itself : he does not need to describe. Or take a closer parallel. Trollope was probably never in so close touch with politicians as Mrs. Ward has been, yet his novels of parliamentary life, far less technical than hers in their method, far less shoppy (if one may be permitted the phrase), nevertheless catch, as hers do not, the spirit of the institution as we know it to-day, despite the passage of nearly two generations and far-reaching change. The difference is that Trollope is interested primarily in men and women, in the rough lump of humanity ; Mrs. Ward is preoccupied with special types, with their ideas, and their setting, social or historic.

Yet after all, what novelist of to-day except Mr. Hardy could one securely class on a level with Trollope? And in one sense Mrs. Ward has a better right to be named with him than most : her survival is assured, like his, for the purposes of history. The historian seeking to construct a picture of the last hundred years



will find his best resource (far better than the newspapers can afford) in certain novelists, persons of normal mind: such pre-eminently was Trollope. Take for example one of his least-known works, *The MacDermots of Ballycloran*: it is like the report of the Devon Commission dramatised and focussed upon a particular locality. He saw Ireland with the mind of a jury. And if a Royal Commission had been instituted to report upon the life of the country clergy and the more devout among their well-to-do parishioners, who can doubt but that the evidence and the findings would have left an impression which could be well summed up in the novels of Miss Yonge? These two artists (no candid mind can deny that title to Miss Yonge) presented the mode of middle-class living in their day, in a way that will serve the historian—to whom Stevenson or Meredith will be of singularly little advantage. Mrs. Ward also will go down to posterity as the writer who has known how to dramatise in an interesting fashion, not so much the life as the intellectual tendencies of her own generation. The historian will turn to her to understand not what people were like, what they did, what they did not do, how they judged of conduct, but rather (in an age much marked by speculation) what they thought about. You will gather from Meredith what Meredith loved and laughed at, from Stevenson what Stevenson liked men to do or to be. But Mrs. Ward dispassionately, or at least with scrupulous generosity, sets out for us the general opinions current in her time upon high matters of concern.

A novelist's early attempts are often instructive; and Mrs. Ward's first book showed all the superficial characteristics of her manner. To begin with, *Miss Bretherton* had the attribute of associating itself inevitably with an actual personage—in that case a living actress. Mrs. Ward has always steadily insisted on the right to find in fact a starting-point for fiction, a suggestion which the artist may develop. In another respect the choice of subject was characteristic, since it admits of being stated as an abstract intellectual formula. It might have been written in answer to an examination question put somewhat thus: 'If an actress of high ambition, but destitute of training, makes a dazzling success by sheer beauty, what is likely to be her evolution?' And the answer given in Mrs. Ward's thesis-novel reveals a third trait destined to mark all her work. Miss Bretherton owes the salvation of her artistic soul to the fact that she has come in touch with persons of what is sometimes called the highest culture. It is an obsession with Mrs. Ward that there exists somewhere (at the top) a distinctive society, admission into which may be simply represented an assay or proof of fitness (as in *Canadian Born*), but is more commonly treated by her as a ripening and perfecting experience. In almost all her later



1911

books her characters either belong to this charmed circle or come within its outer ambit—to be attracted or repulsed, according to the measure of their deserts.

Still, in Mrs. Ward's later work the moral effect of this contact is not put so crudely in terms of educational influence as in *Miss Bretherton*. In truth, the interesting thing about this first book is its lack of quality. It showed, one would have said, a deplorable competence—ability to furnish out something that fitted all the orthodox formulae. A woman so well trained, who could write so well, had seen so many places and people, and yet who could give neither atmosphere nor life, seemed indeed a case to despair of. Yet within two years she had written *Robert Elsmere*, which beyond all doubt has life, and here and there has atmosphere.

Life it has, poignant life, in the central chapters which relate the actual struggle of Elsmere's choice. They culminate, when the choice has been made, in the story of slight incidents which render delay unbearable to him, his quest of one man's fortifying sympathy and then—the climax—the avowal to his Puritan dalebred wife. In that chapter and the next, which describe Catherine's frantic impulse of flight and her dazed penitent return, Mrs. Ward reached a point which she has never surpassed, perhaps never again quite reached; and this assuredly is no dispraise. She has not the gift that seems to burn away superfluous words till none is left but the essential utterance; yet passion is there, the struggle, the strain, and out of passion the unspeakable relief in reconciliation achieved. It is the only passion that she knows, the passion of souls perplexed between intellectual or moral faith and the drag of their humanity—a passion singularly austere and unsensuous, with affinities to the landscape which is never far from this writer's mind. What there should be of coldness in those fells and beckes and dales, I cannot tell; but Wordsworth's temper enshrines it, and Mrs. Ward is of the same lineage. If she can understand Catherine, the woman of little reading, of convictions so set and limited that they narrow even her heart, it is because Catherine embodies that austere spirit of the fells, Puritanism of the mountains and the glassy Westmoreland streams. Catherine, not Elsmere, is the true centre of the book: she is a life; he is little more than a bundle of ideas, tendencies, and attributes. Where he becomes vital, he catches life and significance from her.

That is the atmosphere which I find in this book—the atmosphere of one place, of one person only. Mrs. Ward details with love and with knowledge all the charms of southern English landscape—though here, as everywhere, she draws out too long her descriptive passages, and mars even the chapters which I



have spoken of with an excessive elaboration of sights and sounds upon the heath where Elsmere paused before his fateful homecoming. If she does not smother her northern landscapes, it is only because the feeling behind them is too much alive. Much could be spared, no doubt, yet the superfluities, too, have the touch of inspiration. In the early chapters, which depict the life of Whindale, one perceives still the prentice hand. Mrs. Ward strives after humour, a grace denied her, and the result is triviality; but how wisely she learnt her lesson! I cannot recall in her later works any effort for a laugh. Her gift was so to impassion herself in following the struggles of a conscience that she could impart her own interest in an adventure half spiritual, half intellectual. That is where she is an artist. What matters to the artist is Catherine's grip on Robert, Robert's on Catherine—the effort of two souls bound by mortal love to retain close touch of one another when their most vital beliefs run counter. But—there is also the publicist to be reckoned with. The publicist is persistent to expound exactly what Elsmere believed, why he came to believe it, and what expression his belief found in action. All this appeals to a curiosity, or a faculty, which is not the faculty that art affects. If Mrs. Ward had needed to expound Catherine as she expounds her husband, the book could never have lived.

That is why *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, the complementary subject, is a far better work of art. Here is the same collision of faith and unfaith, but reduced to simpler terms. Helbeck, the Roman Catholic, with ages of tradition behind him, loves the girl who simply cannot believe. No doubt at the back of Mrs. Ward's mind there is a feeling that all this sort of trouble is deplorable, and could be avoided if only people would believe something more sensible. If Helbeck had been a Christian in Elsmere's sense, Laura could have easily believed enough to satisfy him and herself. But with a fine dramatic instinct the novelist chooses that form of creed which is most averse to compromise, which knows no mean betwixt acceptance and rejection; and the inevitable end arrives. She renders well the Puritanism of the Romanist; she renders it the better because that, too, is native to her dales. Not in any other setting can I conceive Mrs. Ward's entering into sympathy with an upholder of the fiercest resistance to modern ideas; but Helbeck and his Bannisdale are one, and she knows them as ancestral neighbours might.

*Helbeck*, of course, is work of her fully-matured ability. Yet I question whether anything in it is quite so good as the best passages in a relative failure which followed *Robert Elsmere*, the *History of David Grieve*. It is not David's history in Manchester that appeals to me (save as a good study of the untaught



1911

scholar's thirst for books), and still less his experiences in Paris. It is the picture of dale folk, of the unloveliest forms of Puritanism treated with a comprehension that has in it nothing cruel. Old Reuben, who so ill defended David and David's sister against the tyrannous Hannah, is lovable, and loved, through all his weakness; and even for Hannah herself, the shrew, the oppressor, the defrauder in the name of God, Mrs. Ward has at least respect. Hannah is of the dales, her hardness is theirs, a thing needed to make up all that they stand for; in truth it estranges Mrs. Ward a little less than Helbeck's Romanism. And in David and his sister, the characters who demand our sympathy, the mountain air is finely felt.

One gift shows itself first in this book—the remarkable power of picturing mean feminine types. The young lady from a Manchester shop who sets her cap at David is excellently seen.

Whether it may be rightly argued that women can be fully portrayed without the gift of humour, whereas men cannot, it might be interesting to inquire; but certain it is that Mrs. Ward has not that gift, that she fails in her men and succeeds remarkably with women. In her fourth book, one of the finest and completest things is the study of Mrs. Boyce, Marcella's mother, who is everywhere touched with something that serves instead of the corrective laughter. Doubtless she is thrown into relief against her daughter, whose main trait is a lack of all the qualities which save men and women from making fools of themselves. It is a great achievement to have rendered a heroine likeable who is conspicuously without humour.

*Marcella* is the first of the considerable series of novels whose interest is mainly political—in which the fortunes of characters are bound up with a House of Commons career. *Sir George Tressady*, which pursued Marcella's history into a later period, is to my mind that rare thing, a sequel better than the original book. Here again Mrs. Ward's gift for dealing with mean women stands to her. Lady Tressady is a real addition to the portraiture of contemporary types; for the shrewish little doll is seen with humanity, and we are made to understand, if not sympathise with, the phases of her jealous rage. One scene in this book—that where Marcella comes to apologise to and appease the woman whose husband she has unwittingly made captive—is perhaps the best thing Mrs. Ward has done: as a piece of technical mastery in the contrasting of two women's characters it was more difficult to achieve than the central chapters of *Robert Elsmere*. And if the novelist implies that Marcella strained compassion almost to the limit of folly, it is only by way of reminding us that Lady Maxwell's married felicity (too sacred for Letty Tressady's ears) was of a piece



with her fortune and her station in the world. Even here what one might quarrel with is only the novelist's implied comment: the dramatic movement of the scene, the truth of what the two women do and say, could hardly be bettered.

*Lady Rose's Daughter* (a very clever study in social values), the *Marriage of William Ashe*, and *Diana Mallory* all belong to this political group. I remark with interest that the virtuous hero is always Tory or at least Whig (though he must be for social reform and have some diffidence as to the duty of game preserving); whereas the attractive villain of the piece is always Radical. He may be defeated and exposed, as in *Marcella*; or again, as in *Diana Mallory*, he may be rewarded beyond his deserts by marriage to the generous girl who forgives and sets to work piecing up his miserable existence. But in all cases he is shown up for the self-seeker we know him to be. Further, in all these books there is the hint of some well-known story; which in *William Ashe* goes far beyond a hint. Lady Kitty in this book is very unlike the Lady Caroline Lamb of the original: she is ultra-modern; but Mrs. Ward has contrived to give a sense of freakish charm combined with half-mad wilfulness, which invests her heroine with something like tragic dignity.

Lady Kitty is, I think, the only lady in Mrs. Ward's gallery who transgresses seriously; and she does so in a curious absence of passion. She falls to an attraction of the intellect rather than of the temperament; and so the page is left unsullied—not needing expurgation. Indeed, the really pathetic closing scene of the book is rendered a little ridiculous by the stress which husband and wife lay upon precautions to observe decorum, when after years of separation they meet by accident—she evidently moribund—in a tiny Swiss hotel.

Oddly enough, the only physical note of passion which I can trace in any of these books comes as part in a very powerful study of jealousy. *Eleanor* (apart from its incidental interests as a description of Italian scenery, and of a persecuted Modernist), tells the story of an attractive woman, well past her first youth, who sees the man of her heart slip away from her to new youth and beauty—armed, too, with attractions which she had herself enhanced. Mrs. Ward tends to deal with this same theme of the jealous woman; it makes a great part of the story in *Fenwick's Career* (again a resetting, Romney's story brought up to date), and the main pith of the book in *Daphne*. But the fullest and subtlest treatment is that in *Eleanor*—the finest too, because it is jealousy uncomplicated by any marital sense of ownership. We have simply two women and one man set between them—one consciously pursuing, the other attracted indeed and attract-



1911

ing, but merely as it were by the law of existence, and finally refusing what she sees elsewhere so passionately desired.' No subject could be more depressing; yet it almost comes to a happy ending, because Mr. Manisty marries the young girl, and we know well that an American woman will, sooner probably than later, assert herself and teach her husband that she, and not he, is the centre of creation. So, judgment is executed upon one of the most detestable types conceivable—and I would not say that Manisty is inconceivable. The amazing point is that Mrs. Ward evidently admires him. She makes him carry about Greek texts in his pocket and read them at odd moments, which is with her the fine mark of masculine perfection (see the novels *passim*).

*Canadian Born*, latest but one of the books, cannot be accounted among the successes. Mrs. Ward has been to Canada, and builds up a story with impressions of travel; it was a fashion of novel-writing that William Black used with unfailing charm. But here through all the pleasure in nature one hears the voice of the publicist formulating views. A little thing would change many of the scenes, many of the dialogues, into excellent leading articles.

But Mrs. Ward's excursions into the field of imperial policy are in a sense superficial: they bring us into touch only with the surface of the writer's mind. In *The Case of Richard Meynell* she returns to that deeper prepossession which has never left her since it inspired her first achievement. In the preface to the Westmoreland edition of *Robert Elsmere* she tells how that book owed its birth to a movement of revolt—revolt against a Bampton Lecture!—and how that revolt sought its utterance in a pamphlet, and how years after the pamphlet ripened into a novel, which put the thesis of the pamphlet as a concrete human case. If Robert Elsmere disbelieves, is it only (as the Bampton lecturer would suggest) through spiritual pride or some other unchristian quality? That is the question which the book is written to answer. But beside it runs the other question: Are the things which Elsmere cannot believe things essential to Christianity? Now, after twenty years, Mrs. Ward returns to these problems, and it is apparent that in her view the first question no longer needs to be put. No one, she would say, disputes that persons in the Christian community living good and even exemplary lives hold views as difficult to reconcile with the letter of the Creed as are the tenets of an extreme ritualist with the Thirty-Nine Articles. Her question now frames itself rather in this form: Has the Christian a right to assert views which involve wide modification of Christianity's intellectual framework? Obviously this is an inquiry by far more polemical than that other, which could



be answered by showing how a good man can in all honour and sincerity, and against every pull of his nature, feel himself driven to conclusions at variance with those of his Church. The problem raised is less human : and in answering her question Mrs. Ward must assume the rôle of a prophetess, picturing in advance not a secession but a struggle within the Church of England. That forecast will interest all who care for such matters ; but as a novel the book suffers by lack of any contest within the hero's mind : there is no essential drama. Mrs. Ward tries to meet this lack by inventing a plot, to me wholly incredible, which forces upon Meynell a certain choice arising out of extraneous happenings. The struggle in *Elsmere's* case is inevitable, inseparable from his position ; but because a novel ought to have a plot, Meynell is grouped with a set of people each and all of whom have acted with criminal folly, and so force him to decide between his private honour and his public mission. Yet this is all, in reality, padding : what Mrs. Ward has wanted to do in writing the book has been to project herself into an imaginary contest of modernist Anglicans against Anglican orthodoxy ; to invent the situations that might arise, the weapons that might be used, and above all the sermons that might be preached. All my respect for her talent cannot help my feeling that the publicist in her has bolted, dragging the artist off her feet.

To sum up, there is, broadly speaking, in all Mrs Ward's books either the adventitious interest attaching to a *roman* more or less *à clef*, or what I venture to call the guide-book interest : whether the guide-book introduces us to Italian landscape, to the Quartier Latin, to the environments of artist life in London, to the House of Commons and its appanages, or to the domestic circles of the really great, does not matter, these various themes are treated a little in the guide book's vein. Or, again, there is the propagandist interest of an attractive and well-accredited heresy—a heresy on the side of the angels.

Only once has she attempted what I may call the story pure and simple—the tale of Bessie Costrell's theft and her undoing. It is the kind of subject that Maupassant would readily have chosen and handled in perhaps one-third, perhaps one-sixth, of the space. The tale is one of natural pity ; no artist of any accomplishment could fail to move us with it. Yet judged by it Mrs. Ward must be set down a failure.

It is not there her gift lies. She has doubtless found her own way. Her gift has been to interest rather than to move. She has, using the bait of a story, interested a vast public in things of the mind ; she has with surprising skill dramatised current



movements of public thought and of public feeling; and consistently she has written well. Here is a characteristic passage of her prose, from *Diana Mallory* :

The February afternoon darkened round the old house. There was a light powdering of snow on grass and trees. Yet still there were breathings and bird-notes in the air, and tones of colour in the distance, which obscurely prophesied the spring. Through the wood behind the house the snowdrops were rising, in a white invading host, over ground covered with the red-brown deposit of innumerable autumns. Above their glittering white rose an undergrowth of laurels and box, through which again shot up the magnificent trunks—grey and smooth and round—of the great beeches, which held and peopled the country-side, heirs of its ancestral forest. Anyone standing in the wood could see, through the leafless trees, the dusky blues and rich violets of the encircling hill—hung there, like the tapestry of some vast hall; or hear from time to time the loud wings of the wood pigeons as they clattered through the topmost boughs.

That is very good, very true, very well seen, and the final note of sound, bringing in another sense, deftly completes the realisation. But after all what matters in a novelist is not description of landscape, and I at least find it impossible to illustrate Mrs. Ward's gifts as a novelist by quotation. Length is an attribute of her work, as it is of a German sausage; the mixture is well distributed all through, but it is a little monotonous.

And the writing itself, good as it is, lacks personality. It would be hard to swear to a page of Mrs. Ward. I do not know but the same holds of George Eliot—the novelist whom she most resembles—but the comparison is not fair. Everybody knows that George Eliot had humour and had passion, superadded to the mental attainments which she shares with Mrs. Ward. What discriminates her from Mrs. Ward is what places her among the immortals. To try a more adequate comparison, Mrs. Oliphant too had humour, and also had charm; yet I think that Mrs. Ward's intellectual range, her real grip of struggles that involve the intellect, go far to compensate for her lack of those graces. And while Mrs. Oliphant, poor soul! wrote her fingers literally to the bone, pouring out copy with indiscriminating profusion, Mrs. Ward has been the careful stewardess of her own talent; she has evidently laboured to make each book complete to the utmost of her ability. She seems to have everything that can be acquired by study—including the technical accomplishment of bringing singularly untractable matter into a story. I fear that the qualities which she lacks are qualities necessary to survival—the salt of humour, the fire of passion, the personal charm of a style. Yet in any review of our period in literature her name must always occupy considerable space. Future criticism will not overlook the fact that she almost alone



of her contemporaries avoided dealing in the crudities of passion and won her popularity by a singularly austere appeal; addressing herself not to the senses or the simpler feelings, but to those emotions which connect themselves with high and often abstract intellectual interests. There is no mistaking her honest and well-nourished public spirit, no ignoring her services as a good citizen. Yet, while a book like *Beauchamp's Career* braces the tone of those who read, and puts life into the ideals of good citizenship, Meredith makes these effects, as it were, unconsciously and by the mere contagion of his presence. He writes for the sake of embodying a number of characters working themselves out in mutual relations; and his creative impulse is the artist's pure and simple. I am sure Mrs. Ward enjoys writing her novels. But the pleasure which I feel in them and behind them is the publicist's who has discovered a subtle device through which argument can be conducted under special forms. She fails, I think, in the last resort, not because she is too much of the good citizen, but because she is too little of an artist. She would sooner found an influential sect than write a supremely good book. This is a perfectly natural taste or ambition, but one incompatible with the highest literary success.

STEPHEN GWYNN.



1911

## THE COURTS AND THE EXECUTIVE

The convenience in the public interest was all in favour of providing a speedy and easy access to the Courts for any of his Majesty's subjects who had any real cause of complaint against the exercise of statutory powers by Government departments and Government officials, having regard to their growing tendency to claim the right to act without regard to legal principles and without appeal to any Court.

PROBABLY these words were read by few when they were reported in *The Times* newspaper last December in the judgment of Lord Justice Farwell in the interlocutory appeal of *Dyson v. The Attorney-General*. Yet no more pregnant warning was delivered to the public, even during that month, which was so full of political pronouncements. While the din of political battle has been raging round the respective rights of the two Houses of Parliament; while voters were being adjured to free themselves from the shackles of one House; while the sacred name of Liberty is still being bandied backwards and forwards, and at all kinds of curious angles, in the game of party strife, there has been proceeding, almost unnoticed—quite unnoticed by the general public and its political spokesmen—a change of most serious and threatening import to the real liberty of the people. It is the change to which Lord Justice Farwell made allusion in the judgment which has just been quoted. It is the change from the subject's freedom against tyranny by the Executive Government, through access to independent Courts of law, to the subject's helpless and unconstitutional subjection to a bureaucratic Executive, 'without' (in the Lord Justice's words) 'appeal to any Court.' A more profound destruction of liberty it is difficult to conceive; for the independence of our Courts and the subject's untrammelled right of appeal to them lies at the very root of our constitutional freedom, and is so explicitly recognised that, though an action, as between a plaintiff and an ordinary defendant, will not lie against the Crown, yet the Constitution has evolved a form of procedure—the Petition of Right—under which the meanest subject may bring his action against the King himself in the King's own Courts. There has even been recognised the power in a subject who fears



that his rights may be infringed by a private Bill pending in Parliament to apply to the Courts for an injunction to restrain the promoters of the Bill from proceeding with it. And it is this bulwark which is being slowly undermined and sapped—silently, and with only an occasional feeble protest—through the machinery of unnoticed legislative provisions which make of the Government departments concerned the supreme arbiters of their own interests, and try to take away the right of appeal to a Court of law.

It is a serious assertion which has just been made, but it is capable of proof. We may, as one instance, illustrate the assertion that the Executive tries to oust the jurisdiction of the Courts by recurring to the interlocutory appeal in *Dyson v. The Attorney-General*,<sup>1</sup> from a judgment in which a quotation has already been made. Mr. Dyson, a land-owner, questioned the validity of the notorious 'Form IV.' which the Inland Revenue Department purported to issue under the provisions of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. In order to test the validity of the Form, he commenced an action in the King's Bench Division of the High Court against the Attorney-General, and in due course delivered a statement of claim, alleging the particular matters in which, according to his contention, the directions contained in the Form exceeded the powers conferred upon the Commissioners of Inland Revenue by the Act. These matters were various, and we need not stay to discuss them now, beyond stating that they were matters of substance, and, indeed, importance, and not frivolous objections; as subsequent judgments in the case have shown, the Court of Appeal treating the action as a most important and desirable one, and declaring Mr. Dyson to have been absolutely right in his contentions. For example, there was an allegation by the plaintiff that he was ordered to supply information which was both beyond his power to supply and beyond the particulars which sec. 26 of the Act empowered the Commissioners to demand. Moreover, as is common knowledge, the demands under Form IV. were creating widespread criticism and involving an enormous amount of work and worry to those concerned—work and worry which would be much simplified if the plaintiff's allegations could be substantiated.

Surely, as the Master of the Rolls in his final judgment complained, a reasonable Executive Government, realising that it was the servant and not the tyrant of the public, would have welcomed the opportunity to thrash out the vexed questions involved before a competent tribunal, where, if its position could be justified in law, it would be justified. At least it might have been anticipated that no technical stumbling-blocks would have been thrown in the way of such an action—one which, in the

<sup>1</sup> Reported in 27 *Times Law Reports*, p. 143 [1911], 1 K.B. p. 410.



1911

words of one of the Lords Justices, 'was of the greatest importance to hundreds of thousands of his Majesty's subjects.' But what did the Executive do?

The Attorney-General took out a summons under the Rules of the Supreme Court, Order XXV., Rule 4, to strike out the statement of claim as disclosing no reasonable cause of action. That is to say, the Executive tried to stifle the case, and prevent it going to trial. This method of procedure succeeded in chambers, but when the plaintiff appealed to the Court of Appeal, even the representatives of the Crown practically abandoned the contention (demolished by the Master of the Rolls in a sentence) that Order XXV. could apply to such a case as this. But even so, they fought; they tried another argument—viz. that such an action could not be brought against the Attorney-General, and they appeared in the guise of sticklers for correct procedure. The technical points which they took need not detain us. They did not detain the Court of Appeal for long, for that Court promptly ruled that the case must go on.

The argument on behalf of the Attorney-General [said Lord Justice Farwell] admitted for this purpose the illegality of the inquiries [*i.e.* Form IV.], but claimed for a Government department a superiority to the law which was denied by the Court to the King himself in Stuart times.

Could a much deadlier criticism be levelled against a professedly democratic Government?

The judicial criticism was not mollified when the case itself came before the Court of Appeal, after it had been heard by Mr. Justice Horridge, and 'Form IV.' had been declared to be so tainted with radical defects as to be an illegal and worthless document. The Master of the Rolls, having ruled that the decision in the Court below was right, alluded again to the extraordinary action of the Executive Government in trying to prevent a trial of the action, and to the Attorney-General's contention that the Court ought not to make an order.

I am bound to say that, assuming the jurisdiction to exist, I cannot imagine a more proper case for its exercise. It is no light matter for the Commissioners to issue broadcast forms which purport to impose obligations which do not exist and which add a threat of a penalty in case of non-compliance. A general declaration is pre-eminently desirable in these circumstances. And I am a little surprised that the Commissioners do not welcome a decision which will guide their action in the future.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Justice Moulton also scouted the notion that the action was in any way an improper one. 'It would,' he said, be intolerable that millions of the public should have to choose between giving information to the Commissioners which they have no right to demand and incurring a severe penalty.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Times* newspaper, November 18, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



But to return to the judgments in the interlocutory appeal.

After the passage in Lord Justice Farwell's judgment, which was quoted at the beginning of this article, he pointed out that in that same year there had already been three other such cases, and that in all of them the defendants had been 'represented by the law officers of the Crown at the public expense.' 'As things were,' he concluded, 'the Courts were the only defence of the liberty of the subject against departmental aggression.'

We shall have occasion to recall these words presently, when we come to deal with the new legislative method of closing the Courts against the victims of 'departmental aggression'; but let us meanwhile glance at the cases cited by Lord Justice Farwell as illustrations of the Government's attempts to put itself above the existing law.

The first of these cases is *Rex v. Board of Education*<sup>4</sup>—commonly known as the Swansea school case. That case was remarkable for the strange incident of the Board of Education showing itself so determined, for political reasons, to decide a dispute in a particular way that it threw over the report of its own Commissioner—Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Hamilton. The facts of the case may be recalled shortly. In Swansea there is a Church of England school, which, under the operation of the Education Act of 1902, came in due course under the administration of the local education authority, whose duty it was to maintain and keep it efficient. Before the Act the salaries provided in the Board schools were higher than those paid in this school; but instead of bringing them up to the same level when it took control, the local education authority kept the Church of England school salaries at the old inadequate rate, while actually raising the scale of the salaries in the Board—now called the 'provided'—schools. It was impossible in these circumstances to keep together the teachers in the Church of England school, and in order to avoid losing them, pending the obtaining of redress, the managers of the school advanced the necessary extra money out of their own pockets. In course of time the matter came before the Board of Education, and that department sent down Mr. Hamilton, K.C., to inquire and report. Mr. Hamilton, whose ability and fairness are so distinguished that merely to refer to them seems superfluous, heard evidence, and reported that the school had regularly earned the grant, and to that extent had been maintained and kept efficient, but that this had been done, not by the local education authority, but only by the combination of funds contributed by the managers; that the managers had neither played into the teachers'

<sup>4</sup> Reported in *Law Reports* [1910], 2 K.B., p. 165; 79 *Law Journal*, K.B., p. 595; and 26 *Times Law Reports*, p. 422.



1911

hands nor acted improvidently; and that it was not practicable to keep the staff together or to obtain a staff capable of keeping the school efficient, unless higher salaries were paid than those which the local education authority had fixed.

Thereupon the Board of Education did an amazing thing. It decided the point at issue in an exactly contrary sense to the finding of its own Commissioner, and in a letter gave its reasons, which were based upon an interpretation of the law peculiarly its own, for it assumed that the local education authority had power to differentiate, in the matter of teachers equally qualified and teaching the same subjects, between the salaries paid in provided and non-provided schools as such; and then it found as a fact, in the teeth of the evidence, that the suggestion that the future efficiency of the school would be imperilled by the employment of teachers at the lower rate of pay was

a somewhat remote speculation, and ought not, in the view of the Board, to prevail against the judgment of the local authority that the school can, in fact, be maintained in a state of efficiency on the rates of pay which they are willing to provide.

The Board of Education apparently thought that this decision finished the matter. The managers of the school took a different view, and applied to the High Court for a writ of *certiorari* to quash the decision and for a *mandamus*. The Divisional Court decided in the school managers' favour, holding that the Board had no power to discriminate in the matter of salaries between provided and non-provided schools as such.

But a Government department has access to a long purse, and the Board appealed to the Court of Appeal. It raised the contention that the question under discussion was one of fact whether the local authority had maintained and kept efficient the school—and that of that question the Education Act made the Board the sole judge. So we again find the Executive trying to make itself supreme by attempting to oust the jurisdiction of the Courts. The particular provision upon which the Board relied is sub-sec. 3 of sec. 7 of the Act, which enacts: 'If any question arises under this section (the maintenance section) between the local education authority and the managers of a school not provided by the authority, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education.' 'There is no appeal from their decision,' contended the Attorney-General. 'Apart from any question of the construction of the Act which appointed them, which would, of course, be for the Court, the Board are the sole judges of fact and of law.' Of the question whether the salaries offered were sufficient, 'The Board were the sole judges. They have examined it and decided it, and this Court cannot interfere with their decision.'

This Court thought otherwise.



There is nothing in that section [said the Master of the Rolls] which entitled the Board of Education to decide an abstract question of law, or anything else than a question of fact, although the question of fact may involve the consideration of the true meaning and effect of the Act of Parliament itself. It does not enable the Board of Education to legislate, and if its decision is based upon a wrong interpretation of the statute I think it is not absolute in the sense that no Court can interfere with or review it.

And then he administered a rebuke to the Board's conception of judicial method.

It is not alleged that the Board had any materials before them except Mr. Hamilton's report, and the evidence on the inquiry, and there is not a scintilla of evidence to justify the statements in the letter containing the decision of the Board.

Lord Justice Farwell, as in the Dyson case, uttered a warning from the public point of view. 'The point is of very great importance,' he said, 'in these latter days, when so many Acts of Parliament refer questions of great public importance to some Government Department.' And he added the comforting words, so far as legislation already enacted is concerned :

Such department, when so entrusted, becomes a tribunal charged with the performance of a public duty, and as such amenable to the jurisdiction of the High Court, within the limits now well established by law. . . . Such tribunal is not an autocrat, free to act as it pleases, but is an inferior tribunal subject to the jurisdiction which the Court of King's Bench for centuries, and the High Court since the Judicature Acts, has exercised over such tribunals.

And Lord Justice Buckley made plain the limitation of the Board's functions by saying :

In order to perform their duties under the Act the Board of Education must, of course, form an opinion as to what is the construction of the Act, but they cannot determine its construction. That is for a Court of law.

Unabashed, the Government pursues the matter to the highest tribunal, and the hearing in the House of Lords is marked by a strangely significant speech from the Attorney-General in opening the appeal. Let me quote from *The Times* newspaper report :

The learned counsel criticised in detail, and with some severity, the judgments of the Court of Appeal, especially that of Lord Justice Farwell. *Some of their Lordships' observations were irrelevant and even mischievous,* as, for example, with respect to the rights of parents and ratepayers.<sup>5</sup>

So, just as learned Commissioners who fail, in their impartial report after an inquiry, to fall in with the political views of the

<sup>5</sup> *Times*, February 25, 1911.



1911

Education Department, are thrown over, the judges of the Court of Appeal, when they expound the law in a sense which does not forward the politics of the same department, are to be brow-beaten and almost insulted—and that by a law officer who, in another capacity, is the head of the Bar, and so should set an example of respect to the Courts and the independence of their judges. And to add to the irony, and again to the significance of the situation, this Attorney-General and his clients represent the party which, as Herbert Spencer has reminded us, lays one of its principal claims upon our regard on the fact that it struggled in the old days for the independence of the Courts. To-day it is more like the new Republican Government of Portugal which, by the mouth of its Foreign Minister, informed a *Times* correspondent that it 'could not possibly overlook, even in judges, conduct which amounted to acts of rebellion.'<sup>6</sup>

For that matter, however, we need not look as far as Republican Portugal. For on the 30th of May last, Mr. Winston Churchill, who then occupied the position of Home Secretary, a post which more than that of other Cabinet Ministers demands the most carefully correct attitude towards his Majesty's Judges, permitted himself to say that

where class issues and party issues were involved, it was impossible to contend that the Courts commanded the same degree of general confidence. On the contrary, they did not, and a very large number of people had been led to the opinion that they were, unconsciously no doubt, biassed.

These amazing remarks were naturally received with cries of 'Withdraw!'; but Mr. Churchill, instead of taking the occasion to retract his indiscretion, replied that he had not the slightest intention of withdrawing what he had said, and he would repeat that it was unfortunate that collisions occurred between the Courts and the great trade union bodies. The next day a fitting rebuke was administered to Mr. Churchill, when the Deputy-Speaker said:

I think it is most important that our rule against attacking Judges should be kept up. They are not here; they cannot be here to answer for themselves, and they ought not to be attacked except upon a substantive motion.

The next of Lord Justice Farwell's cited cases is *Re Hardy's Crown Brewery*.<sup>7</sup> This case takes us back from Whitehall to Somerset House, and brings again under notice the methods of the Inland Revenue Commissioners. This department is entrusted with the administration, under the Licensing Act, 1904, of the compensation money given to owners of public-houses closed

<sup>6</sup> *Times*, February 20, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> Reported in 27 *Times Law Reports*, p. 25, and 103 *Law Times Reports*, p. 520.



under the Act, out of a fund forcibly extracted from the pockets of other public-house owners. When a house is so closed, and the amount of compensation is not agreed between the owners and the Quarter Sessions, the matter is referred to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, to inquire into and fix a figure. A reference of that kind occurred in connexion with the closing of a house belonging to Hardy's Crown Brewery (Limited), and the Commissioners awarded the sum of 1500*l.* The owners appealed, and in the High Court obtained an award of 1770*l.*, the Judge (Mr. Justice Bray) refusing the Commissioners their costs, on the ground that they had acted unreasonably, and that their conduct had led to the appeal. It is this unreasonable conduct on the part of the Commissioners which brings them into our present category.

This is what had happened. Before the Commissioners fixed their amount they obtained from the owners and tenants detailed information of the trade, etc. For some weeks afterwards the owners heard nothing more from the Commissioners, and then were told that the Commissioners had fixed the compensation at a much lower figure than was claimed, and so the owners gave notice of appeal. Three weeks later—though they had a month within which to make inquiries—the Commissioners notified the owners that they intended to maintain their decision as a whole. It was only after the appeal to the High Court had been presented that they consulted experts. At the hearing of the appeal they refused to produce any documents or reports which they had received, or the name of the person who would know what information they had obtained, and they called no witnesses to show that they had taken proper steps in arriving at their decision. When the Judge asked for information they refused it to him too. The owners, therefore, had no opportunity of answering any statements which might have been made to the Commissioners from other sources. This was the unreasonable conduct which made Mr. Justice Bray depart from the statutory practice of allowing the Commissioners their costs; and when the Commissioners went to the Court of Appeal on the matter, their high-handed and unjust behaviour received a fresh rebuke. As an example of bureaucratic insolence this case is worth attention by every student of politics, and by every one who is disposed to acquiesce in extension of the bureaucratic domain.

The third of the list of last year's cases to which Lord Justice Farwell referred is *In re Weir Hospital*.<sup>s</sup> The department of the Executive whose action comes up for criticism in this case is the Board of Charity Commissioners.

<sup>s</sup> Reported in *Law Reports* [1910], 2 Ch., p. 124; 79 *Law Journal*, p. 725; 26 *Times Law Reports*, p. 519.



1911

Mr. Weir left a house at Balham and his own residence at Clapham Park to trustees, to use them as a dispensary, cottage hospital or convalescent home, or other medical charity, to be called the Weir Hospital, for the benefit of the inhabitants of Streatham and the neighbourhood; and he gave his residuary personal estate to his trustees for the maintenance, out of the income, of the hospital. The trustees, after Mr. Weir's death in 1902, established a dispensary at the Balham house. Before doing anything with the other house—called the Hawthornes—they had to wait until certain restrictions were expired, which happened in November, 1907. Meantime they had accumulated the income, after satisfying the wants of the Balham house dispensary, and in 1907 the total fund of the charity amounted to 100,000*l*. In July of that year the majority of the trustees applied to the Charity Commissioners for a scheme, they being doubtful whether the Hawthornes could be made suitable for the establishment of a cottage hospital or convalescent home which would require the expenditure of so large a fund. On the instructions of the Commissioners they obtained an architect's report, which was to the effect that the premises were unsuitable for a convalescent home, but, with the purchase of an adjoining site, would be appropriate for a cottage hospital. As an adjoining site was on offer, the reader will naturally suppose that a scheme for a cottage hospital was sanctioned, and Mr. Weir's instructions thus carried out.

Not at all. The Charity Commissioners evolved a scheme of their own which had no relation whatever to the testator's instructions. There is a general hospital in Battersea called the Bolingbroke Hospital, and the Commissioners determined to divert Mr. Weir's money to that institution. It is situated half a mile from the furthest boundary of the parish of Streatham and some considerable distance away from the Hawthornes. Though Mr. Weir had expressed no desire for his money to go to a general hospital, and had very particularly expressed his desire for a cottage hospital or home at the Hawthornes, in Streatham, for the benefit of Streatham, the Commissioners induced a majority of the trustees to agree to a scheme under which the Balham house was to be continued as a dispensary, but the Hawthornes was to be used as a nurses' home (as to which the Court of Appeal doubted whether that was a charity at all), and 50,000*l*. of Mr. Weir's money was to be applied towards completing the Bolingbroke Hospital; while the residue of the income was to be applied in augmentation of the income of the Bolingbroke Hospital, an acknowledgment of the increment thus appropriated being made by re-naming that institution the Weir and Bolingbroke Hospital. And in order not to lose time in thus appropriating money left for another purpose,



5000*l.* of it was promptly seized, without waiting even for the scheme to be settled, and paid over to the Bolingbroke Hospital. Happily, the Court of Appeal again did its duty. It granted a petition presented to the Court against the carrying out of the scheme. And so the fund was restored to the purposes for which its grantor had bequeathed it, with the exception of the 5000*l.* which had already been seized. With regard to that in particular the Court had some things to say which were not flattering to the Government department concerned. The Master of the Rolls ended his judgment by saying :

I cannot part with the case without expressing my astonishment that the Commissioners should have directed the payment out of the charity funds of 5000*l.* to the Bolingbroke Hospital without any scheme and without even notice of intention to make such a payment.

Lord Justice Farwell was even more emphatic. He said :

This payment was clearly unjustifiable : if it had been made by trustees they would be personally liable to replace it ; it is so hopelessly wrong that the Attorney-General's counsel could suggest no ground of justification ; it was wrong on the elementary principle that it is unlawful for A's trustees to take A's money and give it to B. . . . There is not a shadow of excuse for this payment, and it is alarming to find that a Government office is capable of such a misapplication of funds committed to its care.

Unfortunately, he was obliged to add :

I cannot find, however, that the Legislature has given the Court any jurisdiction to set this right. The Court can refuse to sanction a scheme, but no provision is made enabling the Court to enforce repayment of money mistakenly applied by the Commissioners.

He further related what had happened in Parliament with regard to this payment, and the story of shuffling that he told is not reassuring :

On the 23rd of March, 1908, one of the Commissioners in the House was asked, *inter alia*, under what statutory powers this 5000*l.* was paid. This part of the question was not answered. On the 20th of May, 1908, he was again asked the same question, and simply referred to his former answer. In July 1908 the question was repeated to another Charity Commissioner, in the House, and on pressure he stated that he would write a letter referring to the sections of the statute under which the payment was made. Such a letter was afterwards sent, and none of the sections referred to therein have any bearing whatever on the point, and the Attorney-General's counsel admits that there is no such section ; and there ended the inquiry in the House into the statutory powers of the Commissioners to make this payment. Comment is needless. The facts speak for themselves.

Perhaps Lord Justice Farwell was right ; and I will not burden these pages with any further comments upon the case, except to draw attention to the very great powers with which Parliament



1911

has entrusted the Charity Commissioners. For example, under the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, the Commissioners have power to make schemes entirely altering educational endowments, even to the extent of repealing Acts of Parliament and abrogating deeds, trusts, etc., concerning them; and these schemes, when approved by His Majesty in Council (the Executive in another form), have all the force of statutes. Thus a Government department—and one capable of such acts as those we have just been considering—may, without Parliament having anything to do with the matter, abolish provisions made in Parliament's laws, and may besides entirely change the character of endowments left for educational purposes, with whatever particularity and solemnity the trust deed may have been made by the donor.<sup>9</sup>

It may be said, after reading the above, that the Courts at any rate have held their own, and done their duty by the public in guarding them against tyranny and encroachment on the part of the Executive. This is doubtless true so far as the cases we have cited are concerned; and I do not know at the moment of any cases in which the Courts have failed in that duty. But gratitude to the Courts for the stand which they have made must neither blind one to the danger that the like independence and judicial acumen may not always be manifested, nor make us forget that the power of the Courts has already been dangerously limited by statute.

Of this we have an example in the powers actually conferred upon the Education Department, to which reference has already been made. The Education Act of 1902 (and it is unpleasantly significant that this Act was the work of a Conservative Government) does make the Board of Education the supreme arbiter of certain important matters. Sub-section 3 of section 7 of that statute enacts that 'If any question arises under this section between the local education authority and the managers of a school not provided by the authority, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education.'

The matters dealt with by the section comprise the provisions for the maintenance and efficient upkeep of schools, and include such things as the curriculum, the number of teachers, inspection,

\* Further light upon the operations of the Charity Commissioners is provided in a letter in *The Times* of the 6th of March, 1911, from the Vicar of All Saints', Derby. He complained that the Commissioners were forcing upon Derby a scheme for the amalgamation of all the municipal and parochial charities, the proposed managing body being mainly representative of the Borough Council. Under this scheme the name and identity of charities becomes extinguished, two trusts, whose united incomes amount to about four-fifths of all the charities, are disbanded, and the benefits of charities are applied throughout the borough irrespective of the boundaries set by the donors. The door is opened to political abuses, and there is every prospect of the expenses of administration, now small, mounting to a high figure, judging by the analogy of a similar scheme which has been enforced in Norwich.



appointment and dismissal of teachers, alterations in the school buildings, and general management; and no school can obtain its share of the Parliamentary grant unless it complies with the provisions of the section. Thus thousands of schools founded by religious bodies with their own money, besides the increasing thousands of schools paid for altogether by compulsory rates and taxes levied upon the public, are placed under the heel of a bureaucracy in the control of a party politician. The Courts, as we have seen, have found some limit to this extravagant power: the Department cannot determine questions of law upon the construction of the Act which endues it with these powers; but an enormous area of unchecked authority remains. Under the guise of administration, too, the Department is continuously introducing changes which might well come within the purview of legislation—as, for instance, introducing debatable teaching in matters relating to the consumption of fermented beverages. Constantly the Department is imposing regulations which involve serious expenditure in the carrying out, and so are virtually the levying of new taxes upon the people. And what effective control do, or can, the people's representatives in Parliament exercise over these acts?

Let us pass to a more recent Act of Parliament—the notorious Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. Those who follow political debates will perhaps remember that the Committee stage of that measure was marked by efforts on the part of the Opposition to get adequate rights of appeal against the decisions of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, who were to be clothed with such extraordinary and far-reaching new powers. These efforts were not altogether unsuccessful; but they fell very far short of the success which is necessary.

Take section 17 of the Act. That section provides for certain obviously necessary exemptions from the undeveloped land duty introduced by the Act, such as land kept free of buildings in pursuance of a development scheme, or land used for recreation. But then is added: 'The opinion of the Commissioners as to matters which are expressed to be matters for the opinion of the Commissioners under this sub-section shall be final, and not subject to any appeal.'

Again, if a landowner has failed to object to a provisional valuation by the Commissioners, he is barred from any appeal against the Commissioners' valuation of the total or site value of his land; and on an appeal against assessment of duty he may not discuss the question of value which the Commissioners have fixed.<sup>10</sup> Further, in arriving at the total value of land by deducting from the gross value sums on account of restrictions on the

<sup>10</sup> Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, Secs. 27 and 33.



1911

land, the Commissioners are to give their opinion as to whether the restrictions were imposed in the public interest or in view of the character of the neighbourhood, and their opinion is to be subject only to an appeal to a referee—another State official.<sup>11</sup> The introduction of the referee (these referees are simply surveyors in the pay of the Treasury) between the Commissioners and the Courts where an appeal lies, is regarded by critics as a method for making appeals by aggrieved owners more costly and troublesome. As a part of the bureaucracy, the referee is little likely to approach his duties in an independent and judicial spirit. But the whole Act seems designed to make it difficult (where it is not impossible) for the individual to escape from the clutches of the bureaucrats into the free air of the Courts of Justice. The Executive makes regulations under this Act, as under so many other Acts, and these regulations are often of a kind which should be in the Act, and properly discussed in the House—for they are often no mere matters of detail. True, such regulations have to be laid on the Parliamentary table for forty days before acquiring force, but that sort of protection is in practice nugatory.

For another example of this sort of legislation reference may be made to the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908. Under section 39 of that Act it is competent for a local authority to acquire land compulsorily from its owner, if it can get the consent of the Board of Agriculture. Parliament is ousted; though in all previous legislation empowering corporations, etc., to acquire land compulsorily the consent of Parliament, after detailed inquiries by Parliamentary Committees, has been regarded as essential. Here a Government Department is given full power to deprive an owner of his land, and the wording of one of the sub-sections—'the confirmation of the Board shall be conclusive evidence that the requirements of this Act have been complied with, and that the order has been duly made and is within the power of this Act'—is a provision for ousting the jurisdiction of the Courts also.

How complete this ousting is was brought out in a case heard in the Divisional Court in 1909.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Ringer applied to the Court to quash an order made by the County Council under the Small Holdings Act. Mr. Ringer had purchased adjoining farms, and, as one was of heavy and one of light soil, they could be worked advantageously together, but the heavy soil farm, owing to the impossibility of keeping sheep on it in the winter, was of no use without the other. That was why the other was purchased; and buildings were erected and arrangements were made for working the two together. The County Council coveted the light soil farm, and served upon Mr. Ringer an order for compulsory

<sup>11</sup> Sec. 25.

<sup>12</sup> *Ex parte Ringer*, 25 *Times Law Reports*, p. 718.



purchase. He sent his objection to the Board of Agriculture, but that department confirmed the County Council's order. Mr. Ringer went to the High Court for redress, arguing that the Board had not given effect to the restrictions in the statute, under which it was enacted that before confirming an order for compulsory acquisition regard should be had to the very points which formed the grounds of Mr. Ringer's objection, and that the Board should avoid taking an undue or inconvenient quantity of land from any one owner or tenant, and for that purpose where part only of a holding is taken shall take into consideration the size and character of the holding is taken cultural holdings not proposed to be taken which were used in connexion with the holding and the quantity and nature of the land available for occupation therewith.

The Judges were sympathetic, but they could give no relief. Mr. Justice Darling read the words as to the powers of the Board quoted above, and pointed out that they 'gave to an order made by a public department the absolute finality and effect of an Act of Parliament.'

Here there was a public department put in a position of absolute supremacy, and whatever the opinion of the farmers of Norfolk who came to the Court asking for relief might be about the matter, they could only say that Parliament had enacted only last year that the Board of Agriculture in acting as they did should be no more impeachable than Parliament itself.

And Mr. Justice Jelf said :

This case presented an illustration of the length to which Parliament had the right to go in ousting the powers and jurisdiction of Courts of law. If a majority in Parliament were successful in passing an Act of Parliament which had that effect, then the jurisdiction of the Courts of law in matters in which some people might think it was desirable that even Government departments should be under the control of the Courts was nevertheless ousted, and the Court had no power to interfere with the decision of the department.

Thus the reader will see that in some directions legislation has already been pushed to a point where the Courts are unable to interfere, even in a flagrant case, to protect the individual from bureaucratic oppression.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Housing and Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, is another instance of arbitrary and final powers to order schemes for the compulsory acquisition of land and so forth being conferred upon a Government department—in that case the Local Government Board. These powers were passed by the House of Commons with scarcely a word of discussion, and though they were subjected to strong criticism in the House of Lords, the criticising peers were reviled for their pains in the Radical Press, and were denounced as wreckers of a great democratic measure. Moreover, their efforts to get proper appeal provisions inserted in the Bill were largely futile, and the small measure of success attained was chiefly confined to a provision that the Local Government Board, if so directed by the High Court, shall state a special case for the opinion of the Court upon any question of law which may arise in the course of an appeal to



1911

One more example must be cited from the Statute Book, for it is not only a particularly gross instance, but it is evidence of the multifarious directions in which the evil principle is at work. I refer to the Public Authorities Protection Act, 1893. This Act provides that no action, prosecution, or proceeding shall lie or be instituted against any person for any act done in pursuance or execution of any Act of Parliament, or of any public duty or authority, or in respect of any neglect or default in connexion therewith, unless it is commenced within six months after the act or neglect complained of. Or, in plainer English, no action shall lie against any public administrative body, or its representative officer, for any wrong done by him or it, unless the writ, etc., is issued within six months of the committal of the wrong. Further, the Act provides that whenever an action is brought against a public body, and that body succeeds, the costs which the plaintiff has to pay shall not be the ordinary taxed party-and-party costs, but costs as between solicitor and client—which, it is scarcely necessary to explain, is a very different, and much more onerous, matter.<sup>14</sup>

This Act widely extends the area of official protection. It not only exalts the national Executive, but brings within the ambit of Governmental privilege every local lieutenant of Government—every county, borough, urban, rural and parish council, every board of guardians, and every dock and harbour and water authority, if that authority be of the so-called public kind. It is not confined to the affording of special protection to State and municipal officials in the execution of their proper administrative functions: it extends to the torts committed by a municipality in the ordinary trading operations in which modern municipalities engage. And this is a growing evil. For example, at the time when the Act was passed the London tramway service was in the hands of commercial companies, and if, say, a man was injured

the Board, that it shall not dismiss an appeal without a public local inquiry, and that any town-planning schemes which it may approve shall be laid, if anyone objects to them, before Parliament, before achieving final authority, Parliament having the power to quash the scheme by an address to the Crown. It will be gathered that this is no adequate protection against high-handed dealing with the property of private individuals.

<sup>14</sup> This provision as to costs should be contrasted with the practice of the Government when they find themselves in the wrong, and have to withdraw from an action. Recently the Attorney-General proceeded by information against Mr. Burdett-Coutts in connexion with a Revenue dispute. By the time the case came on for hearing, the Attorney-General found, from the decision in another case, that his action was quite unfounded, and he was obliged to withdraw the information. Yet, though he had put Mr. Burdett-Coutts to anxiety and trouble, he refused to pay his solicitor-and-client costs. He stood upon his technical rights, and would only pay party-and-party costs. So a citizen who was entirely in the right, and was proceeded against by a State official who was entirely in the wrong, was nevertheless forced to bear some part of the expense which the State official's blunder had forced upon him.—See *The Times*, October 18, 1911.

VOL. LXX—No. 418

3 z



by the negligence of a tramway driver, the injured man had plenty of time in which to discover the extent of his injuries, to negotiate terms of compensation with the company, and, failing satisfaction, he could, in reason, consult his own convenience as to when he should commence legal proceedings. But since the passage of the Act the tramways of London have been acquired by the London County Council. And now, in consequence, a man so injured would have to learn the extent of his injuries, formulate his claim, conduct his negotiations (usually a tedious process), and instruct his solicitor, who would have to issue the writ, all within six months of the accident, or no redress would be obtainable. Is not that illogical? Is it not a hardship upon the citizen, and unfair treatment of traders like tramway companies and railway companies, who have to support municipal enterprises which enjoy not only special financial privileges, but also special privileges before the law which are denied to the companies whose rates support these municipal enterprises?

The absurd unlogic and injustice of the matter may be imagined by supposing a wayfarer knocked down by a tramcar in the neighbourhood of Tooting Broadway, where the County Council and private tramways meet. If the accident occurs in that part of the road where the tramway undertaking is owned by the company, he has his own time in which to decide the momentous question of taking legal proceedings. If he is unfortunate enough to get his injury from a similar tramcar a few yards away, his remedy is barred, unless he is under way with an action within six months.

And do not let any reader labour under the illusion that no public authority would be so mean as to insist upon its technical privilege in the matter. In my own practice I had a case which illustrated the avidity with which these bodies avail themselves of the privilege. A man was injured in a tramway accident in London, and the evidence available showed a good case for compensation. But the very fact of the injuries and the consequent upset led to some delay in making a claim; the dilatoriness of official correspondence enhanced the delay. Then when at last, unable to get compensation awarded voluntarily, the injured person went to a solicitor, and the solicitor had conducted some further ineffective negotiations, and a writ was issued, it was found that the day of issue was a day beyond the six months after the happening of the accident, and the action had to be abandoned.

The County Council had already given proof of its determination to stand upon its privileges. In *Parker v. London County Council*,<sup>15</sup> action was brought by an infant and his mother to

<sup>15</sup> Reported in *Law Reports* [1904], 2 K.B., p. 501; 20 *Times Law Reports*, p. 271.



1911

recover damages alleged to have been caused by the negligence of the Council's servants, while plaintiffs were passengers on a tramcar belonging to the Council, through a collision with another of its tramcars, on the 16th of June 1902. Correspondence took place, and full particulars of the special damage were given to the Council on the 19th of November, but the writ was not issued until the 12th of January—more than six, but within seven, months of the accident. The Council relied on the Act, and Mr. Justice Channell had to hold that the Act exonerated them from liability, notwithstanding that he said he thought 'the Legislature was not contemplating at all the case of a municipal body carrying on a commercial enterprise.'

Perhaps an even worse case was *Hewlett v. London County Council*,<sup>16</sup> for there the County Council actually admitted in Court that the accident was caused by the negligence of its servant, and correspondence between the Council and plaintiff's solicitors with a view to effecting a settlement had been going on for a long time, and had only eventually broken down after the six months had elapsed. The Council objected to the correspondence being read in court, but it was read, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, adding that the Council had by its conduct induced the plaintiff to delay commencing an action. But the Judge was forced, nevertheless, to give judgment for the Council.

Another illustration may be found in the case of *Williams v. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board*.<sup>17</sup> There a widow brought an action under the Fatal Accidents Act, 1846, to recover damages for the death of her husband, which was due to injuries resulting from his falling into one of the Board's locks, through alleged negligence on the Board's part. The accident happened in December 1902, and the man died in December 1904. The action was commenced in February 1905. If the Dock Board had been a dock company the widow would have had until December 1905 in which to bring her action, but as it could claim the privileges of a public authority, it was held by the Court of Appeal that the Public Authorities Protection Act applied, and that, as the accident happened more than six months before the issue of the writ (it could not have been issued within six months, because the man was still alive), the widow must be deprived of her rights.

Another flagrant case was that of *Cree v. St. Pancras Vestry*.<sup>18</sup> There the Vestry had compelled the owner of some premises to execute works to a supposed drain. After he had incurred the

<sup>16</sup> Reported [1908] J.P., p. 136; 24 *Times Law Reports*, p. 331.

<sup>17</sup> Reported in *Law Reports* [1905], 1 K.B., p. 804; 21 *Times Law Reports*, p. 397.

<sup>18</sup> Reported in *Law Reports* [1899], 1 Q.B., p. 693; 68 *Law Journal*, Q.B., p. 389.



expense the Vestry found that it had made a mistake, and that the supposed drain was a sewer, which the Vestry itself was liable to repair. The owner died about this time, and his executors claimed repayment of the money he had been forced wrongfully to expend. The Vestry refused, and the action to recover was not brought until more than six months after the expenditure of the money. The Court held that the money could not, therefore, because of the Public Authorities Protection Act, be recovered, and the executors not only lost their claim, but had to pay, in addition, not the Vestry's ordinary party-and-party costs of the action, but costs as between solicitor and client..

When the London water companies were disestablished, and a public authority took over the supply, we were bidden to anticipate the reign of justice. We were not bidden to remember the Public Authorities Protection Act. The Metropolitan Water Board has remembered it, however, as consumers who have been induced to overpay are finding to their cost. When an overcharge is detected the Board relies upon the Act, and on the strength of it refuses to disgorge overpayments in regard to which the Act can be pleaded. In one such case at the Lambeth County Court recently, Judge Parry condemned the practice as 'a most unprincipled thing,' and one which, if done by a private individual, would put that individual 'beyond the pale of ordinary civilisation.'

I could extend this list of futile attempts to break down this iniquitous statute, but space forbids. I must, however, cite just one more, as it emphasises the point that the period of six months allowed by the Act is sometimes insufficient for an injured person to find out how badly he is injured. In *Spittal v. Glasgow Corporation*,<sup>19</sup> the pursuer claimed damages for injuries sustained through a collision with one of the Corporation tramcars, alleged to be the fault of the driver. For more than six months after the date of the accident the pursuer said his condition was such that it was impossible to tell the extent of his injuries, which appear to have been very serious; so his writ was issued late. A jury probably could not within the prescribed time have gauged the compensation payable; but a jury was not given the opportunity: the Act was relentlessly applied.

It is time to close. The subject might be elaborated with greater illustrative detail. Further instances of a policy to aggrandise bureaucracy might be quoted—such as the triumvirate of all-powerful Commissioners which it was proposed to set up under the Licensing Bill of 1908, to determine according to their own sweet will what owners of public-houses should be allowed to continue to make a living, and which should be marked down for forcible

<sup>19</sup> Reported in 41 *Sc. Law Reports*, p. 629.



extinction; but it is hoped enough has already been collected to furnish a warning.

There are plenty of dangers which threaten the liberty of Britons to-day, plenty of evils which have crept into the body politic; but it is doubtful whether there is any danger more threatening, any evil more insidious and harmful than this already partially successful, but little regarded, effort to destroy the freedom of the individual and justice in the country, by pushing ever further the sphere of authority of the Executive, and meanwhile ousting the authority of the Courts, which are the sole protection of the individual against the tyranny of bureaucracy.

ERNEST E. WILLIAMS.



# LIBERTY OF CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

## A REJOINDER.

THE real importance of the issues at stake will, it may be hoped, justify my apparent boldness in attempting to reply to the weighty and suggestive article of the Bishop of Winchester which appeared in the November issue of this Review. I should wish, in the first place, to thank him for his courteous and generous treatment of my own paper which appeared in the October number. He will readily believe that if I continue the discussion, it is through no lack of respect for him, or desire for controversy, but because the questions raised affect profoundly the whole future of the Church of England, and, indeed, of religion itself. Being raised, it is well that they should be threshed out from every point of view.

It will be remembered by those who have followed the discussion that the Bishop admits to the full the main thesis of my original article. The attempts to check by methods of repression the progress of criticism and the development of religious thought form a sorry record of failure and mistake, and we have rightly come to view with grave suspicion all such appeals to authority. Since the Bishop makes no reference to the question of clerical subscription, with which I dealt at some length, we may, I hope, assume that he is not prepared to quarrel very seriously with my second contention: that the principles on which our creeds and formularies are understood in practice allow a very large measure of freedom in their interpretation.

The gist of his reply lies in this: that side by side with the principle of liberty must be placed the principle of authority and the Church's duty of bearing witness to revealed truth, while the 'Voysey case' shows us that authority still has its work to do, and that a 'philosophy of pure liberty' is impossible. Now, of course, it had not been my purpose to add to the long list of somewhat unconvincing dissertations on the theoretical relation between liberty and authority. Text-books of politics, art and theology are full of discussions on this well-worn theme. My object was pre-eminently a practical one. In view of the definite situation which had arisen in consequence of the withdrawal of



1911

Mr. Thompson's licence by the Bishop, I attempted to show that one particular form of 'authority,' working by certain methods, had to its credit an almost unbroken record of failure and blunder. The Church, or those who claimed, whether officially or otherwise, to speak in its name, had again and again considered it its duty to attempt to prevent its ministers voicing new points of view in theology when they came into conflict with the orthodoxy of the day or the traditions of the past. Again and again it had proved itself wrong, and had taken up positions which it was afterwards forced to evacuate with no little ignominy. We had confined our survey to the story of the Church of England in the last century, but the same lesson could be enforced from the record of almost every Church in every period. We have therefore a stubborn fact of history with a practical deduction which he who runs may read. As good Pragmatists might, we had asked how this sort of authority worked, and the answer had not been doubtful. We had come then to have a profound suspicion of it; the presumption was enormously strong against its being right in any given case. In particular we were justified in being not a little disturbed with regard to the latest example of its exercise.

But what of the 'Voysey case' to which the Bishop naturally calls attention? He represents me as 'careering past it' with a light heart. If I referred to it briefly, it was through no feeling that I was on thin ice, but merely because, however uncertain 'the limits of criticism' may be, the limits to the indulgence of the most lenient editor or the most sympathetic reader are quite definite, and the article had already run to an inordinate length. The case does not, I venture to submit, seriously affect our main position, and it certainly has no bearing on the particular case which is the immediate issue before the Church just now. The Bishop himself frankly and generously repudiates as 'grossly untrue and unfair' 'the odious suggestion that there is no difference or slight difference between the author of a recent book [i.e. Mr. Thompson] and Mr. Voysey.' The case of the latter is an 'extreme case.' He says, indeed, that I 'stated Mr. Voysey's heresies in pretty forcible terms,' with perhaps just the shadow of a suggestion that I had found it convenient to paint them in somewhat dark colours. The description of his views was in fact taken from the 'Articles' presented at the trial. We are not called upon to re-try the case. It was argued with great fulness before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and with regard to the facts and the real meaning of Mr. Voysey's language, we have a right to rest upon the long and impartial judgment which closed the trial. Anyone who will be at the pains to read this will agree that we have, as I suggested, an instance not of an attempt to re-interpret Christian doctrines, but of a rejection of Christianity



as a whole. It is quite true that in his defence Mr. Voysey claimed to be re-interpreting, but, as the Bishop says, this defence was 'in the nature of a paradox.' There are many points in his long apologia with which we find ourselves more or less in sympathy, but it would not be possible to say of him, as we said of others, that his main positions have become admitted common-places of present-day theology.

We may admit, then, that authority was right for once. But, after all, if a would-be sportsman has been in the habit of shooting his host's dogs and maiming his friends, we do not encourage him to use firearms on the ground that he has once brought down a supposed mad bull. And if he argues that he must keep a gun to defend himself against burglars, we may insist that he shall confine its use strictly to this purpose, and we may fairly ask for some guarantee that, when he does shoot, he shall hit the burglar and not the policeman.

Again, the case is a fair illustration of the fact that there are some limits to what the official representatives of a Christian Church may be allowed to teach. As an abstract proposition few would deny this; certainly I myself never attempted to do so. In fact, I mentioned Mr. Voysey as an example of the sort of case where some appeal must ultimately be made to authority. But the force of the conclusion drawn from the far more numerous examples on the other side is in no way weakened. One who held strong opinions on the subject might argue strongly against the use of corporal punishment, pointing to the evil results and injustice to which he imagined it led, and yet he might quite freely allow that in an isolated case here and there its use might be defended. In view of such a case he might allow the birch to be kept on a very high and inaccessible shelf as a last resource in dire necessity. So we do not assert that expulsion or suspension for gross doctrinal error is never to be justified. But even here there is the important *caveat* that in cases where the intervention of authority is defensible in theory, it may still be unwise in practice. It may be more politic to ignore even the undoubted 'heretic' than to make him a martyr and call wide attention to his errors by invoking disciplinary measures.

We do not deny, then, that authority is right once in a century, that there are ultimate limits to freedom of criticism, that quite occasionally these limits may be exceeded, and that still more occasionally it may be wise to restrain those who exceed them. But on the whole we shall agree with the Bishop's objector when he says 'that the history of the claim to authoritative witness is too sinister to allow of its being practically conceded'; we shall only wish to add as a safeguard 'unless in extreme and quite indisputable cases.'



As a general indication of the sort of line which might be drawn between admissible and inadmissible criticism, the distinction was suggested between the interpretation and the rejection of fundamental<sup>1</sup> Christian doctrine. The Bishop doubts whether this distinction will quite bear the stress put upon it. No doubt it may be difficult always to draw a hard and fast line: there will be border-line cases, and each must be judged on its merits. But the distinction exists, and since the Bishop has no better test to offer us (he admits that it is 'impossible to answer in the abstract, hardly more possible in the concrete,' when, where, and how authority may be rightly exercised) it may serve as a rough guide. It has at least the advantage of being that laid down in the Voysey Judgment itself: 'He does not profess to interpret, he simply denies the positions asserted in the Articles, and asserts other doctrines inconsistent with and repugnant to them.'<sup>2</sup>

Or again :

It has not been attempted by the Articles to close all discussion or to guard against varied interpretations of Scripture with reference even to cardinal articles of faith, so that these articles themselves are plainly admitted, in some sense or other, according to a reasonable construction, or according even to a doubtful, but not delusive, construction. Neither have we omitted to notice the previous decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and especially the judgments of this tribunal, by which interpretations of the Articles of Religion which by any reasonable allowance for the variety of human opinion can be reconciled with their language, have been held to be consistent with a due obedience to the laws ecclesiastical, even though the interpretation in question might not be that which the tribunal itself would have assigned to the Article. . . . We think that the extracts deliberately exhibit the opinions of the appellant, by which the Articles of Religion, with reference to original sin, the sacrifice and suffering of Christ, the Son of God, both God and man, to reconcile His Father to man, the Incarnation and Godhead of the Son, His return to judge the world, the doctrine of the Trinity, are plainly contradicted and impugned.'

## II

At any rate, we are not afraid to apply this test to what is, after all, the case from which we started. We must regret that the Bishop has apparently not felt himself free to say anything directly about Mr. Thompson, or his book, *Miracles in the New Testament*, on account of which he withdrew his licence. He allows that the *onus probandi* lies on those who exercise the

<sup>1</sup> As my original phrase drew the contrast between 'an attempt to restate or re-interpret doctrines' and 'the rejection of Christianity as a whole,' I hope the Bishop will allow me to insert this qualification into his paraphrase. It certainly expresses what I meant, and I think it is what he meant too.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Register*, 1871, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 186.



weapon of authority, but he does not attempt to show in what way this particular case falls within the somewhat vague limits where he finds authority necessary. As we have already seen, he acknowledges freely that there is no parallel between this case and that of Mr. Voysey.

There is, however, no reason, so far as I am aware, why we should not ourselves look more closely at the merits of this particular case. It has been canvassed at length in the religious Press, and it opens up most important issues, not merely in its bearing on the place of authority as a whole, but in the immediate questions which it raises. For Mr. Thompson's book is admittedly symptomatic; he has only stated explicitly and decisively a position towards which a number of clergy have long been feeling their way vaguely and tentatively. It is well to clear the ground of irrelevant considerations. It is urged that Mr. Thompson is a young man, that he has been rash and over-positive, or that he has not been sufficiently mindful of the distress he might cause to those of simple faith. These charges, so far as they are true, are only 'aggravating circumstances' which cannot come into consideration until the defendant has been proved guilty of the main offence. If all 'rash young men' were to be suspended, the supply of curates would be even shorter than it is, and the black list of every diocese would be a long one.

The real charge against Mr. Thompson is that he rejects (a) miracles in general, and (b) the particular miracles of the Virgin Birth and the Physical Resurrection. In so doing, is he rejecting essential doctrines of the Christian faith, or attempting to re-interpret them?

It will be understood that we are not proposing to discuss whether Mr. Thompson's arguments are critically or philosophically sound. The present writer is bound to confess that he has not been entirely convinced by them, able though they are. We are only asking whether the holding of such views is consistent with a sincere belief in Christianity. Nor must we delay over the question of miracles in general, though it would have been useful to show that in most cases Mr. Thompson's objection is not to the recorded facts of the Gospel story, but to the generally accepted explanation of those facts. It is, however, admitted that a wide freedom of criticism is allowed on these points.

The gravamen of the charge is that he rejects the Virgin Birth and the Physical Resurrection. Now, it cannot be emphasised too strongly that according to the Bishop's own admission Mr. Thompson is 'a devout believer' in the Incarnation.<sup>4</sup> The whole point of his argument, whether it be right or wrong, is that it means more, is more intelligible, and is more in accord with our

<sup>4</sup> See the Bishop's letter in the *Guardian*, September 15, 1911.



best conceptions of God, if we believe that the Christ was made like unto His brethren in all things, even in the manner of His birth. The closing pages of his book, which urge this point of view, are not conventional sops to orthodoxy; they express a sincere conviction which is shared in varying degrees of clearness by many, clergy and laity alike. The question, then, is whether one who does not believe in the Virgin Birth is rejecting a fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

We turn to the New Testament. The only certain mentions of the Virgin Birth are found in the opening chapters of the first and third Gospels; there are a few other very doubtful references. Now, much has been written about the 'silence' of St. Paul and St. John, St. Mark and other New Testament writers. Were they unacquainted with the Virgin Birth? Did they reject it? We need not answer these questions, and indeed no single answer would cover the different cases of all the writers. It is sufficient for our purposes that they build up their Christology in entire independence of the Virgin Birth. They base it on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, and to place the miraculous Birth on a level with these in importance is to mistake entirely the balance of New Testament teaching. The 'test' of the First Epistle of St. John is 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God,' 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in him,' 'Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God.' Nowhere in the New Testament is greater stress laid on sound doctrine than in this Epistle, but in no passage is belief in the Virgin Birth even mentioned, much less made a *sine qua non*. Need we add that we can appeal to the teaching of the Master Himself? Not even in His dealings with His most intimate friends does He drop a hint that faith in Himself depends on, or implies, a belief in a particular mode of His coming into the world. Every priest at his ordination undertakes 'to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which [he] shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by Scripture.' The whole gist of Mr. Thompson's position is that he is convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that, taking the evidence of the New Testament *as a whole*, the fact of the Virgin Birth cannot be proved by Scripture. And many who cannot follow him so far will yet be constrained to admit that the *acceptance* of it certainly cannot be so proved as necessary to eternal salvation.

It would not be difficult to collect a catena of quotations from recognised theologians to this effect; one must suffice us now. In 1903 Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster, published his well-known *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation*, in which he argues strongly for the truth of the belief in the Virgin



Birth. But he prefaced his book with an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he protests no less strongly against the cry for an authoritative pronouncement of the Bishops 'by way of meeting the questionings of recent times' on this subject. He deprecates 'the act of reassertion by authority of that which is questioned by criticism.' While the Incarnation itself is a cardinal doctrine of the faith, 'to say that the historical fact of the Virgin Birth is a cardinal doctrine of the faith is to use language which no Synod of Bishops, so far as I am aware, has ever ventured to use. It is to confuse the Incarnation with the special mode of the Incarnation in a way for which Christian theology offers no precedent.'

Similar considerations hold good with respect to the Physical Resurrection. The point in debate is not the continued personal life of Christ, manifested to His disciples and energising in His Church in every generation. This is accepted without reserve by Mr. Thompson and those who think with him. The question is as to the mode and the subsidiary accompaniments of the Resurrection. Did it imply some change in the material particles of the physical body? Was the tomb empty? If so, what had become of the body itself? What was the nature of the 'spiritual body' of which St. Paul speaks? What was its relation to the corpse which had been laid in the tomb? The answer to these questions would necessitate an exhaustive dealing with the evidence of the New Testament, and a consideration of more than one very difficult philosophical problem. The point which concerns us is whether a denial of the 'empty tomb' is equivalent to a denial of the Resurrection. Probably most educated people who believe fully in a future life for themselves do not imagine that anything will happen to their decayed bodies 'at the last day.' By the 'resurrection of the body' we mean our continued personal existence, the real persistence of the 'spiritual ego,' in a sphere of being where 'body' in anything like its material sense can have no place. 'Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.' St. Paul argues from the nature of Christ's risen body to our own; he equates the two, and we are entitled to reverse the argument. It is indeed a fair question as to how the disciples held so firmly to their belief in the reality of the Resurrection appearances unless they believed that the tomb had been found empty, and how the belief arose unless the fact were true. But this is a subsidiary question of proof. Many serious thinkers to-day find that their belief in the power and presence of a personal risen Christ is in no way connected with a belief in the physical miracle, which indeed they find a stumbling-block rather than a help. To deny the empty tomb is not to reject a doctrine, but to re-interpret its implications. It is in this con-



nexion impossible to protest too strongly against the language used by the Bishop of London in a recently published 'correspondence with Mr. Thompson on this subject. He writes :

I do not admit that the phrase 'the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the third day' admits of being interpreted in any sense which is consistent with His Body having seen corruption like that of an ordinary man, or that the Christian hope could survive if the miracle were disbelieved.

It may fairly be urged that such language does quite as much harm and causes quite as much 'distress' to many serious minds as the unguarded utterance of extreme critical opinions does to others. Again a single quotation on the other side must suffice. Canon C. H. Robinson in his *Studies in the Resurrection of Christ* brands as 'singularly foolish' a widely-read book 'in which the writer sought to show that the continued existence of Christianity depends upon a belief in an empty tomb.'

So far is this contention from being valid that if a belief in an empty tomb were no longer to be regarded as indispensable to a belief in the reality and genuineness of the Resurrection of Christ, some who are now unable to believe in His Resurrection would find it comparatively easy to do so.<sup>6</sup>

Or again, while arguing against a theory that the body had been removed by the Sanhedrin, he writes : 'It is however only fair to point out that the acceptance of this theory is not necessarily incompatible with a belief in the real objective Resurrection of Christ.'<sup>7</sup>

### III

With regard to the whole position it is worth while calling attention to some recent words of the present Bishop of Oxford :<sup>8</sup>

On the whole a free intellectual life is essential to religion. A religion which cannot face facts or assimilate all real knowledge becomes a superstition. And any change in the intellectual atmosphere demands—not a fresh revelation but a fresh theology—a fresh presentation of the old creed in new intellectual terms. We are all familiar with the peril which besets an old religion of becoming fanatical and obscurantist in face of new knowledge.

Dr. Gore apparently uses 'creed' in the sense of 'faith,' but if the old 'faith' needs to be presented in new intellectual terms we obviously cannot exclude as inadmissible all attempts to re-interpret or restate the old creeds in which that faith has been formulated. Again, with direct reference to the points we have been considering, he writes<sup>9</sup> :

Contemporary criticism seems to be—we do not believe that it is really, but it seems to be—demanding in the name of freedom the negation of the

<sup>6</sup> *Guardian*, November 10, 1911.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1911, p. 104.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 106.



miraculous which enters into our fundamental creed, and is of the essence of our religion. Of the essence of our religion—so Westcott spoke of it—and we believe rightly. Can Christianity ignore the miracles of the Virgin birth and bodily resurrection and remain Christianity? *This is the question which at this moment requires the most careful examination in the light of the best mind,*<sup>10</sup> and not merely the narrowly critical or narrowly scientific intellect, of our time. We believe that neither science nor criticism can claim that its own freedom within its own sphere is rendered impossible if the basis of historical Christianity in miraculous acts of God is maintained. But here is the most anxious point of contemporary controversy. We have not the time to pursue the inquiry here.

The importance of this pronouncement can hardly be exaggerated, when we remember the quarter from which it comes. Dr. Gore emphasises his own firm conviction that the miracles in question are of the essence of Christianity. But at the same time he implies that the question is an open one, and has not been decided once for all; otherwise it would be an insult to the best mind of our time to invite it to a most careful examination of it. It is the whole position for which we are contending. We may have the gravest hesitation in accepting the views of which Mr. Thompson's are an example. Still less do we urge that the Church as a whole should in any way commit herself to them, or even indicate any approval of them. We simply urge that the questions should not be prejudged, but left open for 'the most careful examination' from every point of view.

Our quarrel with the Bishop of Winchester is that he has in fact prejudged these questions, and with the Bishop of Oxford that he upholds his action in doing so. Yet the latter urges that they require further study and examination. It is not out of place to quote once more Temple's words to Tait: 'Such a study, so full of difficulties, imperatively demands freedom for its condition. To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties, to come to the same conclusions with those who have not studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded.'

There are three possible answers to the questions at issue. The ultimate verdict may be that the facts discussed are both true and essential to Christianity; or that they are probably true, but not fundamental; or that they are neither true nor fundamental. The convinced believer in Christianity may be forgiven if he refuses to contemplate what is logically a fourth possible answer, that the facts are fundamental, but not true.

It is at least conceivable that either the second or the third of these answers may turn out to be the right one; there is already a considerable body of serious opinion which inclines to the second. If so, what verdict will future generations pass on the withdrawal of Mr. Thompson's licence? Dr. Talbot himself



contemplates the possibility of a mistake. 'If it [authority] wrongly assumes something to be of the essence which is in truth only of the accident time will expose its mistake, and new cases will be added to Mr. Emmet's black list of authority's blunders.' Considering the almost unbroken record of authority's mistakes in the past, the probability of a further mistake, so long as it acts on the same principles, cannot be regarded as altogether negligible. It is a little difficult to write quite calmly of the Bishop's point of view. It is as though a judge should say: 'We admit that the Courts have continually been wrong in cases similar to your's, and it is quite possible we may be wrong now, but authority must be upheld and we must bear our witness to the claims of truth; therefore you are sentenced to penal servitude for an indefinite number of years. If it should turn out that your supposed offence is no offence, no doubt you will ultimately be released.' It hardly needs saying that the Bishop of Winchester is the last man one would accuse of any intentional injustice; I apologise even for the denial of such a suggestion. The blame lies not on the individual, but on the inherent defects of the method employed. It must be remembered that we are not concerned now with mere authoritative pronouncements or manifestoes, for which no one but the authors may be 'one penny the worse,' but with the infliction of a serious punishment.<sup>11</sup> We cannot pass with a light heart over the possibility of a mistake. The great principle of English justice is that it is better that many guilty should escape than that a single innocent man should suffer.

Now, this principle rests not merely on consideration for the individual, but on the disastrous effects which a miscarriage of justice has on men's respect for law, and on the prestige of the responsible authority. We have been reminded of the claims of the authority of the Church, and of its duty of bearing witness. It is precisely because we care about these things, when properly interpreted, that we are eager to prevent them from being misapplied. There can be little doubt that the low estate of Church authority and the scant regard paid to its witness are due to the admitted blunders of the past, which have brought both into disrepute. The Bishop sees in its mistakes 'signs of the protective resistance by which the instinct and reason of the Christian society repel what is alien to the integrity of its Trust.' The point of view is a little paradoxical. Did the Church really vindicate its authority by attempting to anathematise one whom in the next generation it was to welcome as its Archbishop? Can

<sup>11</sup> It is quite true, and I hasten to add that the Bishop remarks on the fact with pleasure, that in this particular instance the *immediate* effects are not so serious as they might be, since Mr. Thompson's position as Fellow and Dean of Divinity of his College is untouched. But this is an 'accident'; presumably the Bishop would feel bound to adopt the same course in a case where the victim's whole professional career might be affected.



it commend its claim to witness to the Truth by rejecting and penalising new points of view, good and bad alike, until the spirit of the age forces it to accept them?

Let it be repeated once more that we do not ask that the Church should embrace eagerly every new thing. Conservatism undoubtedly has its place in Church as in State. We welcome 'the massive orthodoxy of a Pusey or the fiery vigilance of a Liddon,' when the one gives us the Commentary on Daniel or the treatise on *Eternal Punishment*, and the other the Bampton Lectures on *The Divinity of Our Lord*. The point is whether conservatism would not conduct its defence more effectively if it would content itself with the rapier of discussion, and leave on the shelf the blunderbuss of authority. We may ask further whether the real authority of the Church would not gain if it abandoned its old methods, and whether its witness would not be listened to with greater respect, if it confined itself to the sphere where it has a right to speak.

#### IV

Is it possible to indicate very briefly where the true authority of the Christian society lies, and the field in which its witness is really of decisive weight? May we not say that its witness guarantees primarily and completely the facts and experiences of the religious life, and only secondarily and partially the theology in which those facts clothe themselves? The Dean of St. Paul's gives us the very phrase we are looking for. 'The authority of the Church, rightly understood, is the authority of the redeemed race, the elect—the stored spiritual experience of humanity.'<sup>12</sup> The idea harmonises exactly with the stress which modern psychology has come to lay on the reality and validity of religious experience. The individual is not an isolated unit, nor does he start *de novo*. When in prayer he finds himself in communion with a Higher Power, he can fortify himself as to the reality of his experience by the remembrance that it agrees with that of the elect souls of the race. If, on the other hand, he can feel nothing himself, and denies that there is anything to be felt, we may fairly refer him 'to authority'—the authority based on accumulated experience. This authority has a right to speak to the religious fact which it knows at first-hand; each individual—so far as his experience is genuine—adds his quota to the evidence, and goes to swell the crowd of witnesses. Or we may take such a doctrine as that of the Atonement. When we are inclined to explain away the death of Christ as merely a striking example of love and self-sacrifice, we are again and again pulled up short by the undoubted fact that each generation of Christians, beginning with that of St. Peter and St. Paul, has found in it something more. The authority of their experience, varied and widespread, seems

<sup>12</sup> *Faith and its Psychology*, p. 124.



decisive; they witness at first-hand to a fact—the Cross does somehow bring to the sinner the sense of forgiveness and the practical power of a new life. But the theological interpretations of this fact, found in Articles or Confessions, stand on a different footing; they are attempts to analyse and explain the experience, valuable, no doubt, but partial, inadequate and temporary.

The same principle may be applied widely to the Eucharist, the Inspiration of Scripture, to the Incarnation itself. The Church is the witness to the Resurrection, not because it is in a position infallibly to guarantee by supernatural evidence the historical accuracy of certain events, but because it can testify by a varied and ever-growing experience to the power of the living Christ. On this sort of witness we cannot lay too much stress.

Here, I think, we shall have the Bishop on our side. 'The Church exists to testify' to a Person and a Life, rather than to a Creed or a Theology. What is the ultimate relation between the two? We do not wish to prejudge the answer; it 'is the most anxious point of contemporary controversy.' We only ask that others shall not prejudge it on their side, and that it may be recognised that more than one answer may be given without disloyalty to the common faith.

The problem of the relationship between Christianity and modern thought is difficult, and requires the most careful handling. To insist that on such matters as the place and interpretation of the miraculous traditional orthodoxy has said the last word is obstinately to shut our eyes to the clear teaching of history, and to deny the abiding presence of the Spirit of God, working through many and various channels. The Church has tried the method of repression, and by common admission it has failed. Is it not wise enough and strong enough to rest with a consistent and practical faith on the fundamentally Christian principles of liberty, and the inherent power of truth? The experiment is at least worth a trial.

Much will be gained if it can be realised that in the present controversy all are at one as to the fundamental facts on which the real religious life of the Christian rests. Our discussion touches only the comparatively subsidiary points of the proof, the explanation, and the logical corollaries of those facts. 'The foundations will be cast down' has been the cry of the fearful in every generation; but when the storm has passed away, it is seen that the things which have been shaken are not foundations after all. For 'the Lord's seat is in heaven,' and the real source and the ultimate evidences of our Christian faith belong to a region where the searching winds of criticism cannot penetrate.

CYRIL W. EMMET.



## THE SOCIAL ENGLISH

THE general drift of these remarks will be extremely comfortable and pleasant and friendly, but a few reproving criticisms must occur in the course of them. I am told, and believe, that a critic of painting or music should be able to paint a little or play the piano, but he need not necessarily do it well. Everyone who lives in the world at all must have manners good or bad, but the critic of manners need not be assumed to approve of his own. Indeed, it is likely that the person more than usually keen to observe manners, being more than usually sensitive, should commit many faults of his own, from the acuteness of his feelings or from the over-subtlety of his efforts to study other people's. He will be more easily rebuffed, and, in consequence, silent or awkward, he will appear heartless to the less sensitive from fear of touching on what is painful, and so forth. For my part, I awake miserable in the night from some reminiscent dream of clumsy or offensive acts or words of mine, and I do not know that I can make that excuse. There is always something of a boomerang about criticism of manners, but now no reader is justified in assuming any odious self-complacency in me, no acquaintance in turning an ironical eye on me when next we meet. I am only a critic.

I do not propose to contradict Matthew Arnold. Much of what he observed in our life generally as hideous and base is unfortunately much the same. We revel in stupid murders, and some time ago the 'Life Story' of a wretched girl accused of complicity in one of them was advertised, written by her wretched father or mother, as the great attraction of a popular paper. My theme is a much narrower one, being only the English as they appear in the manners and talk of their social life. Even so it might well fill a big book, or a row of big books, for that matter. But since those books will never be written by me I may as well set down the notes which reading and a rather widely varied experience have suggested to me, even though they be rather outlines or headings for a more elaborate study than the study itself.

It is my belief that our manners are more agreeable and easy than they have ever been, are indeed distinctly civilised, and a credit to us generally. It would be, of course, a hopeless attempt to prove this conclusively and directly. One cannot quote a



1911

number of agreeable remarks and contrast them with less agreeable conversations preserved for us, and if one could the method would be fallacious. What I propose to do is to examine the causes which I think have produced the changes for the better in which I believe, to show how probable it is they should have produced such changes, and invite you to recollect your reading in memoirs and novels and plays of manners, and look about you and compare. I think you will then agree with me. We shall ramble about a good deal, excusably, I hope, since this article is a collection of notes and not a scientific treatise, and we shall dive now and then beneath the surface of appearances, and possibly—for this is my ambition—bring back with us a little pearl worth finding, a suggestion, to wit, for the quality in our social civilisation which distinguishes it from others, and for which, if we are to be overwhelmed and perish, the world would do well to mourn our disappearance. I see in fancy an arching of foreign eyebrows, but let the foreign reader bear with me to the end.

Let me first remove one obstacle to belief. Old people very often tell us that manners were better when they were young, and we, observing what charming manners the old people themselves have, are apt to think they must be right. It is an illusion. Old people have good manners because they are old, not because their manners were better than ours when they were young. They are no longer obsessed as are young people with their own passions and ambitions, and they have learned tolerance and to be merely amused by extravagant opinions, or if they have not their prejudices sit prettily on them. In every generation it is a common saying that manners have grown worse, and it is absurd to ask us to believe that they have progressively deteriorated since the days when people called one another bad names, and fought on the spot over a difference in opinion. Old people, too, are often referring to a different standard or principle, as when they complain of a lack of reverence in children towards their elders, not observing that the spirit of comradeship may be just as good a thing as the spirit of discipline. As an ageing person myself, I think it far more agreeable, and trust that my age at least will never be revered. But let us now get into the thick of the main subject.

Manners are of the head and the heart. Perfect manners can be only of both, because occasions there must be in social life when the heart is not a sufficient guide. A clever person with little or no heart may be better mannered as a rule if he takes pains than a good-natured person with little or no head; but when he falls, as he is pretty sure to fall some time, his selfishness or irritation betraying him, he falls with a thud. Indeed, it is curious to observe how often very clever people, with every reason to



conciliate those about them, offend from sheer bad nature, indifference to others' feelings, or brutal aggressiveness, whereas, when your clumsy, well-meaning fellow goes wrong, nobody who is not both fool and prig really minds, and one loves him the more after his apology, which usually makes the blunder worse. Now, I am sorry to say I cannot pretend for a moment that we English have been gaining in intelligence. The evidence is too sadly strong the other way. We are not what we were in matters for which we once had a special aptitude, and do please, look, though only for the briefest moment, at the mental quality of our popular papers and novels. Consequently it is improbable, to say the least, that examples of exquisite fine breeding should be more frequent than they were. That must be, say what you will, an affair partly of intelligence, of quick perception, imagination, the gift of the right word, with something of humour added, if our enjoyment is to be complete. I may say that the examples I know are nearly all of men, and somebody says that intellect is a male speciality : I would rather say that intellect in a woman is apt to be a little too conscious and proud of itself. I have read in the ingenious Mr. Chesterton that all men have bad manners except those under the immediate influence of women, who are the exemplars and guardians of manners, and I think he is altogether wrong. They may take it as an *amende* (or they may not—I am not at all sure) that the most perfect manners known to me are possessed by a woman, but she also has very rare gifts of perception and humour. Such fineness of breeding, however, in woman or man, must be rare, just as fine painting or poetry is rare, and moreover it needs some hard trial of circumstance before it can be surely known ; it is rare now, and I think it always was rare. It is not the theme of this article, which deals with a more average matter—the pleasant manners which are all the better for some intelligence, but are mainly based on friendliness and kindness. And it is quite certain that we English are a kinder people than we were. That is proved by many things. The worst blot on our history is the treatment of factory-workers, especially of women and children, in the beginning of our industrial prosperity ; the treatment may be hard still, but it is no longer inhuman. Our care for the sick and old, and our attitude to prisoners and offenders against the law prove the change. Our tenderness and solicitude for children run into an unwholesome worship of them here and there, but think of the unfortunate ' Fairchild family ' ! Every middle-aged person must have noticed the disappearance of brutality in our dealings with the other animals. Without any doubt at all we are kinder all round. There are observers who say that we are softer all round, and that this kindness is but the agreeable side of it, the other being loss of courage and endurance



1911

and manhood. 'When Britain set the world ablaze, in good King George's glorious days,' we were harsher and hardier.

Well, we may be softer, and if so, it is a pity, but that has nothing to do with kindness, for in civilised peoples the bravest men are nearly always the gentlest. In any case we *are* kinder, and it is inevitable that the fact should appear in our ordinary social intercourse. And surely and obviously it does so. Do but remember not only the rows and scimmages of olden days, but the rude encounters of the 'wits' in more recent times, the incessant effort to 'score' at any cost to somebody else's feelings. The idea of social intercourse seems to have been a hostile encounter or competition; it is now, or is becoming, as it should be, an occasion merely of mutual pleasure. If the 'art of conversation,' which is alleged to be dead, involved necessarily all the competitive rudeness and snubbing of which one reads, the monologues and breezes, I should rejoice at its decease, but, of course, it did not necessarily involve them. One who was considered, and rightly, as of the very best talkers of our time, was remarkable, even more than for his own wit, for the skilful sympathy with which he appealed to and drew out the previously silent: he is dead, alas! but he would be only middle-aged were he still with us. That is the true model, and I think it is followed unconsciously more often than it was. And even when there is no occasion for it, when there is no predominant wit but everyone is talking, well or not, happily together, I would rather by far be of that company than of one when the most brilliant talker you like was exercising his wit at the expense of a butt who did not enjoy it. Would not you also? The mere monologist, however clever, is universally voted a bore among us: the wit who wanted to crush people, like Samuel Rogers, we simply would not tolerate. All this is because we are kinder, and whether it means that we are less brilliant or not, it certainly means that we are better-mannered.

This point is as good as another at which to dispose of the objection that our conversation is rough because it is so full of chaff and slang. It really is not an absolute rule that formality and punctilio imply good manners. There are occasions, no doubt, when these are necessary, and when chaff would be offensive, but they are rare, happily, and the occasions are more numerous when formality would be even more offensive, because it would be unfriendly. You must pass this truism, because it may serve to correct a vague but prevalent idea, that various societies we read of which had more forms and ceremonies than ours therefore had better manners. The contemporary English might be the better, perhaps, for a little more ceremony in public: a little more hat-raising, for instance, when men enter a shop served by women,



or enter a restaurant, would do them no harm. But the ceremonies of our ancestors often went with a good deal of rudeness. In the old plays, where everyone was everyone else's humble servant, what rude things they said! And gentlemen who were always sweeping their hats with a profound bow not infrequently dashed them in one another's faces. Formality, like familiarity, may be well or ill timed. But assuredly chaff is, at its best, the salt of conversation. It is a mistake to suppose that it is a modern invention, because it is a natural human instinct among friends, and one finds it scattered everywhere in history. You find it in Plato's dialogues, in the letters to George Selwyn, in the jokes of the Regency—where it was very poor and coarse. It is the accusers of our manners, however, who allege that it distinguishes our time especially, and we will accept their allegation. The more chaff of the right sort the better, say I. It bridges gaps in acquaintance, it produces an atmosphere of intimacy more quickly than anything else, and even when it is barren it fills with a fair appearance the place of the wit which is lacking. Like everything else, it may be used excessively, and it is a bore when some of us would argue seriously; but that is a defect of intelligence, not of manners. So with slang. Slang is a bore when people will use the same word or phrase of it to express anything, but there again it is intelligence, not manners, that is at fault. Slang in itself, which most often is simply a new or revived metaphor, seems to me rather preferable as an ornament of speech to the oaths of our ancestors, though I am no pronounced enemy of oaths, either. Here, again, I am set off at a tangent, like Sterne, and would there were more resemblances!—in regard to oaths. Swearing is said to be an occasionally offensive feature of modern manners, being used, that is, when it should not be used. If that be true I fancy the explanation to be this. Among themselves our males—I hope I do not offend my associates—do not object to strong language when they know one another fairly well. They avoid it instinctively in the society of ladies. But some ladies, in these days, like their ancestresses, do not object to it either, and even use it themselves, and then, of course, there are no bad manners in the men who swear within limits, because nobody is annoyed. The male mind, however, may grow confused by this licence and lose its instinctive restraint in the matter, and so an occasional stray word may be dropped unawares and unfortunately. The same explanation may apply to a story or joke offensive to the propriety of the last generation, and told to an unhappily chosen audience in this. One hears such a complaint now and then. But I do not think such things often happen, and they are but a small affair. . . . Less formality on the one side, more chaff and slang on the other, what does it all mean but that as our social civilisation improves strict rules are



1911

found less needful, and natural fun and emphasis can have freer play? Chaff and slang make for ease and friendliness, and these, after all, are the basis of good manners.

In this connexion there may as well be a separate paragraph about the manners of the young and adolescent. I have just read again an essay of Mr. Max Beerbohm, in which he attacks quite bitterly the manners of contemporary young women. Well, I am some years older than he, and have arrived at a time of middle life at which one is not apt to be a harsh critic of young women. I am sure, however, that he is far happier in the company of contemporary girls than he would have been with those of 1820, whose manners he eulogises so wistfully. In one respect I agree with him. It is a pity that the teaching of a graceful deportment should have gone out of fashion—I mean in the matter of moving and sitting, and so forth. I have in mind a lady who was taught those arts by Taglioni, and whose movements certainly shame the girls of the period. But when it comes to conversation the girls of this period, being more individual and articulate, are a world more interesting than those of a hundred years ago, who would have bored Mr. Beerbohm to death, and I question if their manners are not better also. They are sometimes too brusque and downright: that is a fault of self-conceit, and theirs is more respectable than their ancestresses, because it comes from a good opinion of their own wits and perceptions, and not from infallible maxims and views laid down for them. Downrightness, too, shows interest. I would far rather that a girl who disagreed with me were to say, as nowadays she might say, 'Oh, that's frightful rot!' and proceed to argue vehemently, than that she should give me a frigid 'Indeed! I fear I cannot agree with you,' and change the subject. The former, in my opinion, would be the better mannered of the two. As for the very young men, Mr. Beerbohm rightly condemns their slouching and inattention to appearances, which compulsory military service, as I hope, will cure in them. I do not find anything to complain of in their attitude to myself: rather the contrary, indeed, since it seems to me less aloof and retiring than ours was twenty years ago, to men of my age. Mr. Beerbohm arraigns their casual carriage towards girls of their own age, but I will explain how that happens, and why he should be easy about it, a little later; there is a more creditable reason than the numerical preponderance of women in England to which he is driven. We must now go back to the causes.

The increasing kindness and humanity of the English, then, I take to be the chief cause, perhaps, of their greater ease and amiability in society. That is a good cause, and operates altogether in a good manner. There is another cause which may be good or bad, but which operates sometimes through the less



fine qualities of poor humanity. I refer to the ever greater fluidity of our classes, which is a commonplace of social observation. We are mixed up socially every day with greater and greater freedom. It is true that certain gloomy observers see emerging from our economic circumstances a plutocracy which will form a real caste. I hope that will not happen, and as I am not dealing with the future, I may disregard the possibility. What the manners of such an avowed plutocracy would be like I do not know, and with all my optimism would rather not guess. M. Anatole France's prophecies in his *Iles des Pingouins* were not encouraging. For the present, if we are governed by a plutocracy it is good enough to mask its authority in social intercourse, and does not prevent the fluidity of classes I spoke of. Now, in a rigid caste system the manners of each caste may be good within itself, and are less likely to be good as between caste and caste. The family party—I had written 'happy family,' but what with its duels and divorces it was hardly that—the family party which formed the English aristocracy in Horace Walpole's or Charles Fox's time was certainly easy, and was very tolerably amiable, I should think, in its internal manners; the country gentry were rather rough; the middle classes were stiff and dull, as until lately they remained; the lower orders were distressingly brutal. The manners of superior caste to inferior caste I am sure were of an extreme arrogance and patronage on the whole. Well, these distinctions have been continuously losing their significance, though convenience still enforces the invidious use of them in writing. The aristocracy has still much power, but it is also partly an element of the plutocracy and partly an illusion; nobody could perform the tiresome task of defining the middle classes; the lower orders, bad as their economic condition is often, have often, also, scant cause to envy those who aforetime were their immediate superiors, and so far as social life goes, do gain something from the lip homage paid to equality. And the whole thing is being mixed up, though social distinctions remain more rigid in the lower than in the higher strata. Now, when these classes first began to mingle there must have been a great deal of patronising manner and conceit, and giving of airs on one side, and a great deal of unsocial watchfulness and degrading servility on the other. Snobbishness in any ordinary sense is impossible in a rigid caste system: it gets its head when the barriers are broken down. As time has gone on, however, I see, comparing one thing with another, a great improvement. Partly kindness and humanity, as I said, but partly a reason less noble—decreasing power and stability on one side, increasing possibility of power on the other. Let me illustrate. When, fifty years ago or so, an average duke made the acquaintance of an unknown



1911

Mr. Smith, I am sure his manner, however affable, was patronising to an extent which would be extremely unpopular now, while Mr. Smith was generally diffident and obsequious in a degree which made pleasant intercourse impossible. But the average duke to-day is aware, I feel pretty sure, that dukes are not quite what they were, that he is in a way on his trial, and had best be conciliatory on the whole; while this unknown Mr. Smith may turn out to be a remarkably important fellow. The wide and constantly changing mixture involves much ignorance about chance acquaintances. Smith, on his side, is not awed as his predecessor was, to begin with, and then if, unlike you and me, he has not humanity enough to take his duke simply, without worrying about the dukedom, he is probably anxious above all things—thanks to the anti-snob satirists—to dissimulate his snobbishness, and if he makes a mistake it is probably in the direction of an inverted snobbishness, of a too easy familiarity. So here and in a thousand like cases qualities not the noblest in us work on the whole for a comfortable sociality. Of course I know that the worst manners on the face of the earth belong to those successfully aspiring snobs who are short-sighted enough to slight their old acquaintances, or to snobs who are afraid that too great intimacy, or even association, with people (infinitely their betters, very likely) not in favour with the common world may prejudice their own miserable ambitions. But these, I sincerely hope and believe, are rare exceptions whom a more enlightened community will merely push into a lethal chamber on the first offence. On the whole, when snobbishness is at all illuminated by intelligent self-interest it works for conciliation and bonhomie in the sphere of manners. . . . In the mixture of classes, again, manners have filtered down, inevitably, and those of the upper classes used certainly to be better, because more natural and less embarrassed, than those of the classes technically beneath them. There are people who are annoyed by a lack of deference toward them in shops and so forth. I cannot sympathise with them, and I believe that real dignity seldom fails of respect. The manners of class to class, not only in equal social intercourse, but in all the occasions of service, are infinitely more agreeable than they were. Even the suddenly enriched learn by observation that a *de haut en bas* manner to waiters and shopkeepers is not the best. And what young man of fashion would dream in these days of calling his valet 'scoundrel' and 'rascal,' as was the common custom aforetime if we believe the books and plays? I am told that in this respect, at least, of our attitude towards technical inferiors, we much-criticised English may be favourably compared with some peoples abroad. That a real democracy exists anywhere may be



doubted. But an apparent democracy by making for a common form in manners tends vastly to improve them—when there is a good model for imitation, which fortunately we English have possessed.

This slight comparison brings me to one of greater significance, to that dive below the surface of which I spoke at the beginning, to the pearl I fondly hope may be found there. The English, I truly believe, have 'rounded Cape Turk' at last, or at least the best of them have done so, and if that is the fact indeed, then surely our English civilisation has achieved something of its own. There is the Mussulman attitude to women. I have no quarrel with it; travellers have told me that it promotes the greatest happiness of the greatest number; I daresay it does. There is the attitude of chivalry, or of idealised chivalry. I have no quarrel with that either when it is genuine, for then it is a beautiful thing. As an attitude of a man to a woman there may be found in it the deepest happiness known to us, our strongest instincts and our least petty and selfish qualities of the spirit working together. I count him wise who worships what he finds kindest and sanest and finest in humanity; I count him most happy if he finds that in a woman; I count the cynic who calls him the mere dupe of sex a fool. But that attitude I praise as one of a man to a woman, the fruit of deep and intimate experience, and only so can it be approved by sense as well as sentiment. As an attitude of men to women generally it is rarely genuine, and then it is a beautiful folly; it is more often a sham, and one remembers that when the sentimental worship of women was most popular with us the usage of women in factories was most vile. There is a third attitude, that professed by modern Western civilisation, as to beings free to think and act for themselves, and worthy of attention on equal terms. It does not exclude the saner chivalry, and the man, happy in knowing one woman whose welfare is more to him than his own, to whom he is in a real sense devoted, is precisely the man who most easily can treat the other women of his world in a vein of rational friendship and acquaintance, with no perpetual obsession of their sex. The road of progress which Western life has followed in regard to women may be in one sense a return, if we believe the story of their position in the Germanic tribes of old, may be a re-assertion of our racial spirit after its centuries-long thralldom to alien influences and authority. St. Paul—I trust I may mention the fact without offence—was an Asiatic. In any case we have followed that road for a long time now, and it is futile to hope for a return: there is the stationary Eastern ideal, and there is the moving Western: we must take one or the other.

In other countries as well as in England this road has been



1911

followed, and I do not know that ours is distinguished by any wise lead in respect to material equalities and opportunities for women. That subject is beset with the gravest difficulties, and fortunately it is quite beside my purpose to discuss it. If women should have votes, if they should hold importantly responsible positions, if wives should labour in factories—these questions let others dispute. They are doing so with much heat, and as it seems to me, with much disposition to ignore the essential: I agree with the 'advanced' party in some respects, disagree in others, as my customary fate is in most discussions. My special point is that in social life, in the attitude of men to women as they talk and take their social pleasures together, we English have gone, and gone wisely, beyond the other peoples of the West in a sincere respect and friendliness which has nothing to do with sex. I mean that the most amiable of us accept and show that we accept our women friends on their merits as social creatures simply. Heaven forbid I should affirm that we have abolished the indirect consequences of sex. Most miserable then were we to have lost so much of the savour and fun of life. For my part I should think most of the charm of social life gone if I ceased to prefer a reasonably attractive woman as a companion to a man of equal conversational gifts. I mean that we are not obsessed by sex, are not always thinking of it in regard to the women we meet. It is very likely indeed that the reader knows more of foreign people than I, and I am very sorry if his knowledge will not support me. All I can say is that such experience and reading and indirect knowledge as I have convince me that the Latin civilisation has never really gone beyond regarding women from the sexual view only. Of course that does not appear too openly or offensively among well-bred people. But the man of the Latin civilisation—which of course is wider than the so-called Latin races—seems to me, in his social intercourse, to be dominated entirely by the fact whether or no the women he meets attract him as women. Within the range of their civilisation other people may be more civilised than we: in this attitude to women I believe we have extended civilisation beyond the old range, have achieved or are achieving something new: pity, I think, if we have no time given us to improve on the experiment. Meredith said that true comedy began only when women were admitted to a social equality; social civilisation, I think, is only perfect where that equality is real, and where, therefore, a fact which after all is irrelevant to social occasions no longer dominates them.

In all this I have written perhaps a little too absolutely, but if that is so it was to make my point with reasonable brevity. It is certainly far from me to accuse my countrymen of a priggish exclusion of natural feelings in society, of imperceptiveness or



dulness before physical beauty in women. A face fair beyond others, a charm which is distinctively feminine—those qualities must first engage the attention of natural man everywhere, and most often continue to hold the first place in his regard. But we do not—the amiable of us—allow them to confuse a sensible equality of attitude in social life, which we feel would be unfair to their possessor as well as to others. I think, too—and will no attractive woman of cosmopolitan experience support me?—that their possessor, consulting an English lawyer or doctor, would have a greater certainty of his repressing the emotions they might excite and attending strictly to her case than if she were consulting his foreign colleagues. I have heard so. To put it roughly, we make love when we make love, but we do not make half love on inappropriate occasions, counting it ill manners. That at least is our intention, and when we fall short of it we are criticised. A deeper philosopher than I may find some inner cause in our nature for the change. We are not less philoprogenitive than other men. Is it not possible, indeed, that a constant preoccupation with sex is more likely to fritter away real passion than to strengthen it? But I will leave the matter there : after all, I remind myself that, whatever our social merits, we are prudes in our reception of public utterances, and that I am not writing a scientific treatise. . . . Whatever unseen cause may produce this change or advance, its effect on our manners is obviously great. Dried up is the perpetual stream of personal compliments in which we were wont to paddle, and which other nations use more or less copiously still. I fear our excellent grandfathers were often clumsy at the business, and I am sure that contemporary Frenchmen are skilful and tactful at it, but I think our custom is the more comfortable even if we could be as witty as they. It must surely be a bore for a beautiful woman with brains that her face should never be taken for granted, even as those ladies among us who are public orators resent the reporting of their clothes to the exclusion of their speeches. Then, too, in the day of personal compliments what was done about the plain and unattractive women? If they were left out it was invidious ; if they were brought in it was patently insincere, and therefore (I should imagine) offensive. Oh, no, ours is the more comfortable course. No doubt our equal and friendly attitude may err on the side of roughness. We should know when our attitude of absolute equality is unacceptable, as it may be to foreign ladies, and is, and should be, to old ladies of any country. Mr. Beerbohm rightly rebukes young men who are too off-hand, but I trust I have shown him that this fault comes from a better cause than he supposed, and may be called a fault on the right side. Chaff of a woman may be rude, but so may be chaff of a man. That is the fault of a naturally bluff people.



1911

but surely the risk of meeting with it is a small price for women to pay if they are relieved from an insincere and tiresome deference. They will not miss, in consequence, any of the real homage which is reserved for their private ears.

Such are the causes which in my opinion have produced in the last generation or so, and more particularly in the last twenty years, a very great improvement in our English manners, rendering them far more natural and easy and agreeable. That they are sometimes rough I have admitted, but I do not admit that they are rougher in a bad sense than they were, believing that formality can go hand-in-hand with great essential roughness to other people's feelings. I wonder how far the reader has agreed with me in all this. If only a little or not at all, I should like to hear his objections and reason with him. He may be under an historical illusion. I think the pretty ceremonies with which we credit the past are greatly extended by tradition, especially by stage tradition. A certain sedateness and gravity of culture, for example, may well have distinguished the Court of Charles the First, but that may have been lost before the Restoration in the turmoil and camp-life of the Civil War, and yet the second Charles remarked to a remonstrating bishop that 'Your martyr swore twice as much as I.' People of exceptionally fine breeding (like Charles the Second himself) shine in history, but we must not take their manners as typical. Or, again, the reader may be thinking of the whole interest of society, and confuse social attitudes and manners with the intellectual content of our talk. That very possibly, I fear probably, has declined, but he must not be misguided by brilliant exceptions here, too, or believe that society in general ever talked as it talks in Meredith's works: Thackeray with his accurate ear for banalities is his better guide. Or he may be misled by modern discomfort, by the general hurrying from place to place which is the result of our much vaunted inventions. I quite agree with him that this is an extremely stupid phase of civilisation, and I trust it will pass when people discover that it is pleasanter to stay for three weeks in one place than to pay seven different visits of three days each. That does affect manners evilly in so far as the older plan of hospitality made for serenity and familiarity: they have improved in spite of it. That is a trivial thing, however, and I am reminded that there may be triviality to spare in this article already. The subject compelled a good deal of it, I think, but I trust that some suggestion of what is not trivial has somehow been involved. I said at the beginning, however, that it was not a scientific treatise.

G. S. STREET.



*WILL CHINA BREAK UP?*

AMONG the world-wide symptoms of unrest at the present moment the rebellion in China, affecting, as it does, about a quarter of the human race, is the most important in its far-reaching possibilities. Day by day we hear of the accession of different provinces to the revolutionary propaganda, and it would appear as if not alone the Manchu dynasty, but the monarchical system that has in one shape or another lasted for thousands of years is about to be swept away as lightly as thistle-down is blown before a gentle breeze, at a moment's notice, and without previous agitation among an unlettered and peculiarly conservative population of 400,000,000.

Before we lightly accept this outcome of the present situation it will be well to consider in broad lines the grave internal troubles that China has overcome in the past, and the conditions under which the mass of the Chinese people live in the present.

The modern history of China practically begins with the Han dynasty, B.C. 206 to A.D. 220, during which Canton, Fu-kien and Yunnan were added to the empire, and Szechuen was colonised, followed by the T'sin dynasty from A.D. 265 to 419; and after a succession of short-lived dynasties established by successful adventurers the T'ang dynasty was founded, 618-907, during which, by the way, at the siege of Tai-yuen, cannon were used in the defence that threw stone shot of 12 lb. 300 paces. After a series of petty dynasties and general anarchy the Sung dynasty was established in 960-1126, but were displaced by the Manchu Tartars, the Kins, who compelled the Chinese to shave their heads after the present fashion; hence the custom of all Chinese rebels is to allow the hair to grow in its natural manner.

The founder of the succeeding Ming dynasty was first a Buddhist priest, then rebel soldier, and ultimately successful commander, when, having driven out the foreign ruler, he established his capital at Nankin, and founded a dynasty that lasted from 1368 to 1628, the period having its full share of wars and uprisings, the last Emperor committing suicide on his defeat by a Tartar chieftain. The aid of the Manchus was sought to expel the usurper, which they did after a contest lasting for forty years.



1911

and themselves established the Ts'ing dynasty in 1644, the present representative of which is the infant Emperor, whose destiny now hangs in the balance.

It must not be assumed, therefore, that China has reached her present position through a long period of somnolence. On the contrary, for over two thousand years the eighteen great provinces that now form the 'Middle Kingdom,' exclusive of Manchuria and Mongolia, have been conquered and reconquered, concentrated and separated from time to time, so that Chinese use as a proverb 'Long divided we unite, long united we divide.' There were serious rebellions in 1661, in the reign of the Emperor Kang-hi, when four provinces, and in 1796, in Kiaking's reign, when twelve provinces revolted, and three hundred cities were destroyed; and the Mohammedan rising in 1856 cost the lives of many thousands. But the gravest crisis in the modern history of China was the Taeping rebellion. The Southern Chinese have never freely accepted the Manchu rule, and in the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung various secret societies inimical to the Government, including the well-known and influential Triad Society, have long existed. The result of our early war with China, in the complete success of our military operations, had shaken the belief in the power of the Manchus, and in 1851 Hung Seu Tsuen, a native of Kwangtung, who had attracted to his propaganda several thousand followers, raised the standard of rebellion and proclaimed his intention to expel the Manchus and establish the 'Taeping,' or native dynasty of Universal Peace. The rebellion began by capturing some villages and ravaging the country, as usual in Chinese troubles. They swept from village to village, city to city, province to province, leaving desolation behind them, and gathering an immense army, with which the various cities were garrisoned, until at length it was computed that the Tien Wang, or Heavenly King, which title Hung Seu Tsuen had adopted, had at his command between four and five hundred thousand men. He had adopted a blasphemous parody of Christianity as the basis of a system controlled by him and five friends whom he had associated with him as rulers, with kingly titles, and for a time his supposed Christian principles attracted the sympathy of some missionaries.

The Taipings captured Hankow in 1852 and Wuchang in 1853, where they accumulated much loot and provisions, and moved down the Yangtze river, where they captured Nankin in March, and massacred 30,000 Manchus; there Tien Wang established his court. The Chinese Government, which had no regular standing army, sent Imperial troops probably no better armed or disciplined than the rebels to oppose them, but the rebels had the best of the game. They lived on plunder, and their



approach to the large cities set in motion all the turbulent elements, who looked forward with confidence to an orgy of looting and excesses.

From this period the Taepings held possession of Nankin, which is surrounded by a splendid wall thirty-five miles in circumference. Their hordes marched over sixteen of the eighteen provinces, and even threatened Peking; their commanders were equal in strategical ability to those of the Imperial and provincial troops, and they were joined by some European adventurers, while they drew supplies of arms and munitions of war from Macao. The Imperial Government laboured under the disadvantage of the semi-independent position allowed to the viceroys, each of whom looked upon other viceroyalties as practically foreign countries with whose fate they had but little concern. With the departure of the devastating hordes over their own borders they rested content, and considered it no duty on their part to assist the neighbouring viceroy whose province was being attacked. So matters continued, foreign countries preserving strict neutrality, until the Taeping General Chung Wang proceeded to attack Shanghai. The various concessions were put in a state of defence, and a large volunteer force embodied. The attack was made and repulsed.

A wanton attack upon our boats at Wompoa at length determined the French and English admirals to take action, and a series of operations were undertaken. In 1860 a force of foreigners, Manilla men and others, was raised by Ward and Burgevine, two American soldiers of fortune, and paid by the Chinese merchants. Chinese were also enlisted. This force, which had named itself the 'Ever Victorious Army,' did good service, and ultimately reached the number of 5000. In 1862 General Ward was killed. At the time Colonel Forester was second in command. He declined the command, which devolved upon Burgevine. The latter was unpopular with the Chinese merchants who paid the force, and with Li Hung Chang, with whose troops it was operating. Representation being made to General Staveley, then in command of the British troops, he applied for permission to lend an English officer: Burgevine was dismissed by the Chinese authorities, and Captain Holland, Royal Marines, was placed in command pending instructions from our Minister, Sir James Bruce. On receipt of his approval the force was in March 1863 handed over to Major Gordon, R.E., who from these unpromising materials created a disciplined and effective fighting force, and, during the operations until the destruction of the rebel leaders and disbandment of the force, showed those magnificent qualities as a leader and a man that shone so brightly from that day until his abandonment to a hero's death at Khartoum. During



1911

his advance to attack Yesing, after the taking of Suchow, they found the people in the villages in the last stage of starvation and eating the flesh of those who had died.

This was the condition of Southern China at the close of the Taeping rebellion, which had lasted for fourteen years and is computed to have cost the lives of over twenty-two millions of people.

This was but forty-six years ago, and from the accounts we may estimate the probable procedure of a general uprising, should it take place. There is some reason to believe that the Boxer conspiracy also was originally aimed at the Manchu dynasty, but was afterwards turned against the foreigners, who are as unpopular with the mass of the Chinese people as they ever have been.

The immediate origin of the present movement was the opposition to the foreign loan for the construction of the Szechuen railway, but this was only a symptom of the feeling that railways built by foreign loans and under foreign control are a danger to the aspiration of young China for development uncontrolled from without. Numbers of Chinese students have visited and studied in Japan, Europe and the United States, and a large proportion regard the republican as the ideal form of government. The Western learning is recommended as a means to an end, but it would be a hardy assumption that the end aimed at is such free intercourse with foreigners as obtains among the nations of more advanced civilisation. 'China for the Chinese' is a fine cry with which one instinctively sympathises, but the new wine fermenting in old bottles has yet to produce certain definitions that are unsettled. What China? Is it Monarchical China or Republican China? Is it to be one great republic or eighteen republics? The two Kwangs (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) have already proclaimed their republic and 'elected' their President at Canton. Are these provinces, free and independent, to arrange their own customs? and, if so, what is to become of the Imperial Customs as guarantee for Chinese foreign loans? Is each independent province to appoint a representative to foreign Courts, and is it to deal direct with foreign powers respecting the many cases of friction that arise from time to time? If on the other hand China means a federation of independent States under a president, how is the latter to be selected? The most active minds in China are the Southerners, but they are not favourites, and Canton would have but a poor chance of seeing one of her sons in that position. To a native of Chi-li a Cantonese is more a foreigner than a Manchu. This was forcibly brought to my notice during the Boxer troubles, when a number of Cantonese gentlemen waited upon me in Hong Kong, in great distress on account of their sons who were at the Chinese University in



Tientsin. They said that their sons were considered foreigners, and could only show themselves abroad at the risk of their lives. They begged me to use my good offices in having the young men sent down, and were prepared to pay \$10,000 if a ship could be chartered. I telegraphed to our Consul giving my guarantee up to that amount, who kindly chartered a ship and sent the young men down, to the great relief of their parents, who at once paid the money. Assuming the success of this revolutionary movement for the present, its leaders will be face to face with an entirely new problem. The idealists picture a settled and law-abiding community aglow with patriotism and burning with a desire to record their vote. The facts of Chinese life do not, unfortunately, quadrate with these ideals. China has for all these centuries been controlled by violence and financed by 'squeezes' modified by bribery. These ugly principles are crystallised by custom until a working system has been evolved that almost neutralises the pinch of the executive shoe. The working agriculturist having paid his very modest rice tax has no fear of any further interference from the Government, but on the other hand he enjoys no protection from robbery, which is frequent, and is usually carried out by armed gangs. The traders and merchants afford the hunting-ground for the forced benevolences for viceroy, governor, magistrate, or other official. Those who can afford it secure a guard for their houses. China is accustomed to violence. If a district becomes too bad a force of 'braves' is sent there, who relentlessly destroy those whom they are satisfied are bad characters. In the towns the pawn offices, which are really the storehouses for valuables, are strongly fortified buildings, with every precaution for defence. All the great cities contain a large proportion of turbulent people ready to take the fullest advantage of disturbance, political or otherwise, by violence and pillage.

Upon communities such as these the dogs of war have been let loose. Hankow and Wuchang are in ruins, and in Nankin the Manchu garrison have repaid in kind the Manchu massacre of 1853. So far, foreigners and their property have been respected, and I have no doubt that the revolutionary leaders will continue to respect them to the best of their ability. But if the rebellion be opposed by faithful Imperial troops, and the passions of the people be again aroused to anything like the pitch attained in the Taeping rebellion, foreigners will be safe only within reach of their protecting forces.

To forecast the future is no easy task, but remembering that the character of the people has not changed, it is not unwarrantable to assume that like causes will produce like effects.

So far as we know at present the forces of the provinces of the West and South have revolted. These forces are not homo-



1911

geneous, and, save where some troops are foreign drilled by foreign officers, can be little better than an armed mob with a medley of arms and ammunition, ill-officered and incoherent. Brave they may be, for in the Taeping rebellion both sides on occasions fought bravely; but while for the present enthusiastic subscriptions may supply the funds to pay them, the upkeep of an army with its supplies is an expensive business, and already we read that at Suchow the revolutionaries are short of funds, and the people refuse to pay any rice tax, which has, they claim, been abolished. It is clear that in the event of a struggle money must be procured, or the rebellious armies must 'eat up the country,' repeating the desolation of the terrible Taeping times. Nor can the leaders be certain that under sufficient inducement, not unknown in Chinese troubles, their best commanders or most effective troops may not declare for the Imperial Government while the delegates at Shanghai are debating on the creation of federated united States out of the different races and languages that still form the Chinese Empire; with possibly a whisper of apprehension as to the possible predatory action of certain foreign countries who may fancy a slice of territory here or there when the process of disintegration has really set in.

It is not even now certain that the reformers are all of one mind. Sun Yat Sen is, of course, a Republican, as he has been named as probable president; but Kang Yu Wei was devoted to the late Emperor, to whom his reforming enthusiasm brought such misfortune, and is probably a Monarchist, seeing that everything that he advised or that the Republicans demand has been conceded already by the Regent on behalf of the child Emperor.

Again, there are certain observances connected with the religious worship of China for which an Emperor is required, except China at large is prepared to change her religious customs at the bidding of the 'Intelligents,' to my mind a far-fetched assumption. These considerations impress me with the view that with whatever seeming enthusiasm the flag of rebellion has been raised the leaders are face to face with stupendous difficulties if a compact army of well-drilled Imperial troops remain faithful.

By the *Statesman's Year Book* of 1910 I find that the foreign-drilled Imperial army numbered 60,000, of which 20,000 are in garrison in Manchuria and Mongolia, and the remainder are quartered in Hupeh, Kiangsu, Kiangsi, and Honan. There are, therefore, no foreign-drilled troops in the South, and we have no statement that the 20,000 men in Mongolia and Manchuria have revolted.

In 1900, when I visited Hankow, the Viceroy, Chang-chi-tung, kindly invited me to see his troops on manœuvres in the neighbourhood, and placed an officer and his secretary at my disposal.



The plan of operations was lithographed, the ground being properly contoured. There were 8000 troops present, commanded on that day by Japanese officers, the day's operations being criticised by German officers, who would next day have command, with their Japanese confrères as critics. I rode through the different lines and examined some of the arms, which were in perfect order, while the men were well dressed and equipped. When in position the fire control was excellent, and while there was a want of instruction in skirmishing or taking cover in advancing, with a lofty disregard to the effect of what on service would be a withering artillery fire, I was most favourably impressed with the bearing and keenness of the men. Later on I saw about six thousand men drilling at Shan-hai-quan, who performed their evolutions with precision. I have no doubt that armies such as these, if properly led, would give a good account of any Southern troops that they might meet, and of course the situation is dependent upon the question whether such drilled troops sufficient to form a division are available for Yuan Shi Kai, and if he determines to use them.

At a crisis like this no man at a distance—and probably no man on the spot outside the inner circle—can venture to form an opinion as to the fate of the dynasty. The effete so-called Tartar Army that has rotted in the provincial capitals, forbidden to marry Chinese or to enter into any business or trade, has gone, and the fact that the throne is occupied by a child Emperor, whose policy can be settled by ministers as freely appointed under a new constitution as any body elected by a republic, would seem an ideal conjunction at which to make the most extreme constitutional changes without destroying the monarchical principle that is interwoven with the ceremonial religious customs of the people. But within thirteen centuries no Chinese dynasty has lasted longer than 287 years. The Ming dynasty lasted for 255 years, and the years of the present dynasty number 267. Will this be considered a factor in the mind of Yuan Shi Kai? and will he come as a deliverer, or shall we see the strong man gratify a possible ambition after the manner of Eastern strong men all down the centuries? In either case, given sufficient money, I should plump for his chances. A successful revolution of discordant States would assuredly result in chaos.

HENRY A. BLAKE.



1911

## SOME REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH KNIGHT

SOMETHING more deserves to be said concerning Joseph Knight than the brief notices which appeared at the time of his death in 1907. He is not forgotten, though there was never a man so unassuming and so indifferent to the sort of notoriety now supposed to be reputation. Frequent tributes of regard and affection for him came to me after his death, and still continue to come. There was no one like him for his friends, many of whom feel with the veteran Shakespearean Dr. Furness that 'a cantle of London is gone with him.' There is surely more in such feelings than a mere sense of the gaiety which irradiated any company, and I hope with the help of his family and friends to show what sort of man Joseph Knight was.

In a sense all the world knew him, and was the better for the sight of him, the youngest of veterans, undefeated by the whips of time or the caprices of fortune. But it is possible to be at once genial and reserved, and Knight gave his fullest confidence to a few only. To have been one of these is the happiest of memories.

'When I'm gone, I might be worth a magazine article,' he said half humorously one day when we were talking of the 'inane munus' of the obituary notice. 'But I daresay the old man will be of little interest. His reputation will "hang like a rusty nail in monumental mockery."'

I took him up with more Shakespeare, and his own just contention that there was nothing of the old man in his conversation: that he was young in his perpetual appreciation of the youngster. He was all gaiety in a moment, full of the disappointments, deeply felt at the time, which had after all brought him the very career he wished. 'I do not think,' he added, 'I could have had a happier life.' Of his early days Mr. John C. Francis has given a pleasant sketch in *Notes by the Way*. There was a period when he, the man of splendid physique and magnificent vitality, was condemned as a boy to early death for organic disease of the heart! Doctors were wrong, but did him good, for he was able to browse among fields and books at large, and thus, like Walter Scott, laid the foundations of his commanding erudition in English poetry. When he went to school, as Mr. Francis reports, he won the prize for memory by repeating the First Book of *Paradise*



*Lost*, and going on with the *Second* until all his competitors were obviously outdistanced. His popularity was shown by his election as *dix* of his school—the natural reward, one would imagine, of his personal gifts—but the real question was whether a boy disqualified by the knowledge of Pope and Byron could be put above his fellows, since learning at school wins, or used to win, some such recognition as the Moslem award to a fanatic. It is a thing to be respected, but in itself undesirable. In a competition for a story Knight was nowhere, and he had not the architectonic gift which goes to the making of a play or a novel. No worse a critic for that, perhaps!

With great *velleities* (to use one of his characteristic words) for literature he stuck to his father's business at Leeds as a cloth merchant, and it was only a striking incident that changed his career. He happened to be on a jury, and his handling of the case was so able that he was advised to go to the Bar. He came to London, became a barrister, and was for some time a joyous denizen of the Temple. But he never practised, and was quickly led away to his real love—literature. Years after he was offered the unusual distinction of becoming a Bencher of his Inn, and with admirable good sense refused it as a prize that should belong only to working members of the profession. His early activity in letters was journalism on the *Literary Gazette*, later called the *Parthenon*. Here he and Viscount Morley were the chief hands, and sometimes produced practically a whole number between them. But the paper, as its later name showed, felt the handicap of a more potent rival and went under.

It was dramatic criticism, due to a chance meeting with Viscount Morley, which proved the main business of Knight's long years of London life. It should, however, be mentioned that he did many literary reviews—even up to his last years—for the *Athenæum*, exercising especially that taste for poetry which, he contended, approached science in a mind properly trained, and, unlike Jeffrey's, possessed with a natural feeling for it. One anecdote from past days may be recalled. He had reviewed in the *Athenæum* (the 1st of April 1876) the verse of his friend Lord Houghton, and described it as 'a little above the bards who celebrate domestic affections and household incidents. At his best he approaches Procter, at his worst he subsides to the level of Eliza Cook.'

The secret of the reviewer was kept, and it was just as well, for Lord Houghton told Knight that he would give ten years of his life to know who wrote the notice and to kill him!

But, independent in criticism, he was a man of many friends. Swinburne, Rossetti, and many another writer and painter of past days revolved in his circle of bright spirits. They relished his



friendship, sought his advice and help, opened their hearts to him in times of difficulty. His appreciation of William Morris in the *Sunday Times* had a great effect on the sale of *The Defence of Guinevere*. He heard Swinburne read those early verses which assured competent judges of the flowering of a new immortal, and was an admirer whom no forces of Philistinism or prudery could shake.

Some of his friends' letters he preserved, and I give a few passages which will show the feelings with which he was regarded. Swinburne writes in 1875 :

There is no 'secret' about my forthcoming poem, which I hope will be in print by next month's end. It is a play on the Greek model, more regular than *Atalanta*; the title *Erechtheus*, the length a little over 1700 lines. I mean to read it before publication to a few friends, and shall be very glad if you can make one of the party. . . . I see the *Athenæum* gives high praise to Browning's 'sensation novel' (*The Inn Album*). It is a fine study in the later manner of Balzac, and I always think the great English analyst greatest as he comes nearest in matter and measure to the still greater Frenchman.

Rossetti carries on with him a correspondence concerning a suitable publisher, doubting between Murray, Ellis, and Blackwood. He is relieved to hear that Knight is going to review him, and answers a gift of Dobell's *Poems* in the following terms :

I have been reading the poems of Dobell's you gave me (for which I have never thanked you yet) with great admiration. For pure rush of singing-power—or what Swinburne is fond of calling 'clang'—he has no equal living, except the supreme Swinburne himself—i.e. always when at his best. But there is such a provoking and endless excess of iteration—a sort of pumping-up which gives the idea of a man lashing himself into productiveness by the sound of his own voice—that one continually feels disposed to throw the book down in a rage.

The secret of such defects is apparent when one comes now and then upon some naïveté of reminiscences from another poet such as could never occur to a man who overlooked or reconsidered his work in the least; and this reckless neglect is no doubt equally the cause of the insufferable redundancy. Besides, most of the finest things in the book have nothing whatever to do with *England in Time of War*, but have evidently been shot in because he had them by him, and are sometimes degraded and half-spoilt by a catch-penny title stuck on to give a *faux air* of their really belonging to the subject in hand.

However, the upshot of my abusiveness is that I must really send my book to a man who is so great a master of song for all his faults.

Jeaffreson finds in Knight a severe reviewer of his book on Shelley, but sees that the business could not be more kindly done, and confesses the charm of the man :

*Cor Cordium!* How I do love thee, my dear Knight! None the less, because in your care to be kind to me you had proper care for your own honesty and critical character. It did not escape me how, in constructing your expressions of disapproval, you selected the words least likely to give me annoyance.



Of course, I can't at present regard my book in the light of a mistake; but certes there must be something wrong about it for you to have so clear an opinion that I had better not have written. No doubt it is too pugnacious; but whilst no single person is struck who did not first strike me, at least some of its violence was necessary to break up the ring of supercilious hoodles who, not content with covering Shelley with servile adulation, have concurred in pouring detraction on Byron. . . .

When Buchanan made his onslaught on Rossetti, Knight wrote in his Address Book, 'I remove the name of this — from the list of those whom I have the honour to call my friends.'

This letter from Millais, greatly prized, is worth reproduction. He was a close friend of Knight, who was deeply affected at meeting him in his last days at the Garrick Club :

DEAR KNIGHT,—I have just finished reading your *Life of Rossetti*, which has interested me so much that I have not set my palette this morning and shall do no work this day. The book [*Life of D. G. Rossetti*] is written with great discrimination and appreciation of the man's genius. It may be interesting to you to know the last time I saw Rossetti was at Sandys' studio in Victoria Road, Kensington, where I remember Swinburne spouting some vigorous verses, and it is a pleasant recollection to me that we were heartily glad to meet again. There had been an estrangement in consequence of a serious difference between him and Hunt, and knowing that I inclined in favour of Hunt, a long separation occurred, which was more *accidental* than *intentional*.

Anyhow, our meeting was thoroughly cordial, and as he left me at my door—shortly before the milk was arriving—he expressed his delight at our meeting, and arranged that I was to come and see him at Cheyne Walk. A few days after I called, and was not admitted; and again I called, with the same result, and not receiving any letter or call from him the old state of things was renewed, and *I never saw him again*. I would not trouble you with this if I did not think a certain importance is attached to it now that my old friend is gone. In the whole course of my connexion with the Brotherhood I have never said a word I would recall or uttered a word to occasion offence. One offence I have committed, I have become a Member of the Academy, for that, however, I do not feel disposed to apologise.

If you have erred a little in your premises, you have done so on the *right side, love of your subject*—if Rossetti was superior in the Poetical, he received in return the technical element, and in great part his Art education.

It was from the beginning a *give and take* companionship, and it is impossible to say how one would have got on without the other. When Hunt and myself were competent draughtsmen and painters, Rossetti was a child in the Art, and I never shall forget his innocent struggles over difficulties—I can hear him now, calling loudly on Hunt to come and help him, and I myself, at his request, painted a hand of Joseph pruning the vine in the background of *The Girlhood of the Virgin*.

Well, we shall all be gone before long, and I only hope as gentle and loving a biographer as you are will deal with me.

Your sincere friend,  
J. E. MILLAIS.

P.S.—The poets will say he was a greater painter than poet. The painters will say he was a greater poet than painter, but we shall agree that there never was before a *more remarkable combination*.



Another old friend of Knight's, Johnny Toole, I once saw sitting sadly wasted at the Garrick under the picture of himself in full health. Knight with some success and other members of the party with less were endeavouring to reply to the volubilities of a French author. As we passed out of the room a pleasingly malicious voice faintly uttered the words, *Ici on parle français!*

The Duke of Beaufort, a different type of correspondent from those above, sprawls and scrawls across a page written from Badminton in 1878 to explain that :

Among my numerous avocations I am a large cheesemaker of various sorts. As I know such things vary very much from year to year, I have not full confidence. I chance it, however, and ask you to accept a Single Gloucester, or Jackdaw as it is called in this country.

Two men for whom Knight always expressed special regard were Sebastian Evans and Westland Marston, the author of *The Patrician's Daughter* and other plays, and the father of the blind poet. Knight always said he owed to Marston the steadying of his ideas, the zeal to arrange a mass of thought and erudition, and settle the untidy mind more characteristic of the journalist than the genuine critic or philosopher. Marston's Sunday parties were celebrated in their day, and gathered in an unconventional circle a good deal of talent. A letter to me from the late A. J. Munby, a genuine poet in his way, says :

My knowledge of the *Athenæum* goes back to the rule of Hepworth Dixon, whom I knew, and of Westland Marston, his poetic critic, who dealt with some of my earlier verse in his able and kindly way.

I knew Marston and all his family. The circle who met at his house included Dixon, of course, and my friend D. G. Rossetti and his brother, and Mrs. Lynn Linton, and Swinburne, and Ralston, and Sir F. W. Burton, all of whom were friends or acquaintances of mine; and also George Lawrence [the author of *Guy Livingstone*], and Norman Lockyer, and others I did not know; and then there was poor Philip, the blind poet, always sad and silent; and his two kindly sisters, one of whom married O'Shaughnessy.

His friendship with Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, then head of the Record Office, brought him recognition of his literary ability. His book of selections from the Elizabethan dramatists constituted, he was told, a claim to edit them with deserved academic recognition. But in those days universities had a prejudice in favour of their own products which could not be overcome. He wrote for Froude as editor of *Fraser*, and cherished the fact that he received special praise and price for an article on the Spanish Inquisition.

Here I may interpose one or two of the stories which came with such grace and ease from Knight's lips. They were characteristic of him in being devoid of that spice of ill-humour, that venomous veracity which has made the fortune of many a



story-teller. Nothing in Knight was more notable than the absence of that worldly spirit which, in his own phrase, 'knows nothing, but always suspects the worst.' He had not the feline humour which scratches while it seems to caress. Yet no man was better qualified by his natural gifts of language for sly innuendo. His wealth of detail was happily copious, and poured out without that sense of effort or that hesitation for a good word which spoils some of the effects of admired American wits. 'They laugh at my adjectives,' was his humorous complaint, 'and then the wretches go and crib them.'

One of his stories concerned a literary man long since dead and famous in Victorian days for the 'improving' essay. This gentleman wrote one article for the *Saturday*, and no more. But he never cashed the resultant cheque, and made a reputation out of it. He kept it on his person, and producing it by accident with his handkerchief or cigar-case used to exclaim with a casual air, 'Ah! my *Saturday* cheque!' To Chancellor Christie explaining that he did not seek people much, and preferred his own company, Knight replied with the single word, 'Epicure!'. When offered an introduction to Mr. Rider Haggard, then making a reputation by *Jess*, he at once adapted Shakespeare to the occasion :

If I do prove him Haggard,  
Though that his *Jess*'s were my dear heart-strings,  
I'd whistle him off.

In pure nonsense he was supreme, and his record of a friend's advice concerning the pronunciation of *Psyche* is noteworthy: 'Some calls it *Pisky* and some calls it *Psick*, but the "z" is not sounded as in *zinc*.'

In the course of his life he had many strange adventures, the oddest of which was a near escape from drowning in the Arthington tunnel near Leeds, the top having fallen in, and the water rising so high that the driver and stoker came to his carriage to have somebody to die with. The train could not advance, but finally was backed out of the tunnel.

He did not believe in ghosts, but had seen more than one. Staying characteristically after his last train at the house of a friend he had not seen for some years, he was put up for the night in a room strange to him. He could not sleep, and in the dim light of morning saw a lady with high cheek-bones doing her red hair at the mirror at the other end of the room. He hid his face in the bed-clothes, but, peering out again, still saw the figure distinctly. He dashed out of bed, lit the gas, and the figure disappeared. He kept the gas burning till full morning came. At breakfast he told his host of the vision. The reply, punctuated with a long whistle impossible to reproduce here,



was: 'You've seen our Scotch governess; she died in that very room, and her coffin was there yesterday. I thought it best to tell you nothing about it.'

Without referring to Knight's books, I must mention here his enduring work in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, for which he composed, as Mr. Francis points out, no fewer than 500 biographies. They are, as a keen student of letters gratefully remarked to me a few days ago, to be depended on, and not all are concerned with the drama. Knight's own favourites were his accounts of Margaret Cavendish, the dear, fantastic Duchess of Newcastle, and Colley Cibber, whose *Apology* he thought worth a cheap reprint, and used to quote with gusto.

In the defunct *Gentleman's Magazine* he wrote as Sylvanus Urban with the ease of a born bookman, and that wide intellectual curiosity more characteristic of the eighteenth century than our own. Written month by month at leisure, these papers were—apart from his letters—the most natural outpourings of his kindly spirit, full of that 'literature and delight' which was a favourite phrase of his.

In dramatic criticism he wrote much for the daily papers for a long term of years; also for the *Athenæum*. It is not my purpose here to explain his merits in this way, but good judges regard, I believe, his *Athenæum* work as some of the soundest of his day. His work on daily papers he perhaps took less seriously, and there is evidence that such conditions were not favourable for serious criticism. A friend reminds me that Delane killed it for men of his generation when, upon some complaint by an eminent actor, the great editor said scornfully to Oxenford, 'I will not have the *Times* turned into a cockpit for these people.' And not long since a popular theatrical manager suggested a standard of criticism which recalls the altered end of *The Castle Spectre* invented by a country actor, 'And give us your applause, for that is ALWAYS JUST.'

Knight was at any rate not one of those convinced advocates on one side or another who can see no good or bad in a play, and I can testify that his judgment on the prospects of success was exceptionally sound. At many First Nights I have heard him prophesy the run of the piece, and he was seldom much out in his reckoning. He would have been a better guide for managers than, to judge by their ventures, most of them possessed in his time. Once at least he spoke up for the critics. Towards the end of 1899 the Lyceum was the home of melodrama, and I remember his taking me to a short-lived piece in which Wilson Barrett was a Q.C. in love, later a degraded drunkard sleeping on a bench in St. James's Park, and finally a Judge, married, possessed of children with no hereditary taint, and pointing to



a Palace of Hope in the distance, raised for the fallen by the profits of his poems! Such drama disappointed its promoters, and one of them declared in a crowded assembly that the critics, who denigrated it ought to be shot when they came out of the theatre. Knight rose at once and said that he agreed, but the gentleman was a barrister, and ought to know that torture was medieval. He had only one emendation to suggest—shoot them before they entered the theatre. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ.*

There has been some suggestion that Knight was the sort of 'general utility' man of an earlier age who made up by industry and fluency for lack of special aptitude for his business. This idea hardly needs refutation. In old age, perhaps, he was inclined to that lenity of judgment which is popular with managers; but he was never open to undue influence. He refused anything which might have been conceived to put him in a position of obligation to be repaid by preferential treatment. An occasion on which he prided himself highly was the dinner given to him by the actors and actresses of the day (the 4th of July 1905). It was the first time, he said, that the sheep had entertained the wolf, and I find the following Latin note in my diary: *Adde quod J. K. eadem nocte a multis et pulcherrimis honoris causa oscula recepit.* On this night he was full of youthful spirits, and somewhat piqued by Irving's reminder that he was a grandfather.

A great service to the stage which should not be forgotten was the whole-hearted way in which he threw himself in 1870 into the then unheard-of experiment of getting the Comédie Française to perform in England, a venture which has been singularly fruitful in its results. 'Dear old Joe Knight, gentleman that he is,' is a phrase I have preserved of Clement Scott's writing. Though not precisely happy in expression, it presents a fact worth emphasising. Knight was an equal blend of the Bohemian, the gentleman, and the scholar. The second of these characters is needed to qualify the first; the third to give it grace and excuse. The Bohemian is said no longer to exist, but one knows enough of him to be aware that he was apt to sacrifice some of his independence to secure those material comforts which Fate or his own improvidence denied him. I seem, in fact, to detect in such figures some of the pliant and agreeable qualities which Lucian ascribes to social parasites, and to see the man of ready wit amusing the great person, taking his orders and his food as an appanage to his party. Knight never tolerated anything of that kind, and was fully equal to snubbing any person—rich or merely impudent, peer or commoner—who ventured to take liberties with him. Never a rich man himself, he was the most generous of hosts, and his invitation to 'a cutlet and a glass of cold water' was a prelude to many a delightful night. At the



Garrick after the play he was great, and sat up when not only was Rigour, in Milton's phrase, 'gone to bed,' but even youthful rigour had a velleity for similar repose. Always suave and kindly, he grew mellow as the evening proceeded, and his 'Please understand me here a little,' with a light hand laid on the shoulder, would have soothed the most cantankerous of disputants. As a tribute to his powers, it should be recorded that on one occasion in 1902 he entertained, in the fullest sense of the word, for eight hours at a stretch and at one table, a party of friends, differing in ages and tastes, not all of his own choosing, and not all known to each other. At the Beefsteak, the Urban Club, and many another festive gathering he was the most desired of guests; in fact, the most 'clubbable' man of his day. The Arundel Club in 1884 gave him a champagne decanter, silver-mounted, and four silver candlesticks, and the list of donors was over a hundred. His popularity was so obvious that it does not need emphasis. Once when the vagaries of collectors were being discussed, he gaily exclaimed, 'I collect Ambassadors.' 'It would be better,' an intimate critic replied with hereditary wit, 'if you collected sovereigns!' Of the defunct Rabelais Club he was a leading spirit, mourning the insufficiency of members, who actually wanted to be at home by eleven o'clock. There was a legend that his only clothes were dress clothes—which had this much of truth in it, that his day and first meal began late, as he had found the quiet of the small hours, when traffic in London is reduced to a minimum, grateful for reading and writing. He had very few illnesses; otherwise this course of life, which would have injured most men irremediably, was pursued by him without any appreciable loss of vigour for many years. When he stepped from the Garrick somewhere about 4 A.M. or after into the 'growler' which awaited him, he was not tired, but, as likely as not, talking of the exceptional advantages offered by a centre like London, and the folly of not making the most of them! These nights were prolonged well into the present century, and he was born in 1829!

Sometimes his generosity brought gladness to the indigent, and on one such occasion has been noted by Mr. Charles Boyd, a friend whom Knight particularly valued, in the *Outlook* (1898). Reviewing the *Life of W. G. Wills*, who came to London without adequate resources, Mr. Boyd says:

His first friend and visitor was one whose right hand is not suffered to know what his left hand does in deeds and words of kindness. It was Mr. Joseph Knight. 'Shortly after they became acquainted Mr. Knight went to call upon him at Clifford's Inn, and had an intuition that his friend was hungry. He asked him to come and have dinner with him at Carr's Restaurant, and the great readiness with which he consented showed



Mr. Knight that he had made a shrewd guess.' Wills, the story goes, said nothing at the time; but four years after he said to a common friend, 'There's the man who gave me a dinner when I hadn't one.' Mr. Knight is still giving dinners and kindnesses in a hundred ways to those who want it—viz. *doctissimus et dilectissimus*.

One thinks of him as essentially a London man, valuing the great city because it provided the best talk, the best intellectual gymnastic for an ever-active mind which even in old age seized eagerly on new impressions. But in the country, too, he pleased himself well and his associates. Mr. Boyd writes to me of a series of walks in the northern suburbs of London, which continued till in 1900 walking became too much for him, though I recall one tramp at a later date with me in Epping Forest in which he valiantly removed oppressive boots. Mr. Boyd remembers

visits to Enfield, Cheshunt, and a number of places which Knight approached by a cunning choice of green routes. I remember seeing hawthorn and hearing the cuckoo on these walks. I remember, too, a rather gloomy, louring day in August, and a sudden glimpse which we had of London from these northern heights which the last lines of Pater's *Essay on Lamb* recall. I remember also the boyish delight with which, coming down a quiet country road, he saw me confronted with Temple Bar.

They were obviously well-chosen walks—by green pastures and still waters. And all the time—need I tell you?—he poured forth his inimitable talk: reminiscences of men and books and Bohemia and the stage, endless quotation and reference. Milton and Wordsworth were his favourites, I think, and he spoke of that familiar glamour by which not the best poets, but some single poem of a second-best poet becomes our constant companion. . . .

Our walks ended sometimes with dinner at his house, or at the Garrick, or at the Café Royal. He was delighted at this last resort when, having ordered a whisky-and-soda and a bottle of claret, he saw the waiter, perhaps not unnaturally, set the claret before me (his junior by near two score years). 'No, no!' he cried, 'that is the gouty old gentleman, not I.'

In his own house at Camden Square he did not entertain frequently of late years, but all who entered it will remember its plenitude of welcome and books. If a stranger, say, and slenderly commended, one basked at once in a sun of goodwill and understanding such as other men do not produce who call themselves your intimates.

The books, varied by numerous mementoes of personal friendship, signed pictures and engravings, a tobacco cabinet and other frequent signs of the weed, were everywhere, numerous and choice enough to make a Prospero's Dukedom. The library upstairs occupied two rooms, and, when it seemed certain to end, a third *sanctissimum sanctorum* came to view, obtained by taking out the wall of the house, and renting—I fear at an extravagant cost—a room in the next one!



Knight described himself in *Who's Who* as 'an assiduous collector of books,' but he was more : he was a bibliomaniac who would have on his shelves everything between covers—even such *biblia abiblia* as Cookery Books. This form of literature was once the occasion of some chaff, which he took with his usual good humour. 'I don't think,' he said, 'I retain any traces of Yorkshire accent,' and immediately afterwards he added : 'Will ye have a lūk at this cūkery būk?' He could probably have reviewed it well himself ; he was certainly an authority on the gentleman's cellar, if not on the kitchen : but he was always disconcertingly modest about his own range of learning, and eager to make the most of other people's. 'I would give an arm,' he once said to a friend, 'to know as much Latin as you do. But then, I suppose, if I got it I should be an opsimath, and like my friend who could never bring out his tag of Horace without boring us with "the Venusian." ' An historic name attracted him, though he was no snob, but he valued above all intellectual distinction. Of scholarship, indeed, he was passionately enamoured, and there was a gusto in his reviews which signed them effectually for those who knew him. Frequently on his lips in his last years were Milton's

For who would lose,  
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
These thoughts that wander through eternity?

and Lear's 'Ripeness is all.' In death he saw the end of sentient life, and, coming in latter years on the 'Mimnermus in Church' of 'Tonica,' used to repeat the lines :

You say there is no substance here,  
One great reality above :  
Back from that void I shrink in fear,  
And child-like hide myself in love.

The 'fear,' however, was not his, though the 'love' was eagerly desired. To Mr. Boyd's kindness I owe a revealing story of Knight in youth. He had been fond of long walks, taken principally alone, and coming one day to a green, lonely place, he there and then uttered a prayer : 'Don't give me wealth or position, or any of the prizes men fight for ; but give me the love of all things worth loving, particularly the love of friends, and above all to be loved.'

This prayer, when he was an old man, he recognised as granted in full. Money had missed him, sometimes when it was almost within his grasp ; position had been promised by influential men who knew his worth ; but he had been miraculously preserved from these for the happiest of lives. If he was a pagan, as he



sometimes vowed, he was a pagan who by his life praised God, and bestowed on others a perpetual benediction.

A man of such natural charm and brightness is apt to move 'thro' troops of unrecording friends,' unhonoured by the tributes paid to the sulky specialist, the great author or painter who sacrifices everything to his own work. Knight was to the end a happy master of the art of living—which is, perhaps, greater than the art of books or drama or painting. He dreaded 'dying at the top first,' but the good grey head of the Roman soldier (so he was painted, and liked to believe some of that blood in him) was as clear and quick in age as in earlier days. He fought deafness cheerfully, and his powers of mind were unabated, though he did not lack the depreciation of the spiteful and the suspicion of those sour-complexioned men who think gaiety dangerous, if not immoral. His tact, gifts of speech and quickness of comprehension would have amply fitted him for the arts of intrigue by which advancement is sometimes won, or spurious reputation secured, or credit got for work done by others. His talents found no such occupation; he was always a straight man; and his word, though often witty, was always as good as a legal agreement. In that respect, perhaps, he was old-fashioned as things go nowadays, and it is as well to add that amid the ignoble Saturnalia of endless push and imposing vanity he held on his way unspoilt, untainted, unadvertised.

Shakespeare was always in his mind, and he sometimes applied to himself the words of Bertram's father recalled by the king in *All's Well that Ends Well*. That speech I find so apt to conclude this imperfect record that there is nothing to be changed in it:

Would I were with him! He would always say  
(Methinks I hear him now: his plausible words  
He scatter'd not in ears, but grafted them,  
To grow there, and to bear)—'Let me not live'—  
Thus his good melancholy oft began,  
On the catastrophe and heel of pastime,  
When it was out—'Let me not live,' quoth he,  
'After my flame lacks oil, to be the snuff  
Of younger spirits, whose apprehensive senses  
All but new things disdain; whose judgments are  
Mere fathers of their garments, whose constancies  
Expire before their fashions':—This he wished. . . .

His wish was granted. There may be newer and noisier reputations. But none can for his friends work so naturally and graciously for good as Joseph Knight.

VERNON RENDALL.



1911

## THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AND TARIFF REFORM

ONE of the most important and certainly not the least interesting chapters in Mr. Bernard Holland's admirable *Life of the Duke of Devonshire* is that which deals with Free Trade and Tariff Reform.

The suggestions for a revival of our present system of Free Trade have come from two very different points of view : (1) The idea that our commerce is suffering ; (2) the idea that Tariff Reform would strengthen the Empire.

As regards the first reason Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in 1903, was emphatic in his warnings, and now that eight years have elapsed, we can submit his apprehensions to the test of experience.

He singled out certain interests as being in especial danger. He told us on the 7th of October 1903 <sup>1</sup> that

Agriculture, as the greatest of all trades and industries of this country, has been practically destroyed. Sugar has gone; silk has gone; iron is threatened; wool is threatened; cotton will go! How long are you going to stand it? At the present moment these industries and the working men who depend upon them are like sheep in a field. One by one they allow themselves to be led out to slaughter, and there is no combination, no apparent prevision of what is in store for the rest of them.

It would not, of course, be fair to take these statements literally, but no doubt the manufactures referred to are those which in his opinion were especially suffering. Now eight years have passed, and how do we stand? No one will allege that agriculture has ceased.

No doubt the growth of corn has diminished, but we must remember that much land has been built over; with the increase of population the demand for milk has increased, and land which was arable has been converted into pasture. But, so far from agriculture being destroyed, the land under cultivation has actually increased.

Now let us take the other cases.

I need not, indeed, go into the case of sugar, because the Government of which Mr. Chamberlain was so distinguished a

<sup>1</sup> Speech at Greenock.



member dealt with it by the Brussels Convention. The next of the 'ruined trades' is that of silks. Our exports of silk and silk goods, which were 1,600,000*l.* in 1902, have risen to 2,300,000*l.* in 1910.<sup>2</sup> Silk, therefore, has not 'gone,' and does not seem to be 'going.'

Iron, we are told, is 'threatened.' No doubt the competition is severe. We cannot help that. But is our great iron interest holding its own?

As a matter of fact, the total exports of iron and steel in 1902<sup>3</sup> were 29,000,000*l.*, in 1910 no less than 42,976,671*l.*<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the profits of ironworks, which were returned to income tax in 1903<sup>5</sup> at 3,400,000*l.*, in 1909 amounted to 5,100,000*l.*<sup>6</sup> This heading does not, moreover, I understand, by any means include all manufactures of iron, which would have made the increase, large as it is, much greater.

In the case of wool the value of our exports in 1902<sup>7</sup> was 23,000,000*l.*, in 1910 was 38,000,000*l.*<sup>8</sup>

Lastly, our exports of cotton goods have risen from 72,500,000*l.* in 1902 to 106,000,000*l.* in 1910.<sup>9</sup>

Summing up this part of the question :

The exports of the goods specially mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain from the United Kingdom in 1902 and 1910 were :

	1902 £	1910 £
Silk . . . . .	1,600,000	2,300,000
Wool . . . . .	23,000,000	38,000,000
Iron and Steel . . . . .	29,214,100	43,000,000
Cotton . . . . .	72,500,000	106,000,000

Thus, then, the manufactures to which Mr. Chamberlain pointed as being in special danger, so far from falling off have increased, some more, some less, but the most important enormously.

Now let us look to our commerce as a whole. The figures can be put in a nutshell :

	Exports. 1903 £	1910 £
United Kingdom . . . . .	290,800,108 <sup>10</sup>	430,590,000 <sup>11</sup>
France . . . . .	170,092,000 <sup>11</sup>	240,229,000
Germany . . . . .	250,730,000	367,133,000
U.S.A. . . . .	290,048,000	380,662,000

Thus, then, our exports, so far from showing any tendency to fall off or even to remain stationary, have increased, and are increasing, as much as the most sanguine could hope for. More-

<sup>2</sup> *Stat. Abs.* 1910, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1911, p. 175.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1910, p. 181.

<sup>10</sup> *Stat. Abs. U.K.*, 1908 (Cd. 4258), p. 152.

<sup>11</sup> *Stat. Abs. For. Countries*, 1905 (Cd. 2566).

<sup>12</sup> *Return* 69—XI., January 31, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1911, p. 181.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 1910, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 1911, p. 181.



over, they have increased even more than those of our Protectionist friends. Take France, Germany, and the United States. France has a greater area than ours, but her population is somewhat less. Germany has a much larger area, and half again as large a population; the United States have thirty times the area and twice the population; yet, while the exports of France have increased 70,000,000*l.*, those of the United States 91,000,000*l.*, and of Germany 116,000,000*l.*, ours have gone up no less than 140,000,000*l.*!

Surely our Protectionist rivals would do well to abandon their policy and adopt ours, in which we should indeed be mad to make any radical change.

It is clear that there is nothing in the figures which need alarm us.

Let us now turn from statistics to arguments.

Mr. Balfour—and may I express here my sense of the extreme loss which the Unionist Party have sustained by his resignation—is no Protectionist, and approaches the fiscal problem with the desire to promote Free Trade. He does not, however, quite realise our position, or appreciate the strength of the Free Trade cause.

For instance, writing on the 6th of September 1903 to the Duke of Devonshire, he said :

It may, of course, happen that the injury done at some future time to enormous home industries by foreign competition will so arouse public feeling that another President of the Council and another First Lord of the Treasury may be compelled to adopt Protection. I do not venture to prophesy, but I am confident that the best way of avoiding such a contingency is to do what we can now to mitigate illegitimate competition. If, like the Cobden Club, we preach a doctrine of Free Trade which takes account of nothing but the immediate interests of the consumer, and which welcomes every form of competition which appears to minister to these; if, in other words, legitimate and illegitimate foreign competition receive from us an equal benediction, depend upon it Free Trade, thus made necessarily repulsive, will be repudiated by the nation in the first great commercial stress which occurs.<sup>13</sup>

The italics are mine. I shall hope to show that the Cobden Club have done nothing of the kind.

On the contrary, Free Traders maintain that Free Trade benefits not merely the consumer but the producer also.

In considering the effect of the Protectionist policy of Germany, Tariff Reformers look only to the influence of the duties on the trade between Germany and Britain. Even so, those duties do not prevent Germany being one of our best customers—second only to India and the United States. In fact, Germany

<sup>13</sup> *Life of the Duke of Devonshire, 1833-1908* (By Bernard Holland), vol. ii. p. 332.



took no less than 47,000,000*l.* of our exports. The duties have not killed our commerce.

But how have the German duties affected German manufacturers in their trade with the rest of the world? They have hampered her manufacturers seriously, and made them much less formidable competitors than they would otherwise have been. German manufacturers, having to pay more in many cases for their raw materials and semi-manufactured articles, find themselves heavily handicapped in their competition with our manufacturers. Mr. Balfour does indeed allude to this consideration in his interesting *Notes on Insular Free Trade*, but does not seem to appreciate its importance. For instance, he gives three reasons to which we owe the prosperity of our commerce :

(a) Foreign countries owe us a great deal of money, the interest of which they pay by means of imports into the United Kingdom.

(b) Large areas still remain which are not protected at all.

(c) Existing protected areas are not completely protected.<sup>14</sup>

We owe (he says) our commercial prosperity to these three causes, and these alone.

There is, however, a fourth, which he does not mention, but which is most important.

The Board of Trade Reports give interesting particulars, showing in many cases how the German Protective duties injure Germany and benefit us. They quote <sup>15</sup> a remark by Herr Sayous, in his work on German trade, that foreigners—*i.e.* foreigners to Germany—

are able to purchase from the German mines, blast-furnaces, and steel works at prices materially lower than we (*i.e.* Germans) can buy, and on the basis of these purchases of materials the state of the foreign market for our (German) finished manufactures becomes increasingly bad.

The German manufacturers who work up half-finished steel products complain

that sales had been made abroad at very low prices, far below the prices ruling in Germany (*e.g.*, blooms *f.o.b.* 80, and, subsequently, 72 marks), which made it possible for the Belgian and English rolling-mills to lower their prices and quite ruined the (German) foreign market, with consequent evil results to the German manufacturers who work up half-finished metal products.

In my book on *Free Trade* I have given many other similar cases.

We hear a great deal about the unfair competition of foreign countries, but we must remember that, with perhaps a single not very important exception, they give us the most-favoured-nation clause—*i.e.* they charge our manufacturers no more than those of other countries.

<sup>14</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> *Board of Trade Memoranda, &c.*, 1903, p. 302.



Now in discussing these questions it would much facilitate matters if Tariff Reformers would tell us by whom they suppose these duties are paid. We maintain that they fall on the consumer.

Take, for instance, the course of the wheat trade. When wheat comes from Argentina, or elsewhere, the vessel 'calls for orders' at Queenstown, Plymouth, Havre, Southampton, or some other European port. The merchant compares the prices at the principal markets, calculating all the expenses—freight, insurance, port dues, etc., including, of course, the Customs duty—to a fraction. If he finds that the highest price, including the duty, is at Berlin, to Berlin it goes; but it will not go to Berlin until the price there has risen to cover all the charges, including the duty. If, after allowing for all other charges, the price in London and Berlin is the same, the wheat will of course be sent on to London. There being no duty in England, and assuming the German duty to be 12s. 2d. a quarter, no wheat will go to Berlin until the difference in price exceeds, or at least equals, the German duty. It is surely therefore obvious that the consumer pays the duty.

Messrs. Pears have recently established works in America, and have told us why in a very interesting letter to the *Morning Post*:

'WHO PAYS THE DUTY?'

To the Editor of the '*Morning Post*.'

SIR,—I think I can give a very practical reply to Mr. R. A. Cooper's challenge as to who pays the duty on our goods in America by telling him that, for example, the wholesale price of a certain universally-known specialty of ours—which shall be entirely nameless (*et ex uno disce omnes*)—is 6s. 5d. per dozen in England and 10s. per dozen in America, the difference being duty, freight, and other expenses paid by the consumer; the exact net amount brought back to us in England being again 6s. 5d. Who paid the duty?

Now, if we can make in America and put some of the duty now paid by Americans into our own pockets—should such duties continue—I assume that Mr. Cooper will consider us justified in doing so.

In conclusion, in the interests of truth, may I ask why avoid the fact that the American tourist buys his suit of clothes in London and *pays the duty on arrival home or wears the suit and avoids the duty?*

Yours, etc., A. AND F. PEARS, LIMITED.

(Thomas J. Barratt, Chairman and Managing Director.)

71-75 New Oxford Street, 1st November, 1911.

This is no isolated case.

I could mention other British firms who have established works in the United States, and are making large fortunes out of the American people, thanks to the American duties.

In these cases the goods are of course only intended for the American market.



Moreover, the American duties not only enrich certain enterprising British firms, but they have driven American houses to establish themselves here in order to obtain the advantage of cheap raw materials. Mr. Bruncker has published in *The Free Trader* of 1908 a long, though not by any means a complete, list of important foreign firms who have been driven over to this country by the duties in their own—who have come here to enjoy the advantages of our Free Trade system—and thus supply additional employment and wages for English workmen.

Both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain desire to impose—or at any rate threaten the imposition of—duties on certain of our imports.<sup>16</sup> Their objects are twofold: firstly, to break down foreign duties; and secondly to consolidate the Empire. These two policies, however, are very different and almost incompatible. For instance, take Canada and Holland. Canada imposes on an average 17 per cent. duties, Holland only 3 per cent. Therefore from the first point of view we should impose duties on Canadian produce and admit those of Holland free. On the second we should impose duties on Dutch produce, because Holland is a foreign country, and admit those of Canada free. It would be surely impossible to carry on these two policies simultaneously. To impose new differential duties against their produce would not tend to induce foreign countries to lower their duties in our favour.

Mr. Balfour speaks and writes of himself as a Free Trader. He proposes that we should impose duties on imports in order to induce foreign countries to remove, or at any rate reduce, theirs. He suggests that

the only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to each other, and instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholly disbelieve to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand. We, and we alone among the nations, are unable to employ this means of persuasion, not because in our hands it need be ineffectual but because, in obedience to 'principle,' we have deliberately thrown it away.<sup>17</sup>

I cannot think that any such course would have the result which he desires; and it is clear that the effect of such duties would be protective, whatever the intention with which they were imposed.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were

A normal duty of 10 per cent. (e.g., upon most manufactured produce), a lower preferential duty to goods produced within the Empire, a higher or penal duty on goods of nations who would not give reasonable terms to us, a low duty on food products, with a preference to Imperial produce.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Life of the Duke of Devonshire, 1833-1908*, vol. iii., p. 338.

<sup>17</sup> 'Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade,' *Speeches, 1880-1905*, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> *Life of the Duke of Devonshire, 1833-1908*, vol. ii. p. 386.



Let us consider the effect of imposing a 'penal duty on goods of nations who would not give reasonable terms to us.' Has he, as Mr. Hewins, has Lord Ridley, really thought out what this means? The two countries which impose the heaviest duties against our goods are Russia and the United States. What 'penal duties' could we impose against either of these countries? It is not suggested that any duties should be imposed on raw materials, and those on food are to be kept low. Now take the case of Russia. What do we import from that country? <sup>19</sup> Of the total exports of Russia 63 per cent. are articles of food and 32 per cent. are raw materials! The small remainder consist of a great variety of articles, including books, pictures, china, etc. It is obvious, therefore, that we can put no serious pressure on Russia unless we are prepared to tax food or raw materials.

I pass on to the United States. Their duties check very much, no doubt, the commerce between the two countries. Nevertheless our exports to the United States amount to over 39,000,000*l.* If the people of the United States really think it is their interest to pay twice as much as they need for clothes, ironware, etc., in order to enrich a few millionaire manufacturers, we may regret it, but it is their affair. Need we, however, regret it very much? It is not an unmixed evil. The duties tend to shut us out of the United States, but they also tend to shut the United States out of neutral markets: as against United States manufacturers we suffer in the markets of 100,000 people, we gain in those of 1,400,000 people. The United States manufacturers, but for their duties, would be much more formidable competitors in South America, India, China, and, in fact, in the world generally. The American duties are by no means an unmixed injury to us: that the people of the United States suffer by them admits of no doubt.

Let us suppose, however, that we determine to take the advice of Tariff Reformers, and take 'penal' measures against the United States.

What do we import from them? Of their total exports to us 70,000,000*l.* consists of food, 94,000,000*l.* of raw materials, and 46,000,000*l.* of semi-manufactured articles. Is it really seriously proposed that we are to penalise the United States by heavy duties on such American produce? What would Lancashire say to a suggestion to put a 'penal' duty on cotton?

The remainder of our imports from the United States consists of a great variety of objects, some of which we do not produce, of new American machines, inventions, etc.

When the Edison Company was introducing the electric light into this country progress was at first very slow. Only half a

<sup>19</sup> *Stat. Abs. Foreign Countries*, Cd. 5446, p. 89.



dozen or a dozen dynamos were required in a year: it was obviously impossible to establish works for so small a demand, and dynamos were imported from the United States. As soon, however, as the light was established, our manufacturers set up works and we made the dynamos for ourselves. In the meantime, however, a duty on dynamos would have seriously retarded the progress of the electric light.

Moreover, look at the Russian and United States duties from another point of view. Have they broken down the tariffs of France or Germany? Not at all. In fact, this policy of fighting duties by duties has been tried and has utterly failed.

Russia has tried it and failed; France has tried it and failed; Germany has tried it and failed; the United States have tried it and failed. They have put on heavy duties, but have not broken down foreign tariffs. Moreover, under the favoured-nation clause, if they succeeded, we should share the advantage.

Nor have we only the experience of foreign countries. We have tried it ourselves. We had Protection for years, and Mr. Gladstone has recorded that when he was at the Board of Trade:

From 1841 to 1844 we were anxiously and eagerly endeavouring to make tariff treaties with many foreign countries. And the state of our tariff, even after the law of 1824, was then such as to supply us with plenty of material for liberal offers. Notwithstanding this, we failed in every case. I doubt whether we advanced the cause of Free Trade a single inch.<sup>20</sup>

Tariff Reformers generally draw a broad line between duties on raw materials, food, and manufactured articles. Raw materials they would admit free; on food they would impose light duties, if any; manufactures they would tax much more heavily.

At first sight there seems much to be said for the imposition of duties on manufactures, but the more the question is examined the weaker the distinction becomes. In the first place the classification is arbitrary, and seems to me misleading. Many things which are classed under the head of 'manufactured and semi-manufactured articles'<sup>21</sup> are in reality raw materials. For instance, the class includes sawn timber, yarns, and pig iron.

I do not know that the Board of Trade could do otherwise, but as a matter of fact timber, yarns, and iron are really raw materials—in Cobden's graphic words, 'the daily bread' of our manufactures.

Processes are so much divided that it is the business of many manufacturers to buy semi-manufactured materials and turn them into manufactured articles. To them in their business these are really raw materials. Take the shipbuilders. We build more ships than all the rest of the world put together, and one great reason is that our shipbuilders get the semi-manufactured articles

<sup>20</sup> Morley, *Life of Gladstone*.

<sup>21</sup> P. 63.



which are the raw materials of their business more cheaply than their rivals in Protectionist countries. If you tax these semi-manufactured articles you strike a blow at their trade.

But the same argument really applies to manufactured articles. In a sense they also are raw materials. Steam-engines, for instance, to a cotton-spinner, to a railway company, to a coal-mine, to an electric-lighting company—in fact, to most manufacturers—are one of the most necessary adjuncts of their business. If you tax a manufacturer 1000*l.*, it matters little whether you put it on the steam-engines he uses or the raw material he employs.

The argument against taxing raw material applies, then, to machinery, and indeed to manufactures generally.

Mr. Chamberlain himself does not suppose that small duties imposed here would affect the policy of foreign countries. He did not suggest that 2*s.* a quarter on wheat would electrify agriculture.

But would this small duty be *any* advantage to farmers? In the first place it could only benefit those who grow wheat for sale, and only to the extent that they do so. But further than this, in reply to a very important agricultural deputation, Mr. Balfour, on the 15th of May 1903, expressed a strong opinion that Sir M. Hicks Beach's 1*s.* a quarter duty was a positive injury, as far as it went, to the farming industry on account of its action on feeding-stuffs. It was, he said,

not merely a trifling tax on corn, but a tax on the raw material which farmers use in their industry. . . . It has turned out that the tax has operated as a great burden on the raw material used by farmers. . . . My firm conviction is that the tax is, fiscally speaking, a good tax, but that the class who have most reason to complain of it in the whole of the United Kingdom are the farming class.<sup>22</sup>

However this may be—and there is certainly a good deal in Mr. Balfour's ingenious argument—it is quite a mistake to suppose that our commerce is really at the mercy of our rivals.

Some of our statesmen are alarmed for the future of British commerce. With the present tendency to Protection, what, they say, is to become of us in the future? They need, I think, have no fear. No doubt, when we consider the very high duties imposed by various countries on our goods—duties imposed not for revenue, but to keep out our products, or, as it is euphemistically called, to 'protect native industries'—it seems at first wonderful that we can do business with them at all. The explanation, no doubt, partly is that, firstly, manufacturers in these countries take advantage of their own countrymen, raise prices to the extent of the duties, and put the money into their own pockets at the

<sup>22</sup> 'Fiscal Reform,' *Speeches*, 1880-1905, p. 23.



expense of the community. This enables our manufacturers to pay the duties and yet compete with them. And, secondly, the country produces all that it requires. It is impossible to protect manufactures which do not exist. These considerations seem to me to relieve us from the apprehension felt by some of our statesmen, that if foreign countries and our own Colonies become more and more Protectionist, they will thus more and more restrict our commerce.

I submit, then, that, so far as the economical aspect is concerned, no case whatever has been established for any change in our system.

The second reason which has been brought forward is of a different character, and raises totally different considerations.

Mr. Chamberlain wrote to the Duke on the 21st of September 1903 :

It is ridiculous to suppose that 2s. a quarter on corn would restore prosperity to agriculture, although the farmers might possibly support it as drowning men will catch at a straw. For my own part I care only for the great question of Imperial unity. Everything else is secondary or consequential. But for this—to quote a celebrated phrase—I would not have taken my coat off.<sup>23</sup>

This is indeed a noble object, well worthy of a great statesman. It would repay substantial—even considerable—sacrifices.

The Duke was quite willing to have a full and exhaustive inquiry, but he very wisely wished to have before him the exact changes which were proposed.

I should hesitate very long [he said<sup>24</sup>] before I could bring myself to assent to changes the effect of which, so far as I know or have the means of knowing, might be to improve the conditions of certain of the higher classes of labour, but might also have the effect, so far as I know or have the means at present of knowing, of breaking down that barrier which still exists between those millions and absolute starvation.

In fact, he was always prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically any plan which would bring the scattered elements of our great Empire into closer connexion, but in his opinion no practical solution had been proposed.

Take, for instance, Australia. Our imports<sup>25</sup> from there are 31,000,000*l.*, of which 19,000,000*l.* consists of raw materials and 11,000,000*l.* of food.

Our principal imports are wool, wheat, and gold. A duty on gold is of course out of the question, because gold is the standard of value. No preference on wool would benefit Australasia, for the simple reason that she produces more than we consume. Even as it is, much of the Australasian wool goes to the Continent, because it cannot be used up here. It does not, therefore, appear

<sup>23</sup> *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, 1833-1908, vol. ii. p. 355.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 315. <sup>25</sup> *Cd.* 5906 (1911).



that a preference would be any great advantage to Australia. It could not benefit their main industries.

Or take Canada. Our imports from the Dominion are again almost entirely raw materials or food. Out of \$149,000,000 not less than \$111,000,000 are food and \$25,000,000 raw materials. Moreover there are special difficulties.

Considerably more than one-half of the Canadian wheat actually comes to us through the United States.

To this it has been replied that Halifax and St. John are open all the winter, but Mr. Carnegie has calculated that the extra cost of transit would be 'eight shillings' a quarter as compared with exports and imports through Montreal or American ports. Unless, therefore, the preference amounted to a larger sum, the extra charge for freight would be prohibitive. Moreover, though the port of St. John is in Canada, the railway to it passes through the United States.

The United States have a duty of 8s. 7d. a quarter on wheat, but they courteously allow Canadian wheat to pass through in bond. This we could not expect to continue.

It would, again, be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish Canadian wheat from that grown in the United States.

Tariff Reformers seem to be under the impression that in some mysterious way the United Kingdom has precluded itself from bargaining with foreign countries. In his great Sheffield speech Mr. Balfour said :

I say distinctly that in my judgment the country ought never to have deprived itself of that liberty, and that it ought publicly to resume it in the face of Europe and the world.<sup>27</sup>

Mr. Balfour concludes his *Notes on Insular Free Trade* by laying down the axiom that

The first and most essential object of our national efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important, yet, after all, only a secondary, issue. What is fundamental is that our liberty should be regained.<sup>28</sup>

I confess I do not understand what Mr. Balfour means by saying that we have deprived ourselves of any liberty. We are free to embark on tariff wars if we please, however foolish we might be to do so. But would not engagements with the Colonies and foreign countries deprive us of that very freedom which Mr. Balfour so wisely regards as most important?

I confess I view with some alarm the prospect of bargaining with the Colonies. We may seem to favour one Colony or one

<sup>27</sup> *The Times*, August 6, 1903.

<sup>28</sup> Balfour, 'Fiscal Reform,' *Speeches*, 1880-1905, p. 111. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 95.



interest, and may find that, instead of closer union, we have roused jealousies, suspicions, and animosities.

Would not any arrangements such as are suggested involve us in most difficult and perhaps dangerous discussions with the Colonies? Lord St. Aldwyn in 1908<sup>29</sup> dwelt on these with his usual force and ability. He said :

Then comes the question of the practical working of the system of Colonial preference if it were brought about by the imposition of these duties, and I am bound to say this appears to me to be beset by difficulties of the greatest importance, one of which I will venture to place before your lordships. Suppose we had made a bargain with Canada—that, I think, is the best case to take—that we would impose a duty on corn, meat, and dairy produce from foreign countries, and leave such articles coming from Canada free. The effect of that, if it was effective, would be to transfer the supply of these articles which now come to us from foreign countries to Canada, and, of course, to any other Colony which had the same advantage. That is a result which, so long as we get the articles cheaply, I do not know that anybody need quarrel with. . . . But there would be another result. Supposing the United States were deprived of the market for her corn in this country, what would she do? Surely, if she saw it going she would come to us and say, 'We do not like this at all. We are ready to make an arrangement with you. We will lower our tariff on some of your manufactured articles which it is of great importance for you to send to us, if you will place us on the same footing as Canada with regard to the duty on corn.' What should we say? 'We are very sorry, but we cannot relieve you from this duty.' I know it is a very inconvenient thing sometimes to be bound not to impose a duty, but it may be very much worse than inconvenient to bind yourself not to take off a duty. We should, of course, be unable to obtain from the United States that which might be of the most urgent and utmost importance to the great manufacturing industries of this country. Supposing the request was renewed when the term of our arrangement with Canada expired, what answer should we give then? If we had accepted the principle of preference because Canada is part of the Empire, and in order to obtain greater advantages in Canadian trade, we should have to depart from that principle at the risk of losing the trade advantages we had obtained from Canada in order to obtain the greater advantages which the reduction of the United States tariff might give us; and if we refused to make an arrangement with the United States which might, as I have said, be of the utmost importance to our great industries, it would be said by everybody that we refused to do this in order to keep up the price of food. That seems to be a practical difficulty, and one of very great importance.

A duty of 2s. a quarter on wheat would, as Mr. Chamberlain said, do little for farmers. Suppose there was a substantial increase—nothing extreme, but say half the German duty—is there not much force in Lord St. Aldwyn's argument that

I cannot help thinking—though that would have been a painful subject—of the effect that might have had upon the position of the Government of

<sup>29</sup> Lord St. Aldwyn on Preferential Trade, in the House of Lords, May 21, 1908.



my noble friend if the people of this country were being told that this duty had raised the price of corn 7s. or 8s. more a quarter, and that it was intolerable that this sort of thing should be allowed to continue for the benefit of Colonial farmers at the cost of the English working man. Now, would that have tended to improve the feelings of kindness and goodwill in this country towards our Colonial brethren? These are two of the practical difficulties which I own that I see in the working of this policy.

Though the French suffer most from their high duties so far as France itself is concerned, the case is very different when similar duties are extended to countries which they have annexed. Our trade with Madagascar has been practically ruined, and this is not an isolated case, so that the subject seems to me to demand the serious attention of our Government; but I do not enlarge on these questions because they did not enter into the discussion between the Duke and Mr. Balfour. I may take some other opportunity of calling attention to the subject, which is indeed one of great and growing importance.

In his important Sheffield speech Mr. Balfour said that any one negotiating with a foreign country must perforce admit that 'We have nothing to give you; we have nothing to take from you.' But this is not so: we are free to go into a commercial war if we choose: we could exclude their goods if we thought it our interest to do so. We have also much to give. When Mr. Bonar was negotiating the Austrian Treaty of Commerce the following incident occurred:

The Scotch were very anxious that the duty on British herrings should be reduced, and Mr. Bonar was instructed to urge this strongly on the Austrian Chancellor. The Chancellor said he was anxious to meet the views of our Government, but he asked, 'In that case, Mr. Bonar, what will you do for us?' 'Oh,' said Mr. Bonar, 'we will send you many more herrings.'

Mr. Balfour's Government was much divided as to Tariff Reform, and the Duke, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Ritchie, and Mr. A. Elliot, to their great honour, determined to retire.

It was Mr. Balfour's Sheffield speech which finally decided the Duke. He was not prepared, as he said in his letter of resignation,<sup>30</sup> to form part of a Government which desired to 'reverse the fiscal tradition, to alter fundamentally the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations.'

I had hoped to have found in your speech a definite statement of adherence to the principles of Free Trade as the ordinary basis of our fiscal and commercial system, and an equally definite repudiation of the principle of Protection in the interest of our national industries; but, in their

<sup>30</sup> *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, vol. ii. p. 362.



absence, I cannot help thinking that such declarations as those which I have quoted cannot fail to have the effect of materially encouraging the advocates of direct Protection in the controversy which has been raised throughout the country, and of discouraging those who, like me and, I had hoped, yourself, believe that our present system of free imports, and especially of food imports, is, on the whole, the most advantageous to the country, although we do not contend that the principle on which it rests forms any such authority or sanctity as to forbid any departure from it for sufficient cause.<sup>31</sup>

It seems clear, then, that :

- (1) Our commerce is increasing most satisfactorily ;
- (2) It is increasing more rapidly than that of any of our Protectionist rivals ;
- (3) While any plan which would tend to consolidate the Empire is entitled to respectful and sympathetic consideration, even if it involved a substantial sacrifice, no practicable plan has yet been proposed ;

and I submit, therefore, that the Duke of Devonshire was fully justified in his conclusion ' that no sufficient case has been made out for disturbing the foundations on which the fiscal and commercial policy of the country rest.'

AVEBURY.

<sup>31</sup> Duke of Devonshire to Mr. Balfour, October 2, 1903.



1911

## LATEST LIGHT FROM EGYPT ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

EGYPT is a land of marvels. It is marvellous, not only for the colossal monuments of its ancient civilisation, which strike the visitor with a persistent wonder, but also for the startling discoveries which, from time to time, its preservative soil yields to the excavator.

The great discoveries at Tel el Amarna, which revolutionised the views of our historians as to the relations of the ancient empires of the nearer East, and furnished light on the conditions of Canaan before the Hebrew occupation, were a surprise to the learned world. This marvellous discovery has been followed by finds, made within the last few years, which rival it almost in importance.

Winter visitors to Egypt, who, attracted by its position on the border of the tropics, have made Assuan their headquarters, will remember the island of Elephantinê, which lies almost opposite to it. As the site of an early border fortress, this island has its special interests; but to the casual traveller it is chiefly attractive for its rural quiet and beauty. It is composed of detached masses of granite, formed into a compact whole by accumulations of sand, over which, on the lower portions, the Nile has deposited its mud for centuries. To-day, fellahin cultivate every available strip of this rich soil, and the unceasing sound of their saqiyehs drawing water from the river lulls the mind of the visitor into a tranquillity harmonising with the scene. Acacias and mulberry trees, date trees and Dôm palms furnish an agreeable shade. Buffaloes and oxen graze among the patches of verdure, while flocks of fowls and pigeons pick up here and there whatever they can, the whole presenting a scene of oriental calm contrasting refreshingly with our restless home-life.

The ancient city, called the 'fortress Yeb' in the documents to be afterwards described, was crowded into the southern half of this island, on a plateau beyond the reach of inundations. It is now marked by mounds in which the *Sebakhs* diggers have been long at work in their search for phosphates. Here in January 1901



Professor Sayce procured a papyrus roll, which he himself had seen unearthed by the diggers. It was in the Aramaic script, and was the herald of the subsequent important finds made on the same site.

A year or two later, Mr. Robert Mond, who was excavating in Egypt at the time, was the purchaser of several Aramaic papyri offered for sale at Assuan, but from the same site, and Lady William Cecil became the fortunate possessor of others. The two collections, supplemented by one or two papyri acquired by Professor Sayce, were published at Mr. Mond's expense in 1906, under the editorship of Professor Sayce and Dr. A. E. Cowley.

The eleven documents contained in this work are in the Aramaic language, a Semitic speech closely allied to the Hebrew, and employed in certain portions of the Books of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah in our Hebrew Bibles. The translations of these documents given by Dr. Cowley show that there was at Elephantinê an organised Jewish community in the fifth century before Christ. The documents (from 471-411 B.C.) are chiefly deeds bearing on loans, marriage dowries, divorce, legal decisions, etc. A noteworthy characteristic of these deeds is that women are represented as on precisely the same social and legal footing as men. Mention of a temple of Yahveh (Yaho)—or Jehovah as it is commonly written—built, like the Egyptian temples, fronting on a street, is made more than once therein, and legal oaths 'by Yaho' as well as 'by Sati,' an Egyptian deity, are recorded.

As soon as the source of these documents was ascertained, a systematic excavation of the site was begun, a concession having been given by the Egyptian Government to the German and French authorities for the purpose. M. Clermont Ganneau was selected as the French explorer, but the results of his excavations have not yet been published. Professor Dr. O. Rubensohn, acting for the Royal Museum in Berlin, began work in 1906, with the result that by 1908 a considerable number of papyri, ostraca, and inscribed pottery had been unearthed. The papyri, in a more or less damaged condition, were found in the ruins of houses belonging to an ancient Jewish settlement, some two feet only beneath the surface, while the ostraca and pottery were unearthed all over the site. The whole of these objects have been quite recently dealt with in two handsome quarto volumes under the editorship of the celebrated Semitic scholar Professor E. Sachau of Berlin. The first volume has a preface by Dr. Bode of the Royal Museum at Berlin, and, beside a learned introduction, contains a translation of the Aramaic into Hebrew script, a German translation of the texts, and copious elucidatory notes by the editor. The second volume is occupied exclusively by the facsimile reproduc-



tions of the documents, which are printed in seventy-five plates. The whole constitutes the most important contribution to Biblical history which has appeared of late years—especially in relation to the later books of the Bible, the Books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, and to Jewish history of the little-known period between the time of Nehemiah and the appearance on the scene of Alexander the Great. The period covered by the papyri is from 494 to 404 B.C. The language is, as has been already said, that of certain portions of the Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Not long ago critics regarded Aramaic as having been brought back from Babylon by the returning exiles, and that its presence in any of the sacred books (such as in Jeremiah x. 11, and in the *Jegar-Sahadutha* of Genesis xxxi. 47) indicates a late origin. We know now that this is not the case. Three Semitic languages (Hebrew and Arabic are to us the most familiar types of Semitic), Professor Sachau tells us, played an important part in early West Asiatic history. The first of these was the Assyro-Babylonian, of which there are vast remains preserved to us in the cuneiform inscriptions discovered in the ruins of the ancient cities of the Euphrates. When the Assyro-Babylonian Empire came to an end, this language did not disappear, but continued in use in the Persian period; it then began gradually to die out. Even during its prevalence, that is in the time of the Sargons, the eighth century B.C., a second variety of Semitic speech was becoming its serious rival for predominance. This was the Aramaic. This language was written in what was formerly regarded as the Phœnician alphabet. The characters used, however, can be traced back to a fairly early date, and they seem to be associated from their first appearance with the Aramaic language. They represent a stage of development towards the square Hebrew alphabet, from which they do not differ very seriously in form. The Aramaic language gradually acquired the upper hand among all Semitic peoples north of the Arabian Continent, and in the time of Christ everyone, including Christ Himself, spoke Aramaic. It is still spoken in the neighbourhood of Lake Van. Arabic, another Semitic language, however, eventually took its place almost everywhere.

The Semitic languages of Canaan, including Hebrew, and the speech of the coast line, the Phœnician, did not play a great rôle, although the latter maintained its existence in North Africa until the Arab domination. Hebrew, on the other hand, fell early into desuetude before the use of Aramaic, becoming at length restricted to religious and liturgical use. Its extinction as the speech of the people was owing, in the first instance, according to Professor Sachau, to the over-running of the Kingdom of Israel by Sargon in 723 B.C., and the consequent settlement of aliens in the



country; and, in the second place, to the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar and the exile of the ruling classes, a fact which seriously altered the linguistic relations of the country. Henceforward the advance of Aramaic displaced more and more the Hebrew, until it became at length the predominant tongue.

The documents discovered at Elephantinê are all in this Aramaic language, and Professor Sachau expresses his astonishment that after careful scrutiny he has found not a single instance of Hebrew influence upon them, except in the case of personal names which are of a definitely Hebrew character, and are distinguished, like the Hebrew designations of the same epoch, by the frequent use of the Divine name (*Jah*) in their composition.

It will be some years, perhaps, before a learned scrutiny of these Aramaic documents will succeed in extracting from them all the fresh historical and linguistic material which underlies them. In the case of some of the documents, however, there are facts on the face of them which have a bearing on Biblical history. A striking instance of this is furnished by the first two papyri in the published collection. These represent two almost identical forms of the same epistle, the variants being accounted for on the hypothesis, suggested by Professor Sachau, that one is the original draft, and the other the revised copy. As this is the most important document in the collection, and has many references to Biblical matters, it is best to give, *in extenso*, a somewhat close rendering of Professor Sachau's German translation:

'To our Lord Bagohi, Governor of Judaea, thy servants Jedoniah and his associates the Priests (*Koheni*) in the fortress of Yeb (Elephantinê) greeting: May the God of Heaven ask after<sup>1</sup> the health of our Lord on every occasion, and place thee in favour before King Darius and the sons of the (royal) house, a thousand times more than now, and give thee a long life. Be fortunate and strong always.'

'Now at this time Jedoniah and his associates speak thus:—

'In the month of Tammuz (i.e. June), in the fourteenth year of King Darius (i.e. 410 B.C.), when Arsames had departed and gone to the King, the Priests (*Kemari*—idoltrous priests) of the God Khnum in the fortress of Yeb (formed) a conspiracy (?) with Waidereng, who was the ruler here, with the following object. "The temple of the God Yahveh (*Yāhō*) in the fortress of Yeb must be done away with."

<sup>1</sup> The phrase 'ask after' seems to Professor Sachau highly derogatory in this connexion, but, as he shows, from its occurrence elsewhere in these documents, it is a recognised form, meaning 'look to the health.'



Thereupon the said Waidereng, the accursed, sent letters to his son Nepayan, who was general in the fortress of Syene (Assuan) with the following contents: "The temple in the fortress Yeb must be destroyed." Then Nepayan led Egyptians and other soldiers hither. They came, together with their implements (?), entered the said temple, razed it to the ground, and broke to pieces the stone pillars which were there. And it came to pass that they destroyed also the five stone gates (? pylons) constructed of square stones, which were in the said temple, and burnt with fire the wooden doors of the same, and the bronze hinges, as well as the cedar roof, all, together with the rest (?) of the Ussarna (?) and other things that were there. And the golden and silver sacrificial bowls, and everything that was in the said temple did they take away and appropriate to themselves.

As far back as the days even of the King of Egypt did our fathers build the said temple in the fortress Yeb, and when Cambyses entered Egypt he found the temple already built there. And the temples of the Gods of Egypt were all torn down, but no one did injury to the said temple.

After we had been thus treated, we, together with our wives and children, wore sackcloth, fasted, and prayed to Yahveh (Yāhō) the Lord of Heaven, who informed us in relation to the said "dog of a" (?) Waidereng (as follows):

"The fetters will have been removed from his feet,<sup>2</sup> and all the treasures which he acquired destroyed, and all the men who had attempted to inflict injury on the said temple will have been killed together, and we shall have looked down upon their overthrow."

And already previously, when this evil was done to us, we sent a letter to our Lord, Jehohannan the High Priest, and his associates, the Priests in Jerusalem, and to Ostanēs the brother of Hanani, and the notables of the Jews. Not a single letter (in answer) have they sent us. So we, since the month of Tammuz of the fourteenth year of Darius to the present day have worn sackcloth, and fasted: our wives are become as widows (as a widow): we no longer anoint ourselves with oil and drink wine: and from thence forward to the (present) day in the seventeenth year of King Darius (407 B.C.) have we not instituted in the said temple (i.e. in its ruins) Meal-offerings,<sup>3</sup> Incense-offerings,<sup>4</sup> and Burnt-offerings.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The first sentence of this seemingly oracular saying may mean, as Professor Sachau suggests, that he was executed, and, after the removal of the fetters, his corpse cast out.

<sup>3</sup> The *Mincha* of the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew *Lebonah*.

<sup>5</sup> The Hebrew *Olah*. The terms used in the papyrus for these sacrificial words are identical with their equivalents in Leviticus.



'Now thy servants Jedoniah, his associates and the Jews, all citizens of Yeb, say thus :

'If it is pleasing to our Lord, mayest thou be mindful of the restoration of the said temple : as we have not been permitted to rebuild it, so look to the receivers of thy benevolence and manifestations of thy grace here in Egypt : may a letter in respect of the temple of Yahveh (Yāhō) in the fortress of Yeb be sent from thee to them to rebuild it, as it formerly was built. In thy name will they offer on the altar of the God Yahveh the Meal-offering, the Incense-offering, and the Burnt-offering, and we shall at all times pray for thee, we and our wives and our children, and all the Jews who are here, if it shall have been thus managed, until the said temple be again built ; and there shall be to thee a reward before Yahveh the God of Heaven greater than the reward of a man who offers a Burnt-offering and an annual sacrifice<sup>6</sup> of a value like to the value of silver of 1000 talents ; and in regard to gold, we have sent a messenger to thee and given information, and we have, in our names, in a special letter, imparted to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of the Governor Sanaballat of Samaria, all these particulars. Arsames, moreover, has had no knowledge of what was done to us.

'On the 20th of Marchesvan (October) in the seventeenth year (407 B.C.) of King Darius (i.e. Darius II).'

The period covered by the papyri in this collection extends, as already stated, from the year 494 B.C. to 404 B.C. None is apparently later than 404 B.C., when the Persian rule over Egypt came to an end, and with it probably the favoured position of the Jewish people, from whom these documents emanated. As Cambyzes the son of Cyrus conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. the papyri come within the time of the Persian dominion. The Persian empire at this period embraced Asia as far as the Hellespont and the Mediterranean Sea, as well as Africa up to the boundaries of Nubia. Palestine was thus within its limits, and the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah, who, with the help of Artaxerxes I, in the middle and latter half of the fifth century, caused the temple and wall of Jerusalem to arise anew from their ruins, was well within the period covered by these papyri.

Here a few questions naturally suggest themselves :

Who were the writers of these papyri?

When was the Colony planted at Elephantinē?

Whence did they come?

Whence their traditional ritual observances and the worship of 'Jehovah the King of Heaven'?

<sup>6</sup> *Dibchin* = the general term for sacrifice of a slaughtered animal in *Leviticus*. The word altar in the papyri involves the same root—*Madbach*.



The answers to some of these questions are furnished by the letter of Jedoniah given above, and by certain other documents in the collection. We know, in the first place, that they were a colony of Jews, but that they were not an agricultural colony, or a trading colony like the Phœnicians. They designate themselves in these documents as 'the Jewish Army in Elephantinê,' that is, they formed the garrison at this border fortress against the Nubians. And although at the time when the papyri were written they, together with their wives and children, were a settled community owning land and buildings, they were still members of a military organisation.

We learn from the papyri that they were divided into six 'standards' or troops, each designated apparently by the name of its commander. The word used for 'standard' is the same as that employed for the divisions of the Israelites when passing through the desert: 'Every man of the children of Israël shall pitch by his own standard.'

The relation of this military colony to the Central Persian Government is indicated by the portions of an Aramaic translation, among the papyri, of the celebrated Edict of Darius I, which a few years after his accession (520 B.C.) he caused to be inscribed in three languages (the old Persian, the Elamite, and the Assyrian) on the carefully smoothed surface of the rocky precipice at the village of Behistun (Bagistana), on the road from Babylon to Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan. Here, the figure of Darius is still to be seen with his foot on the neck of a prostrate foe, possibly Nebuchadnezzar, whom he slew.

It seems from this discovery that the Edict in the various languages of the Persian empire was sent to all administrative outposts.

With regard to the origin of this military colony, the papyri are silent, but some indications in them may help us to trace it.

During the Persian domination it was customary to employ foreign mercenaries in the Persian campaigns, and one might, therefore, assume that this Jewish military colony was introduced into Egypt at that time (that is, in the period of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, 559-520 B.C.). Against this assumption is the fact that Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, had never occupied Egypt. Moreover, when his son Cambyses entered Egypt (525 B.C.) he found the temple, a stately structure which probably required years to construct, already in existence; and as the letter to Bagohi, given above, states that the temple had been

\* Numbers ii. 2. *Degel* is the word for standard in this document and in the Bible.



constructed in the time of the King of Egypt, that is, at the epoch of a native dynasty, we are forced to look further back. Professor Sachau considers that the letter of Aristæas (written about 200 B.C. by a well-informed Jewish writer) may throw some light on the subject. This letter is recognised to be what is called a *tendenzschrift*, and to have been written to magnify the Greek translation of Holy Scripture known as the Septuagint. Yet, as Professor Sachau thinks, apart from this aim, the document may furnish trustworthy historical facts.

The letter states that Ptolemy I brought numerous soldiers from Palestine into Egypt, and that even in earlier times, under Persian rule, Palestinian troops had come to Egypt, and moreover, at a still earlier date, others had been led against the Ethiopian King by King Psammetichus. Since the Jewish colony, as we have seen, must have been planted at Elephantinê before Persian times, we are thrown back upon the period of Psammetichus. Was this Psammetichus I (659-611 B.C.) or Psammetichus II (594-589 B.C.)? Professor Maspero<sup>8</sup> distinctly states that Psammetichus I placed outposts at the entrance to the passes leading from the desert into the Nile valley, and that he had fortified Elephantinê against the Ethiopians. In his efforts, ultimately crowned with success, to wrench Egypt from the Assyrio-Babylonian occupation in the north, and to defend it from the aggression of Nubians on the south, he had employed not only native troops, but also foreign mercenaries. When some 240,000 of the native army, however, had mutinied, and marched into Ethiopia,<sup>9</sup> he was obliged to trust more to the foreign mercenaries—Greeks and Asiatics—in his employ.

Is this Jewish military colony to be reckoned among them? Professor Sayce<sup>10</sup> has no doubt of the fact, and quotes, in confirmation of other proofs, Zephaniah ii. 12 and iii. 10, showing that Jews, at the time—that is, during the reign of King Josiah—were living beyond the southern boundaries of Upper Egypt. The question seems to depend for a satisfactory solution on another debatable piece of Egyptian history, namely whether the military expedition under a Psammetichus which proceeded on a campaign against the Ethiopians as far south, at any rate, as Abu-Simbel was under Psammetichus I. 'The officers in command,' says Professor Maspero,<sup>11</sup> 'after having admired the rock-cut chapel of Rameses II, left on it a memento of their visit in a fine Greek inscription cut on the right leg of one of the Colossi.' This inscription informs us, 'that King Psammetichus, having come to Elephantinê, the people who

<sup>8</sup> *Passing of the Empires*, p. 498.

<sup>10</sup> *Expositor*, August 1911, p. 420.

<sup>11</sup> *Passing of the Empires*, p. 538.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero, *ibid.* p. 499.



were with Psammetichus son of Theocles (a general of the same name as the King), wrote this, etc.' Many of the soldiers of the expedition wrote also their names on the monuments here and there, each in his own language. An almost complete collection of these *graffiti* is given by Lepsius.<sup>12</sup> Most of the inscriptions are in Greek and Carian, but several of them are in what Lepsius calls Phœnician script, a term generally, until lately, used to include all Aramaic writings.

The latter, of which one seems to be Aramaic, are not easily deciphered. Some of the names, inscribed in early Greek letters, however, appear, as Maspero suggested, to be Jewish—for instance, 'Elisibios of Teos' can be hardly other in form than the Eliashib of the Bible.<sup>13</sup> Teos (in Egyptian Zichi) occurs also in the Elephantinê papyri.

Was the Psammetichus of the Abu-Simbel inscription the first of this name, and the ruler by whom this expedition was undertaken? The inscription of Abu-Simbel, says Maspero,<sup>14</sup> 'has been most frequently attributed to Psammetichus I, and until recently I had thought it possible to maintain this opinion.' He has now, however, concluded that the expedition was in the reign of Psammetichus II, and the Jewish soldiers present in this expedition would, therefore, belong to that period. Professor Sayce, on the ground that the Greeks called Psammetichus II 'Psammis,' and would have thus written it, believes that the Psammetichus of the inscription could only be the first of that name (659-611 B.C.).

Professor Sachau, on other grounds, is inclined to think that Psammetichus II was the King mentioned in the letter of Aristæas and that the Jewish military colony was planted at Yeb in his reign (594-589 B.C.). But he is aware of the possibility of an earlier date arising from the consideration that the colony was unaware of the injunction in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy (as to the worship of Yahveh exclusively in Jerusalem), and consequently may have left the homeland before the date assigned by critics, since the time of De Wette, to the publication of Deuteronomy, that is 621 B.C. These Aramaic documents show, at any rate, the development of an Israelite colony, separated possibly for several hundred years from the homeland, and among an alien race. While they had been at Yeb long enough to lose their ancestral speech (the Hebrew) they had continued to preserve their sacrificial cult, which required a temple for its

<sup>12</sup> *Denkmäler*, Vol. XII., pp. 98 *et seq.*

<sup>13</sup> A name which appears in 1 Chron. iii. 24; xxiv. 12; and also in Ezra and Nehemiah, as that of the High Priest at Jerusalem.

<sup>14</sup> *Passing of the Empires*, p. 537.



observance, and the recognition of Yahveh, the God of the Hebrews.

Whether we assign the earlier or later date to the planting of the colony at Elephantinê, it is clear that they could not have acquired their religion and its sacrificial rites from the exiles returning from the Babylonian captivity.<sup>15</sup> Yet it was a fundamental assumption of certain critics in later years that the sacrificial ordinances prescribed in Leviticus were imposed, in the priestly interest, on the Jewish community in Jerusalem by the priests who came back from exile. To enforce these ordinances, the priests had edited, it was contended, their sacred books afresh, and introduced into them here and there these priestly prescriptions which the acumen of modern critics has been able to disentangle from the sacred writings, and to give them a local habitation and a name in 'The Priests' Code.' It is fair to add, however, that the more moderate recent critics have qualified this assumption by asserting that the sacrificial rites were not *invented* by the returning priests, but had an anterior existence, and were merely codified in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Aramaic papyri of Elephantinê have, therefore, done signal service to sound criticism by checking the modern tendency to form conclusions from internal evidence only.

Professor Sachau has worked out from these documents further evidence as to the connexion of the colony of Elephantinê with the events in later Biblical history. For instance, the personal names in the document given above find an echo in the history handed down to us by Ezra and Nehemiah. Bagohi, to whom this document is addressed, is mentioned under the Greek form Bagoas by Josephus,<sup>16</sup> in association with Johanan (*Joannes*), the High Priest in Jerusalem, who appears in the letter above, and is also mentioned by Nehemiah<sup>17</sup>

A person called Bagoas, different from the addressee of this letter, is mentioned in the book of Judith (that is, in the English version of the Greek), and it is not without significance that the form of the name in the Vulgate translation, which St. Jerome says he made from the Aramaic, is Vagoa—showing incidentally that initial B (Beth) was pronounced then, as by modern Jews, as V, and preserving, at the same time, almost the form in the Epistle. *Johanan*, who is mentioned also in the papyri as High Priest at Jerusalem, appears in Ezra<sup>18</sup> and Nehemiah<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> If we accept the later date for the planting of the colony at Elephantinê, it must have been in existence there before the flight of Jeremiah to Egypt (584 B.C.). Jeremiah was a priest, and seems to have got as far south as Pathros (=the South-Country). See Jer. xlv. 15. Professor Flinders Petrie measured the remains of a Jewish temple at Tahpanes (Tel defenneh) associated with Jeremiah.

<sup>16</sup> *Ant. Jud.* ed. Niese, iii. 60, 61; and *ibid.* x. 7.

<sup>17</sup> xii. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Chap. x. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Chap. xii. 22, 23.



in the same capacity. Sanballat, whose name, together with those of his two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah, occurs also in the papyrus, is mentioned by Nehemiah as the leader of those who opposed the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem. Nehemiah designates him with the same title as that in the papyrus, namely, 'Governor of Samaria.' Professor Sachau argues from the Hebrew form of his sons' names that, notwithstanding his exotic name (Sanballat), he was himself a Jew. On this hypothesis, however, it is hard to account for the fact that Nehemiah<sup>20</sup> excommunicated a brother of Johanan the high priest for having married a daughter of Sanballat, a daughter whom he would thus class with alien women.

The answer to the letter addressed to Bagohi is among the papyri discovered, but it is in a fragmentary condition, and in addition to the formal instruction that the temple at Elephantinê is to be rebuilt merely mentions that the offering of pigeons, turtledoves and goats is to give place to the usual sacrifices, limited in this case, either by accident or design, to two—which are also those mentioned by Nehemiah.<sup>21</sup>

In another fragmentary papyrus of the collection (dated 419-418 B.C.) there is an injunction to the due observance of the Passover, and the prescriptions therein are regarded by Professor Sachau as having close relation to those of Deuteronomy<sup>22</sup> and Exodus.<sup>23</sup> Whether there was a previous observance or whether it was merely neglected cannot be determined from the papyrus, but it may have been a case similar to that in Nehemiah<sup>24</sup> where the children of Israel are represented as not having observed the Feast of Tabernacles according to the law read out by Ezra 'since the days of Joshua the son of Nun until that day.'

Another series of fragmentary papyri in the collection furnishes us with an early literary monument of great interest. This is the story of Achikar, a wise man of the East. The story, of which we have versions in several languages belonging to post-Christian times, describes how Achikar, having risen to great dignity, adopted in his old age a young man whom he had instructed by proverbs and fables to succeed him. The youth, forgetful of the benefits he had received, accused Achikar to the king, who sent his executioner to put him to death. The executioner had also received benefits from Achikar and contrives to conceal him, bringing back to the king the head of a eunuch in place of that of Achikar. The injustice done to Achikar is at

<sup>20</sup> Chap. xiii. 28.

<sup>21</sup> Chap. xiii. 9. Offerings permitted in case of poverty by Lev. v. 7; cf. also iii. 12-16.

<sup>22</sup> Chap. xvi.

<sup>23</sup> Chap. xii. Professor Sayce, *An Aramaic ostrakon from Elephantinê* (Proc. Soc. Biblical Archaeology, November 1911) shows that 440-430 B.C. the Passover was observed at Elephantinê.

<sup>24</sup> Chap. viii. 17.



length discovered and he is restored to the king's favour. The perfidy of the young man is also made known, and he is handed over by the king to Achikar for punishment. Achikar's vengeance seemingly takes the shape of moral addresses to the young man, couched in proverbs and fables. In the Greek biography of Aesop a similar experience is recorded of the latter while he was at the Court of King Lykeros, and the association may be more than accidental.

This story was widely known in Christian times, and Clement of Alexandria<sup>25</sup> records that Democritus (*circ.* 460-470 B.C.), the so-called 'laughing philosopher,' had made use of the aphorisms of Achikar, and incorporated into his writings a translation he had made of a stele of the same. Professor Sachau has looked in vain in the writings of Democritus for a verification of this statement. Strabo also mentions Achikar.

The interest of the story to Biblical students arises from the fact that a lesson is drawn from it in the Book of Tobit. The English version of Tobit is from the Septuagint. The version in the Vulgate was made by St. Jerome, against his inclination, as he says in his preface, from the Aramaic. This original had been entirely lost sight of until Dr. Neubauer found a shortened form of it in a Midrash<sup>26</sup> and published it in 1878, together with a Hebrew version and the Latin pre-Jerome rendering, the *Itala*.

It is somewhat remarkable that the lesson on ingratitude taken from the story of Achikar (Achiacharus in the English version of Tobit) does not appear in the version of St. Jerome nor in the Aramaic edition of Dr. Neubauer. There is evidence of curtailment in both the latter. The book of Tobit is regarded by some critics as having been written not earlier than 200 B.C. Some, indeed, make it post-Christian; but the presence of Achikar's story in the papyri suggests a much earlier date.

A few only of the interesting topics discussed by Professor Sachau in his notes on the papyri have been dwelt upon here. Sufficient, however, it is hoped, has been touched upon to show the great importance of this 'latest light from Egypt on the Holy Scriptures.'

EDMUND MCCLURE.

<sup>25</sup> Flourished 190-203 A.D. See *Stromateis*, Book V.

<sup>26</sup> A Hebrew Exegesis of Scripture.



1911

## THE KING'S TOUR IN INDIA

THE evening shades had deepened on a foggy London day, so dull and dreary at noon that no one knew when the goblin of gloom had swallowed up the angel of light. The mists had not lifted, there was a decided note of chill and dampness in the air, and the wind beat sharply against the face. The atmosphere lacked the exhilaration of dry cold just as much as it was minus the geniality of a tropical winter. There was something in the weather which damped all the fire that lay innate within a soul conceived and reared beneath sunny skies, something which actually clutched at the throat like a monster with a million clammy, slimy tentacles. The eyes which were used to gazing at the azure heavens, clear and expansive, flecked with myriad stars and a benign, beauteous moon, giving the sky the appearance of a royal-blue escutcheon with the Koh-i-noor in the centre and millions of diamonds set about it, felt oppressed by the uncertain gleam that the arc lights, capping the tall poles, shed in a vain attempt to penetrate the veiling fog, and they chafed rebelliously at their vision being so circumscribed.

It was a relief to enter the large library lined with huge book-cases. A bright fire blazed in the old-fashioned grate, and a dozen electric bulbs glowed in radiant glory. It was not a superbly furnished place—the easy-chairs showed long use—but the room had a character all its own. The lights shone through pink silk shades, ruffled with exactness. The blinds were not the cheap, shoddy things, that pull up and down on squeaky reels, which commercialists have foisted on an age whose finer susceptibilities have been dulled by money-madness—they were casement curtains of the same dainty, warm hue as the lamp-shades, and just as neatly and painstakingly ruffled. They not only looked pleasant, but effectively kept out the dulness and dampness.

The electric light straining through the pretty pink shades and the glow irradiating from the punctiliously laid fire fell on a half-dozen countenances so different in their outlines that no one could have guessed that the young men who bore them came from one and the same land—India. There was one, tall and lank, with kinky hair, arched forehead, jet-black, flashing eyes surmounted by bushy eyebrows, thick lips, receding chin, and black



skin—a Negroid type. Another was not so coarse-featured, not so dark, not so curly-haired as the first; yet not so delicately chiselled, nor so fair, nor so straight-haired as the third. The fourth had the cast of countenance which the old Grecians delighted to carve—he came from that part of Hindostan where Hellenic kings at one time reigned supreme, and possibly diluted Greek blood ran in his veins. The fifth had been fashioned by Nature in a moment of whimsical stinginess, and his face and figure bore the marks of her capriciousness as few human specimens do. He was wizened and shrivelled like the kernel of a walnut. The most remarkable thing about the last member of a party was the shiftiness of his eyes, betokening a high-strung, restless nature.

They would have made fine specimens in a living anthropological collection; but their faces and figures were not half so interesting as their talk, which centred around the King's visit to their native land—a topic which, on account of the uniqueness of the event, had pushed all other subjects into the background with the Indians abroad and at home. They spoke directly, curtly, vehemently—as if they had made up their minds.

One said: 'Their Majesties are going to have the time of their lives while in India.'

Another added: 'At our expense.'

The third remarked: 'And the Motherland already has been bled to death.'

The fourth called attention to the fact: 'India is now suffering from famine.'

The fifth sarcastically rejoined: 'But the British officials say there is no famine in Hindostan—the late rains have removed the last vestige of scarcity.'

The shifty-eyed one capped this statement by saying: 'Remember that all the *tamashas* (empty shows) that the English have had at the expense of our country were held when famines were despoiling our land. Lord Curzon's glorious Durbar took place when India was acutely suffering the pangs of starvation.'

If the scene of the talk had been shifted from the cosy, warm, bright library to the gloom and damp of the depressing night outside, there would have been less of a jarring note between the discontent and its surroundings. Impotent rage against weather conditions can and does lend bitterness to speech. But the motherly, considerate, noble-hearted English lady who was entertaining these 'boys' had laboured hard to dispel clamminess and dreariness from her home, and she had succeeded in her design. Why, then, this fretful dialogue?

But the weather had nothing to do with these restive statements. I heard similar sentiments expressed under blue-vaulted,



1911

jewelled, tropical skies, when the season was simply ideal—pleasant, sunny days, and genial, perfect nights. It was not in one city alone or in a single society of avowed anarchists that such opinions expressed themselves. In many centres, in diverse gatherings of men, and sometimes groups where emancipated ladies were present, such statements were made—not so directly, curtly, or vehemently; disguised, to be sure, in much finished innuendo, but nevertheless with a distinct tinge of bitterness. These remarks, therefore, may be taken as indicating the point of view of a section of Indians.

To particularise: these are the people whom modern education has so denationalised that pageantry and pomp have no meaning to them, though by nativity and parentage they are Orientals, and all Asiatics are supposed to love splendour. Indian character is naturally very conservative, and a great deal of Occidental schooling is needed to produce this radical change; but there is no denying the fact that, in a great or small measure, such a transformation actually has taken place in all the natives of Hindostan who have come much under the influence of modernism. The change has come about strictly in the proportion in which the Indians have assimilated Western learning. The effect has been the greatest on those who have sojourned in Europe and America—especially in the latter land. The younger these men are, the more they have been cut away from the moorings of the past, leaving behind them all reverence for tradition, dogma, and the dictates of their 'elders'—whose authority, until recently, has been supreme and unquestioned.

The dialogue reproduced verbatim expresses the opinions of the extreme wing of these men in its naïve irreverence. In one word, these people do not believe that any good can spring from the King's visit to India, and that, on the contrary, the Delhi Durbar will do Hindostan positive harm, by diverting into a meaningless show public funds which the country can ill afford to disburse for such a purpose and could utilise to better advantage if applied to reducing taxation, increasing educational facilities for the children of the soil, and bettering sanitation in the Peninsula.

## II

Such radical views necessarily are not bluntly expressed by many Indians in public, especially from the Press and platform in the Eastern Dependency, where statements of this kind, openly made, render their authors liable to severe punishment, a factor which puts a seal on the lips of the glibest Indian anarchist. The majority of the natives, in addition to the outside forces inspiring them to pitch their protests in a calmer key, possess the spirit



of compromise and moderation, on account of which not a few would express themselves as befits sane, even-tempered men, even though the dread of prosecution by the Government were altogether absent. Be this as it may, the large percentage of Indians trained in institutions of Western learning express their attitude in very guarded terms. But no matter how they seek to hide their real meaning in a maze of words, and no matter with what personal restraint they may speak, it is plain that the forthcoming function at Delhi, no matter how resplendent it may be, will not, of itself, appeal to them, for the simple reason that Occidental education has more or less completely replaced that part of their Oriental nature which loved barbaric splendour with a utilitarian sense which seeks to divert funds from mere show into productive channels.

These people, be it noted, have been fashioned largely by Britons, very much after the British pattern—cold-blooded, matter-of-fact, calculating men of the world. They abominate the trait in the character of their own Maharajas and Rajas which makes them draw largely upon the State revenues to maintain meaningless magnificence, and unequivocally condemn those Chiefs who, despite being brought up under the guidance of English tutors, and having imbibed Western ideas from wide travels in the Occident, do not give up the exaggerated display associated with the dark ages. They would be happy beyond measure if a way could be found to restrain the Indian rulers from treating their principalities as estates, instead of States, and considering the taxes collected from their subjects to constitute their privy purse, to be spent as the whim may direct on *nautch* girls and elephants. It is quite natural that these men should find it hard to reconcile themselves to the British devoting a stupendous amount (at least, so it seems to the natives of India) from the Indian finances upon a Durbar, where pomp and pageantry is to run riot as it probably never did before in the annals of the barbaric East, for the delectation of the pompous Native Princes, who will be present in full force at the function, and for the delight of that infinitesimal portion of the Indian masses who will be present in Delhi on the occasion and who will, no doubt, carry the news of the event to the four corners of Hindostan, to their illiterate kinsmen and friends, who otherwise never would hear of it.

However, the average educated Indian realises the utter futility of pressing this utilitarian point of view. Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary already have gone to India; elaborate preparations for their welcome and entertainment have been made at an expense which, when expressed in Indian currency, mounts up into eight figures; representative native associa-



1911

tions, municipalities, and the Government, singly and collectively, have laboured to make the Royal progress through Hindostan a memorable event; and no matter what may be said against the wastefulness of the pageant, it cannot now be cancelled. Moreover, the instincts of hospitality innate in the Indian character are not so dead in literate natives that they would not desire to accord a reception to their Emperor and Empress most suitable to their exalted rank. In addition to this, their susceptibilities have not become so dulled that they fail to feel flattered at the compliment their Majesties have paid them by selecting India as the only overseas dominion belonging to their vast Empire to be personally graced by their presence in the Coronation year. While, no doubt, there are a few irreverent extremists amongst them who think that the King and Queen are going to India merely to 'have the time of their lives,' most of them believe that they are taking great personal trouble to go to Hindostan, and feel grateful to them, especially in view of the fact that the first part of their voyage has been very rough and far from pleasant. It is an open secret in India that every possible effort was made to dissuade the King from going to his Oriental Dependency. His Majesty was warned of the dangers arising from the deep-laid plots of diabolical and shrewd terrorists, and from the scourge of plague and pestilence. To add eloquence to these pleas, the monsoon failed, and scarcity of food became accentuated, in different parts of the country. Further to arm the croakers with arguments against the tour the Italo-Turkish war complicated the diplomatic situation. But the Emperor has fared forth to India, heeding not the counsels of the timid, following what he considers to be the behest of his duty. All these factors have combined to make the honour the King is conferring on India bulk all the larger in the eyes of educated Indians, minus, of course, that portion of the fraternity which has irreclaimably been lured from loyalty to their sovereign by the Delilah of anarchism. In view of these considerations, most of the natives liberalised in Western schools and colleges are looking forward with much enthusiasm to the Delhi Durbar, and, instead of assuming an attitude of aloofness similar to that threatened by the Hibernian Nationalists when their Majesties visited Ireland immediately after their Coronation, they have actively and whole-heartedly co-operated with the officials of the Administration to accord a regal and loyal welcome to the King and Queen.

This point needs to be elucidated. It means no more, no less, than that one single factor has saved the Delhi Durbar of this year from being bitterly opposed. If this item were lacking, the grand pageant of 1911 would have been much more uncompromisingly condemned by the consensus of opinion of educated Indians than



was its immediate predecessor of 1903—popularly called 'Lord Curzon's Durbar'—though its wastefulness, barren pomp, and the fact that the Viceroy and Vicereine took precedence over a Prince and Princess of the Blood Royal, were so ruthlessly criticised that it is hard to conceive how stronger protestation could be made without exceeding the bounds of law and decency. The factor which has saved the situation is the move made by his Majesty, who only a few months ago was described as 'our young and inexperienced King,' on his personal initiative and (the author learns on unimpeachable authority) with the active endorsement and encouragement of his Queen-consort. Their Majesties' decision to go to India to be present at the function has redeemed it from being a show which merely would appeal to the dull susceptibilities of the pomp-loving Princes and the illiterates amongst Indians, whose number, unfortunately, is hundreds of times larger than that of their educated brothers; has given legitimacy to the egregious expenditure which, calculating all that will be spent by the British-Indian and Native States Governments, municipalities, associations, and private individuals, is expected to total up to many million rupees; and has even inspired enthusiasm amongst the natives who count in the Peninsula because of their intelligence, education, culture, and character, and who have a tremendous power over the millions of illiterates. The statesmanship of King George the Fifth, and his persistence and pluck to carry out his 'hope' to visit India, have altered the whole situation, and stirred to its deepest depths the loyalty so deep-rooted in all Indians that Western education, even when distorted by terrorist teachers, has been unable to blot it out.

### III

But it must be remembered that the brown men trained in modern schools and colleges do not at all hesitate, more or less frankly, to point out that the grand assemblage at India's Imperial centre and the visit of the British sovereign and his consort will really appeal to them, not on account of the pomp of the various functions, but in spite of them. To their mind, there is one and only one way in which the uniqueness of their Majesties' visit can make a *lasting* impression upon literate and illiterate India, and that is, to supplement the splendour of the Durbar by his Majesty granting one or more 'Coronation boons' to his Indian subjects calculated to appeal to their imaginations and soften their hearts.

This sounds very much as if India wants to get 'its money's worth' (to use an expressive Americanism) from the King for lavishly entertaining him and his consort. While this construction might be put on the thing by foreigners, some Indians will



1911

go to the length of declaring that, in urging that the King-Emperor should thus signalise his visit to India, they are acting from disinterested motives, believing that the grant of a boon of the kind they desire would weld the country to Great Britain as nothing else could; and therefore they really are promoting an Imperial issue. Others would affirm that they are asking for nothing out of the way—that Hindostan is accustomed to receive uncommon grants upon the accession of its Maharajas and Rajas, that it used to be given substantial concessions when its native Emperors succeeded to the throne, and if George the Fifth does not follow this precedent he will disappoint the teeming millions of his brown subjects. They also call attention to the fact that the conferring of boons is not unusual in countries with constitutional government, least of all England. Moreover, while King George is the 'limited monarch' of Great Britain, they aver that he is the despotic ruler of India, and for this reason can go farther in the matter of bestowing favours upon the natives of his Oriental Empire than he can where he is hampered with a popularly elected Parliament and Ministry.

The demands for 'Coronation boons' are being so insistently made by educated Indians, and all the functions in connexion with the Delhi Durbar have been so fashioned along Oriental lines by the British officials, under the guidance of Sir John Hewett, in charge of the committee which has arranged the details of the great pageant, that it is extremely unlikely that the King will content himself with merely dispensing customary grants, such as conferring titles on a few Englishmen and Indians, and setting free some convicts. It does not need much of a prophet to foretell that his Majesty is sure to commemorate his visit to India by granting some favour big enough to be associated with the epoch-making character of his tour.

## IV

The question of prime importance, therefore, is, what benefaction will please India most? Hindostan being a huge country, split up into many provinces, each larger than many European kingdoms, and harbouring a population vastly dissimilar in life-habits from the people in other parts of the land; Indians in the year of grace 1911 lacking, almost completely, the sense of nationhood, and being divided amongst themselves by inflammable racial, credal, clannish, and parochial passions; and a microscopic minority of the natives having made appreciable progress in assimilating Occidental ideas and ideals, while the teeming millions remain sunk in ignorance—it is no easy matter to answer this query satisfactorily. Consensus of opinion does not, and necessarily cannot, exist on this subject. Many requests have been



made and are being urged upon the consideration of his Majesty. Brief allusion may be made to the most important amongst the proposals.

(1) Unquestionably, the most ambitious Royal gift that is being asked for is Colonial self-government for India. This by no means is a new demand, the 'Indian National Congress' having been supplicating the British-Indian Government for almost twenty-five years to institute this reform.

(2) The Hindus are urging the repeal of the provisions of the constitutional reforms recently given to India during the régime of Lords Morley and Minto, which, according to their notion, give preferential treatment to Mahomedans, as to the number of seats and qualifications for election to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils.

(3) The Bengalis and their friends are agitating with might and main for the complete abrogation or modification of the ukase of Lord Curzon which cleft Bengal into two provinces—'Bengal' and 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'—and the consolidation of the two divisions into (if possible) a Presidency governed by a Governor-in-Council, like Bombay and Madras, since the officials claim that, without the partition, it is too heavy a charge for a single Lieutenant-Governor.

(4) Many public-spirited Indians claim that by repealing the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, and the Explosives Act, which were framed at the time when the Nihilist propaganda seemed to be making such rapid progress in Hindostan that it was considered necessary to provide repressive measures, the King-Emperor will draw the hearts of Indians very close to himself.

(5) In conjunction with this, his Majesty is being importuned to release all political prisoners—editors and lecturers—who are in prison because of sedition against the Paramount Power. The offender of this type who is best known and has the largest following is Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Poona editor, who, about three years ago, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for publishing articles offensive to the Administration.

(6) Friends of the representative of the House of Oudh request that the British Government may restore Oudh to the descendants of the ex-King, since on the death of the present head of the family his successor will enjoy a very small income in the shape of an inconsequential monthly pension, and since if even a portion of the territory which was taken over by the British on the collapse of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 were to be turned over to the humbled dynasty its financial future would be assured.

(7) An important boon, in the opinion of many people, would be the provision for simultaneous examinations to be held in London and Calcutta for the Indian Civil Service, an agitation for



1911

which was led by Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, who brought forward this issue many years ago; or, at least, the annual assignment of a certain and increasingly larger number of vacancies in the service to be filled by Indians only, and the improving of the pay and prospects of provincial engineering, educational, and other services.

(8) Considerable agitation is going on amongst people, whose loyalty is unassailed by the breath of suspicion, to urge his Majesty to open up services which at present are closed to Indians—to bestow commissions in the British Army upon Indian royalty and aristocrats and members of families that have raised themselves to a high social position; to make Indian soldiers eligible for the Victoria Cross; to create a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry wholly officered by Indians, and open the doors of the Navy to natives of Hindostan.

(9) Those interested in the welfare of the Indian agriculturists are proposing that the present system of revising the rates of taxation on land every thirty years, or at even shorter intervals, be replaced by permanent land-tenure, where the rate is settled once for all, as is the case in Bengal to-day; or that, at least, the lapse of time between settlements may be considerably lengthened, so as to cover two generations; that the period of tenancy be lengthened; that the farmers be exempted from imprisonment for debt; or that the cultivators be protected against heartless usurers by a Royal Proclamation declaring their plough-cattle, farm implements, and seed-grains unattachable.

(10) The reduction or total abolition of the salt tax.

(11) Some Hindus ask for the absolute prohibition of the slaughter of beef-cattle; while others request that the Government stop all slaughter of cows for food for the Army, and instead import frozen or tinned beef from Australia, Canada, or the United States, thus to an appreciable extent doing away with the butchering of cattle in a land where they are largely used for agricultural and draught purposes.

## V

Few Indians, no matter how highly educated they may be, want Colonial self-government for India to be given to Hindostan all at once, though most of them would like to have a much more important voice in the administration of their land, especially in the matter of levying, collecting, and spending Governmental revenue, and making and unmaking tariff laws and schedules, than the Morley-Minto reforms have given them. But those who have closely studied the situation feel that such aspirations, no matter how eloquently and impassionately they may be pressed upon the attention of his Majesty, are bound to be denied, inas-



much as all the officials, *en bloc*, are opposed to the granting of any further political concessions, and therefore will be likely to use all their influence to persuade the King to pay no attention to such requests.

The suggestion seeking to do away with the separate electorate that the Mahomedan leaders secured after a great deal of agitation, very cleverly engineered and perseveringly waged at the time the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms were being put into working shape, is objected to by cool-headed Indians on the ground that, while such a thing, no doubt, would please the entire body of educated Hindus, it would annoy and inflame the protagonists of the Moslem community. Even though grave injustice may have been done in framing regulations which gave the Mahomedans separate electorates and distinctive electoral rights, qualifications, and privileges, and even though the abrogation of separate electorates may tend to promote Indian unity—statements whose accuracy is challenged by the Islamites—the reversal of the policy by the King, viewed from a broad, non-sectarian standpoint, is considered inadvisable by many, on account of the fact that while it will conciliate one section it will antagonise another.

The repeal or modification of the partition of Bengal, it is contended, more than likely would have to be done in the face of strong official opposition. Even if the boon is granted, it will directly affect only a section of people in a single province of India; since the Mahomedans in Bengal, it must be remembered, as a rule have been reconciled to this measure from the very beginning, and some of them have supported the move with even more enthusiasm than the officials during the half-dozen years that the Bengali Hindus have been agitating against it. It must be added that educated people throughout India will hail the grant of this boon, because they have supported the Bengali Hindus in their agitation, and the successful issue of it will be likely to stiffen their necks—a factor, the extremists declare, which, inasmuch as it would be considered detrimental to the prestige of the British bureaucrats in charge of India's administration, would promptly and uncompromisingly enlist their opposition. However, when the agitation for the reversal of this policy was at its height, Lord Morley definitely, authoritatively, and finally declared that it was 'a settled fact' and could not be disturbed. Now that the demonstrations against it have almost entirely disappeared, because of executive action and the natural cooling of passions stirred by the partition of a part of the country which for many generations had formed a single administrative division, and was linked up by a common language and civilisation, it is not likely that at this particular juncture this boon will be considered especially appropriate.



1911

In view of the present quietude prevailing in all parts of India, and the falling off of anarchical crime almost to the vanishing point, more than likely the proposal to repeal the Acts meant to stifle treason may receive more sympathetic consideration from the officials than any other suggestion that has been discussed. The timid amongst them, however, will be unwilling to disarm the executive of those instruments which, in their opinion, have been responsible for the calming of India's nerves. They will be likely, therefore, to counsel the grant of a more or less general amnesty to political offenders, rather than the rescission of the Press, Seditious Meetings, and Explosive Arms Acts. However, since Hindus are principally affected by this legislation, and since only Hindu agitators are at present languishing behind the bars for sedition, the bestowal of such a favour would affect only a section of educated Indians, though there is not the least doubt that such a concession would promote peace and goodwill in India.

British statesmanship has already restored two Native States to Hindus. More than a generation ago Mysore was handed over to the present reigning dynasty. Only a short time since, Lord Minto published the fact that his Majesty had been pleased to order that a principality be carved out of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the Maharaja of Benares. The creation of a State for a Moslem Prince like the representative of the House of Oudh would be strictly in line with the same policy. The educated as well as the uneducated followers of the Prophet would be pleased by such a gracious act, and the Hindus would feel that an act of justice had been done.

A boon which would be universally esteemed by all educated Indians, and would benefit all of them, without reference to race or creed, would be a generous provision for the employment of natives in the higher grades of the civil, military, and naval services. During recent years a few Indians have been placed in charge of responsible offices. Notable, in this respect, was the elevation of a native to hold the legal portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive Council; the inclusion of a Hindu and a Mahomedan on the Advisory Council of the Secretary of State for India; the appointment of a Mahomedan to be a member of the Judicial Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council; and the raising of Indians to be commissioners of administrative divisions and to hold the highest appointments in the engineering, meteorological, hospital, and other services. What is now needed, most thinking Indians feel, is that a liberal provision should be made to enable Indians to rise to distinctive posts, and that this principle should be liberally carried toward its logical end. There is especially a great need, it is believed, for the opening up of careers for the scions of



fighting families, by throwing open commissioned offices to the natives.

As early as 1833 the British Parliament solemnly pledged :

That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.

At the time the East India Company's duties were transferred to the Crown, when the reins of the Indian Government passed from the hands of the commercial corporation into those of the British sovereign, Queen Victoria, the grandmother of the present King, affirmed these vows :

We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to . . . administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

These pledges were often reiterated during the reign of Queen Victoria, and were forcefully endorsed by the late King Edward. Most Indians feel that it is only meet and proper that India should look to King George, on the occasion of his visit to Hindostan, to arrange that the principles enunciated by his grandmother and father be put into fuller effect during his reign than they have been in the past, and that he should signalise his visit, either by permitting the holding of simultaneous civil service examinations in London and Calcutta, or ordering the yearly apportionment of a certain and increasingly larger number of vacancies in the Indian Civil Service to natives, throw open to them the commissioned offices in the Army, make the brown soldiers eligible to receive the Victoria Cross, allow Indian regiments to be officered by natives, admit his Oriental subjects into the Navy, raise the status of the natives in the provincial services and adjust their grievances, and increase the salaries of the low-paid drudges in the Governmental offices.

## VI

The remaining favours asked by the Indian publicists affect the illiterate masses more than they do the educated classes. Hindostan, it must be borne in mind, is a country of farmers.



1911

agriculture and allied industries giving employment to the largest percentage of the people of the Peninsula. Any gift from the King calculated to do the greatest good to the greatest number of his brown subjects must necessarily, therefore, be associated with the soil.

The ignorant Indian no doubt is a fatalist, but he knows when his pocket is touched. He does not, as a rule, welcome the time when the land-rent falls due. His habitual slowness to pay his rates, due to the fact that he has not become accustomed to discharging this debt to the Government in cash instead of in the time-honoured fashion of liquidating it in kind, and his poverty, lay him open to shabby treatment at the hands of petty officials. The revenue collectors, though themselves Indians, are men neither of education nor of natural refinement, have little sympathy for the people over whom the Administration has set them up as despots, and are subject to little check imposed from outside. Even if some of them desire to treat their charges decently, the lowness of their salaries—which, in fact, are mere pittance, not amounting to even a sovereign a month in the case of thousands of them—compels them to be corrupt. The ignorant farmers naturally dislike these representatives of the British Government. They especially detest the officials whose duty it is to make local inquiries every ten, twenty, or thirty years (the period for revising land-settlement rates being determined by the respective Provincial Governments) as to how the farms have been improved by boring wells, or by other means of water supply, and how the crop yield has increased in value, thus enhancing the Governmental incidence. The only other thing that ruffles the even-tempered lives of the agriculturist is the failure of the monsoon, or some dire calamity in the family.

In view of all this, students of Indian economics are united in feeling that the boons which the average Indian will esteem most from the hands of his Majesty will be an appreciable cut in the land revenue, a reversion to the method of collecting taxes in corn instead of in cash, or, at least, a relaxation of severity in the methods of the revenue collectors. Unless native agency is employed in the higher grades of Government services to a much larger extent than at present, the Army expenditure materially reduced by decreasing the strength of British soldiers garrisoned in India, and distinctly Imperial charges transferred from the Indian to the London exchequer, the King, it is claimed, will be unable to reduce the burden on Indian agriculturists, especially in view of the increasingly diminishing revenue from the sale of opium to China. Official authorities invariably controvert the Indian charge that the ryot bears more of the brunt of the burden of taxation than he should, and, as the matter has not progressed



beyond the stage of discussion, and because of the official influence upon the mind of the King during his Indian tour, one naturally cannot look for a material decrease in the land-revenue rate. His Majesty, also, cannot change the hearts of the petty officials who represent him in the Indian villages, merely by issuing a mandate.

However, the natives, educated or otherwise, Hindu and Moslem, Sikh, Parsi, native Christian, Buddhist, and Jain, living in all parts of the Peninsula, fully believe that the lot of the farmers will be improved if permanent land-settlement—a system which has been in force in Bengal for more than a century—is introduced throughout Hindostan. If, for financial reasons, this is not deemed practicable, the lengthening of the interval between the successive revisions to, say, once in every two generations, or fifty years, it is thought would afford much relief and go a great way to assure the peace of mind of Hindostan's millions. Whether this is granted or not, the other agricultural boons will be highly appreciated by the masses.

The reduction of the tax on salt during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty has been universally acclaimed by Indians of the poor classes, since that measure placed it within the reach, it is calculated, of hundreds of thousands of men and women who did not possess the economic ability to use it in normal quantities. Its total abolition, or a further cut, in the opinion of most Indians, will no doubt please the poor people.

The prohibition of cow-killing is an impracticable suggestion, according to the ideas of most unprejudiced thinkers, in view of the millions of Moslem subjects who, for economic reasons (beef being cheaper than mutton and other meat) and because of having used it for generations, prefer it. Moreover, their religion requires the sacrifice of animals, and they find that, in order to fulfil all the ceremonial requirements, it is far cheaper to employ cows for sacrificial purposes than any other animal. On account of these considerations, a mandate prohibiting the slaughter of bovines would be regarded as a hardship by at least one-fourth of the population of India. The suggestion that the King should stop the supplying of the British army garrisoned in India with fresh-killed beef has enlisted the sympathies of a vast number of Hindus. At best, however, it is but a palliative measure, though it would show the Hindus the King's desire to respect their prejudices. Possibly the increased cost of bringing frozen beef from a foreign country might outweigh this issue. As a device for saving the plough-cattle of Hindostan, it appears to many not to be so practicable as for the Government to make provision for improving the breed and taking better care of cattle during famine times.



1911

## VII

To be sure, the educated Indians possess strong lungs, and any boon given to them will be noised all over the world. Anything granted to the illiterates, on the other hand, will not possess this advantage. Though the pomp and pageantry will appeal to such amongst them as have the privilege of witnessing the magnificence of the affair, much more than to their Westernised countrymen who will be present at the functions, yet they will not be able to give voice to their feelings, and their loyalty, no matter how much it may run riot in their hearts, will lack the eloquence of suitable expression. However, since the King's object is not to seek advertisement, but to be kind to his subjects, it is generally felt that the best thing he can do is to give them something that will better the lot of the large bulk of the populace. It is more than likely that, in view of the great disparity existing in India between the classes and masses, separate concessions may be granted to each group. But in case only one boon is to be conferred, the illiterates deserve it, not only because they are in the majority, but also because the educated Indians only recently were given a boon in the shape of the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms, and, as education advances in Hindostan, they are bound to get more and higher appointments and political preferments.

Probably, in the last analysis, the boon with which the first British sovereign's visit to India should be associated is the issuance of an Imperial Rescript on education, which will guarantee that the second decade of the twentieth century shall see the torch of knowledge carried to every home throughout the Indian Peninsula. 'The Giver of learning' always has been revered in Hindostan equally by the Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains, and nothing will appeal so much to the educated classes, nothing will do so much substantial good to the illiterate masses, as the provision of a system of free and, if possible, compulsory education throughout India. The boon will be all the more worthy of the epoch-making event if a handsome donation is made from the Privy Purse, and if his Majesty will use his good offices to induce the House of Commons to vote a donation of, say, 1,000,000*l.* from the Imperial Exchequer.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.



## SMOKE ABATEMENT

We must therefore rely chiefly on our coal reserve for our supply of energy, and for the means of supporting our population; and it is to the more economical use of coal that we must look in order that our life as a nation may be prolonged.

THE above quotation from the latter part of the Presidential Address which Sir William Ramsay delivered before the British Association at Portsmouth on the 30th of August last, proves, if proof be necessary, the great importance of the subject of this article. As Sir William Ramsay pointed out, smoke is a sign of waste and careless stoking, and the energy of the coal which is lost from these causes is far more than one-half of one per cent. represented by the actual thermal value of the carbon contained in chimney gases. The Royal Commission which investigated and reported a few years ago upon the probable life of our fuel resources, in fact, estimated that of 150,000,000 tons of fuel used annually at that date for heating purposes in this country, 50,000,000 tons (or fully one-third) was wasted owing to the inefficient methods of use.

As regards the manufacturers' share of this loss, Sir William Ramsay, in his Presidential Address, was perhaps too inclined to accept the view that the general adoption of mechanical stokers had already largely solved the smoke problem in factories and works, and that the domestic chimney was now the chief cause of the pollution of our city and town atmosphere. It will be shown later on in the present article that this view is incorrect, and that hand-stoked boiler and furnace fires are still responsible for a very large proportion of the smoke and dirt which contaminate the air of our northern towns, and of the larger centres of manufacturing industry.

Turning to other aspects of the losses arising from smoke, the state of the iron and stone work of the public buildings in London and many provincial towns and cities proves the destructive action of the gases arising from the imperfect combustion of coal, while the dirtiness of the atmosphere of cities and manufacturing towns, as judged by the necessity for the frequent application of soap and paint, is proverbial. As regards the effects of smoke upon health, Dr. Hope, the Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool, in an



1911

Introduction to a recently published handbook on *Boiler Control*, has stated

that the injury done to health by the smoke nuisance is not limited to pollution of the air with carbon; indirectly, it leads to another mischief, for it is common knowledge that the careful housewife will close the windows to exclude smuts, and her household will incur as a result all the objectionable consequences of unventilated rooms.

It is a singular reflection, says Dr. Hope, that man has greater regard for his stomach than for his lungs. He would resent the possibility of the introduction of unclean food three times a day into his stomach, but the introduction of unclean air, sixteen times a minute, into his lungs is submitted to without complaint.

Considerations of health, prudence and economy, therefore, all urge attention to this subject, and it is satisfactory to note that the smoke abatement exhibitions and conferences which have been held in recent years in London, Sheffield and Glasgow have served a useful purpose, even though they may have appeared, at the time, to have been followed by little practical reduction of the smoke nuisance in the cities in which they have been held.

These exhibitions and conferences have drawn the attention of the general public to the progress which is being made in the apparatus and appliances for reducing industrial and domestic smoke; they have brought together those specially interested either as manufacturers, council officials, or experts in the subject of smoke abatement, and have thus led to the dissemination of much useful information; and finally, they have produced a much needed consolidation of the various forces and agencies that are now at work for the improvement in the cleanliness of the atmospheres of all large cities and industrial centres. As proof of this latter statement, it may be noted that the exhibition at Glasgow in the autumn of 1910 was promoted by the Sanitary, Gas and Electricity Committees of the City Corporation, and that as regards attendance and results it was the most successful exhibition of the kind yet held.

Similar exhibitions are to be held in Manchester<sup>1</sup> and London during the present winter, allied in each case with public conferences of those interested in the question of smoke abatement. In view of these exhibitions and conferences, the moment may be regarded as opportune for summarising the present position as regards the achievement, methods and aims of those who are attempting to solve the black smoke problem.

The discussion of the subject can be most satisfactorily carried on under the following headings:

(1) The present state of the law in London and the Provinces, and the effects of smoke prosecutions,

<sup>1</sup> The Manchester Exhibition was held from Nov. 10th to 25th.



- (2) The practical aspects of smoke abatement,
- (3) The work of voluntary agencies, and
- (4) The line of future progress.

# I.—THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LAW IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES AND THE EFFECTS OF SMOKE PRECAUTIONS.

Prosecutions for nuisances arising from excessive smoke emissions are based in England in almost all cases on the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875, or upon similar provisions in local Acts. The London Public Health Act of 1891 is representative of the latter, and contains clauses dealing with excessive smoke emission. Proceedings within the Metropolitan area are always taken under this Act. When the emission of smoke can be proved to be the cause of either injury to health or to public and private property, proceedings, it is true, may be taken under the common law, but it has been found difficult in the past to prove the existence of an actionable nuisance, and prosecutions under the common law have been too often unsuccessful, and have now been almost entirely dropped.

Section 91, Sub-section 8, of the Public Health Act of 1875 enacts that 'any chimney not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house sending forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance shall be deemed to be a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily in manner provided by this Act,' and Section 92 of the same Act imposes upon the local authority the duty of inspecting the districts for which they are responsible and enforcing the provisions of this Act as regards nuisance arising from smoke. Section 106 provides for the coercion of defaulting local authorities in this matter, by the Local Government Board.

The provisions of the London Public Health Act of 1891 and of the other local Acts under which proceedings are taken in Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and Leeds and a few other large towns are practically the same as those of the Act of 1875. Section 23 of the London Act imposes cumulative fines for every conviction of any person who,

being the owner or occupier of the premises, or being a foreman or other person employed by such owner or occupier, (a) uses any furnace employed in trade which is not constructed so as to consume or burn the smoke arising therefrom; or (b) so negligently uses any such furnace as that the smoke arising therefrom is not effectually consumed or burnt; or (c) carries on any trade or business which occasions any noxious or offensive effluvia, or otherwise annoys the neighbourhood or inhabitants, without using the best practicable means for preventing or counteracting such effluvia or other annoyance.

Section 24 enacts that 'any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house) sending forth black smoke in such



1911

quantities as to be a nuisance ' shall be deemed a nuisance liable to be summarily dealt with under this Act. By a decision of the Courts in 1903 it was held that London club premises were not to be regarded as private dwelling-houses, and were not to be exempt from the operation of the Act.

As regards the powers of provincial cities, the following is the section dealing with smoke in the Glasgow Police Act of 1892, Section 31 :

Every person who so uses, causes, permits, or suffers to be used, any furnace or fire within the city (except a household fire) so that smoke issues therefrom, unless he proves that he has used the best practicable means for preventing smoke, and has carefully attended to and managed such furnace or fire so as to prevent as far as possible smoke issuing therefrom, shall be liable for the first offence to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings, and for a second or any subsequent offence, if committed within twelve months of the immediately previous conviction, to a penalty not exceeding five pounds.<sup>2</sup>

This being the legal position as regards the nuisance arising from excessive smoke emission, it is of interest to see what success has attended the operation of these Acts in the past. In a large number of towns and cities where manufacturing operations are carried on some attempt has been made to enforce the existing law, and special inspectors have been appointed to watch the factory chimneys and to report when excessive smoke emission occurs. Glasgow, which is most energetic in this matter, has five smoke inspectors, Manchester has four, and Liverpool has three.

In London the Coal Smoke Abatement Society have their own paid inspector for this work ; while similar organisations in other cities also assist the local authorities by reporting the cases of excessive smoke emission when they occur. But it is one thing to report and another to obtain convictions under the Act, and only a very small proportion of the cases brought before the magistrates are successful, or result in the imposition of a fine. The offending party usually pleads (1) that the inspector was mistaken, and that his chimney was not the offending one; (2) that the excessive smoke emission was due to a temporary breakdown; (3) that he has spent, or is about to spend, a large sum upon a patent smoke-consuming device, warranted by the inventor to suppress all smoke ; and on one or other of these pleas he generally succeeds in escaping the imposition of a fine. Even when a fine is imposed, it is generally so light that it is cheaper to pay it than to incur any expenditure upon alterations or improvements

<sup>2</sup> A fuller discussion of the legal position will be found in a Paper by Mr. Joseph Hurst, Barrister, read before the Conference on Smoke Abatement held in London in December 1906.



of the plant. The power to impose cumulative fines for repeated offences under the local Acts is still more rarely exercised, even when it exists. At Glasgow each twelve months is treated as a closed period, and the offending party starts with a clean slate as regards previous convictions when this period has expired.

Further, in too many towns and centres of manufacturing industry no attempts are made to enforce the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875, in so far as they relate to the nuisance arising from smoke. Those who ought to set the Act in operation are themselves manufacturers, and have no desire to annoy and worry their fellow-manufacturers, even if blameless themselves, and Sections 91 and 92 of the 1875 Act in their districts are practically a dead letter. Stipendiary magistrates are, as a rule, equally lenient towards offenders under the Act, owing to the fact that most of them have no scientific knowledge, and have not the faintest idea what is and what is not possible with a boiler furnace.

In London a further difficulty has been created in the path of those who are charged with the duty of enforcing the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891, by the decision of Mr. Curtis Bennett three years ago, in the case of the Lot's Road Electrical Generating Station. This works possesses four huge chimney stacks, each nineteen feet in diameter, and it was urged successfully by the defence that the smoke emitted from these chimneys only appeared 'black' because of its great depth and volume, and that it would have appeared much lighter in colour if emitted from chimneys of half the diameter. Since the decision of Mr. Curtis Bennett in favour of the defendant company, there have been exceedingly few prosecutions for nuisances arising from smoke within the Metropolitan area, and there is general dissatisfaction expressed with the state of the law upon the subject. This discontent has found expression in the attempt of the London County Council in its General Powers Bill of 1910 to obtain further powers in relation to the nuisance arising from smoke emission, and in a deputation representing nineteen municipalities and public associations which interviewed the President of the Local Government Board in June 1910, and urged that the smoke clauses of the London Public Health Act of 1891 (as amended in 1910) should be made applicable to the whole country.

The chief modification in the London Public Health Act of 1891, proposed by the London County Council, was the deletion of the word 'black' from Section 24, which would then read: 'Any chimney, not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house, sending forth smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance shall be deemed a nuisance,' &c., &c.

It was stated in support of the change that until this alteration



1911

was made no smoke prosecution in the Metropolis could succeed, for the offending parties could always refer to Mr. Curtis Bennett's decision, and plead that if the smoke had been emitted from double the number of smaller chimneys it would have appeared grey in colour.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons charged with the consideration of this Bill decided on the 28th of June 1910 to retain the 'black' in Section 24 of the Act of 1891. It is evident, however, that the controversy is not yet ended, and when the London County Council's General Powers Bill for 1912 is framed, the attempt to obtain some amendment of the wording of Clause 24 of the 1891 Act is almost certain to be renewed.

The present state of the law with regard to the nuisance arising from smoke emission in London and the Provinces is therefore far from settled, and convictions under the 1875 and 1891 Acts are rarely obtained. In those cases in which the prosecutions have been successful the fines imposed have been inadequate. Many of those interested in smoke abatement are beginning to doubt whether further effort in this direction is desirable or necessary, and to ask whether better progress could be obtained by concentrating effort and attention upon those practical and voluntary methods of dealing with the evil which will now be discussed.

## II.—THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF SMOKE ABATEMENT.

There are three fundamental facts which must be insisted upon when considering the practical aspects of smoke abatement from the manufacturers' and householders' point of view. The first of these is, that smoke abatement is practicable and is allied with fuel economy; the second, that the ordinary domestic fire and chimney in London and in most large towns is responsible for quite one-half of the smoke; and the third, that when smoke is entirely banished from our atmosphere the sulphuric acid produced by the burning of coal will still damage iron and stone work, and kill vegetation, in our cities and centres of manufacturing industry.

The fact that it pays the fuel users to reduce smoke to a minimum can be proved both by scientific reasoning and by practical examples. Although the actual weight of carbon suspended in smoke is small, and as already stated in the introduction to this article, rarely represents one-half of one per cent. of the total heat value of the fuel, the emission of smoke points to defective conditions of combustion in the furnace. Smoke is most often caused when using bituminous fuel—*i.e.* fuel containing over



25 per cent. of volatile matter—and is chiefly produced at the moment when a fresh charge of this fuel is thrown upon the fire. The cooling of the fire which thereby results, and the sudden liberation of large volumes of hydrocarbon gases from the newly-charged fuel, are the cause of the smoke. The heat losses can be calculated from the chemical composition of the gases passing away from the furnace, and are found to vary from 10 per cent. to 33 per cent. of the total heat value of the fuel. These losses can be largely reduced in the case of hand-fired furnaces by the employment of skilled stokers specially trained in the scientific principles of firing, and by the installation of one of the numerous devices for more thoroughly mixing the air and the hydrocarbon gases, and also for regulating automatically the air supply to the needs of the fire, at different stages of the combustion process.

The other and more usually adopted method of preventing smoke-formation, and of obtaining high efficiency when burning bituminous coal, is to instal one of the tried and trustworthy forms of automatic or machine stoker. The fuel is then fed regularly by the mechanism of the stoker in small amounts into the furnace without opening the furnace door; the volatile gases of the fuel are evolved regularly, and the air supply requires no sudden increase to allow for the combustion of sudden bursts of hydrocarbon gases.

As practical proof of these claims, the following examples may be given :

(1) The Hamburg Smoke Abatement Society—a voluntary association of fuel users—in its official reports for the years 1903-1910, gives hundreds of detailed tests of the efficiency trials of boilers in and around the city of Hamburg. These tests show gains varying from 5 to 15 per cent. (representing equal savings upon the coal bill), by the change from unskilled to skilled, or to mechanical stokers. The membership of the Hamburg Society, which provides this training for stokers, has increased from fifty-six to 353 manufacturers and factory-owners during the eight years it has been in existence, and over 1000 stokers have received practical instruction during this period.

(2) Mr. C. D. Leng, of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, at a meeting held in 1910 in Sheffield for the purpose of forming a Sheffield and District branch of the Smoke Abatement League, stated that

In 1896-7 we were conducting a pretty hot campaign against the smoke evil in the *Sheffield Telegraph*. Our own boiler chimney was, and is, very distinct, and was not above suspicion. We were burning forty-five tons per week of washed nuts at 12s. 6d. per ton, at a total cost for fuel of 28l. per week, and we made smoke. I read the subject up, called in a good



firm, made some alteration to our boilers, and reduced the fuel bill from 28l. a week to 10l. 5s. 6d. We make no smoke, and we evaporate water at a cost of 2s. 4d. per thousand gallons.

The second and third assertions relating to the practical aspects of smoke abatement can only be dealt with briefly here, though of vast importance in their relation to the whole question.

The ordinary domestic open grate is acknowledged by all who have studied the question of smoke-production to be the most wasteful and unscientific device for burning bituminous fuel that could have been adopted for general use. Two of the three cardinal principles of good combustion—namely, the maintenance of a sufficiently high temperature, and good intermixture of the incoming air and hydrocarbon gases, are quite unprovided for by this grate; and were it not for its ventilating properties it would have been relegated long ago to the scrap heap of mid-Victorian inventions. As compared with the ordinary factory furnace the domestic grate is greatly inferior, and having regard to its comparative size and amount of fuel consumed, the domestic chimney produces more smoke and wastes more heat than any factory chimney in existence. It has been estimated that London consumes 16,000,000 tons of fuel annually, of which one-half is burned for domestic purposes. The statement that more than one-half of London's smoke is to be attributed to the domestic chimneys is therefore well within the truth, and finds confirmation in the observations of the Hon. Rollo Russell upon the formation of London fog, as recorded in a paper read in December 1905 before the London Smoke Abatement Conference.

With regard to the amount of sulphuric acid produced annually by the combustion of fuel, it may be stated that the average amount of sulphur contained in ordinary bituminous coal is one and a quarter per cent., and that on heating fuel, one-half of this sulphur (three quarters of one per cent.) is liberated, and burns with the evolution of heat to form sulphurous acid gas. This gas sooner or later condenses and falls to the earth in the form of sulphuric acid.

From these figures it is possible to estimate the amount of sulphuric acid which is turned into the atmosphere by the combustion of the daily quota of the 16,000,000 tons of fuel burned annually in the metropolis. The calculation gives 1000 tons of acid. The corresponding figures for the whole country give the enormous total of 10,000 tons of acid per day, or three and a half millions of tons per annum. The banishment of smoke alone will not remove therefore the whole of the evil effects upon decorations, architecture and vegetation, which follow the combustion of solid fuel, and it is unfortunate that the substitution of gas for coal still leaves this particular problem unsolved.



## III.—THE WORK OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES.

The voluntary agencies which have been called into existence during the last few years for the purpose of promoting smoke abatement may be divided into two broad classes.

In the first of these may be grouped all the societies which exist merely for the purpose of calling attention to the evils arising from black smoke and of reporting offenders under the present law; the societies which have more educational and practical aims, the members of which are drawn chiefly from the manufacturers and actual consumers of the fuel, may be gathered into Class II. The value of the work carried out by these different societies and organisations can be judged most satisfactorily by examining their latest reports.

The London Coal Smoke Abatement Society is the most representative of the society in Class I. This society was founded in the year 1899, and is therefore now in the thirteenth year of its existence. The society's chief work during the past twelve years has been to call the attention of Londoners to the dirt and damage caused by smoke within the Metropolis, and to assist the authorities by reporting offenders under the London Public Health Act of 1891. The society maintains at present one inspector, who reports to the committee the cases of excessive smoke emission as they arise, and the committee in their turn, after examining the evidence, pass on the reports to the various local councils and authorities concerned. During the year 1909, 1156 cases of excessive smoke emission were reported by the society's inspector, and in 1910, 1094. In the majority of cases these reports formed the basis of complaints to the borough councils and other local authorities. The following extract from the 1909 report shows the difficulty and limitation of the society's work in this direction :

There are, it is true, a limited number of metropolitan authorities, such as the Southwark Borough Council, which still fail to enforce the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, under the mistaken impression that if they insist upon the abatement of smoke nuisances they unfairly harass trade. They decline to recognise the evidence accumulated by the society and by independent investigators that it is possible to get rid of black smoke nuisances without ultimate loss, and, indeed, generally with much profit to the manufacturer. And they confine their activities to the issue to the offenders of formal complaints or even friendly letters, mildly urging that steps should be adopted to remove the nuisance. Where—

Under such circumstances no improvement can be expected. Where—as, for example, in Westminster, or in the City of London—the council has resolutely insisted upon the observance of the law, a remarkable improvement has been effected.



1911

But, in view of the Committee, no further step forward can be anticipated until the law has been simplified, and the powers of the London County Council extended.

It has been frequently pointed out by the Coal Smoke Abatement Society that the factories which now cause London the greatest inconvenience from smoke-polluted air are those situate on the verge of the Metropolis. Over these works the London County Council has no jurisdiction, and whenever the wind sets in from the east it brings with it the smoke from scores of factories, and in winter time greatly adds to the severity and density of fogs.

Although this is admittedly the case, the society cannot induce the sanitary authorities concerned to take any effective steps to abate the nuisance. In the case of West Ham about 3500 complaints have been made by the society to the Corporation. Not a single prosecution has ensued. The nuisances may be observed at any time and by anyone, and the accuracy of the society's complaints can be readily tested. Under such circumstances it is competent for the Local Government Board to intervene, but that department has once more declined to move, or even to send an inspector to check the society's observations, though pressed in Parliament to do so. At Chiswick a similar state of affairs exists in connexion with an electricity generating station; and on the banks of the Thames, between Woolwich and Gravesend, a large number of factories exist which are constant offenders. Notwithstanding this, the local authorities fail to move, possibly because representatives of some of the offending firms are known to be members of the councils whose express duty it is to suppress black smoke nuisances.

Under these circumstances the Committee are of opinion that nothing will be done to abate these nuisances until the London County Council is empowered by Parliament to take proceedings in the case of smoke nuisances which, though arising outside the area under the Council's control, pollute the atmosphere of the Metropolis.

The Coal Smoke Abatement Society therefore supported the London County Council in its efforts last year to obtain extension of its powers in relation to the nuisance and damages arising from smoke, and its president (Sir William Richmond) has already expressed in public his profound disappointment that the proposed alteration of Section 24 of the 1891 Act was not accepted by the Parliamentary Committee.

The London society's more practical work has been the joint promotion with the Royal Sanitary Institute of a very successful Exhibition of Smoke Prevention Appliances, and a three days' Conference on Smoke Abatement, at the Vincent Square Hall, in Westminster, during December 1905, and more recently of courses of lectures to stokers and firemen, at the Borough Polytechnic. These lectures were delivered for two successive winters by Mr. W. H. Booth, and were very largely attended.

The Hamburg Smoke Abatement Society, or, to give the German title, the Verein für Feuerungs-betrieb und Rauchbekämpfung in Hamburg, may be selected as chief representative of the societies of Class II., for it is a voluntary association of



fuel-users, with works or factories located in and around the city of Hamburg. The society was started in the year 1902 by a few Hamburg manufacturers, who were convinced that by more scientific control of their steam-raising plant they could save coal and reduce smoke. The society has achieved a striking success, and at the end of 1909 there were 365 subscribing members on its register, and 1207 boilers, with 155 other heating appliances, under the control of its engineers. The society is managed by a strong committee of manufacturers. The technical work is undertaken by a staff of five chemical engineers and four instructors for firemen; these devote the whole of their time to the supervision of the steam-raising and heating plant of the members. Fuel savings of between 10 and 15 per cent. are of common occurrence in the past records of this society's work, and the annual reports form a most valuable contribution to the literature of smoke prevention and fuel economy.

The civic authorities of Hamburg have recognised the value of the society's work by placing the whole of the municipal steam-raising and heating plant under its control.

The latest accession to the society's ranks is the Hamburg Bakers' Guild, and the baking ovens of the majority of bakers in the city of Hamburg are now worked and fired in accordance with the recommendations of the staff of the Verein.

During 1909 the emission of smoke from the steamships lying in the river and docks has claimed the society's attention, and it is stated that some improvement may be expected to follow from the special study made of this branch of the problem.

In addition to their regular work of testing and supervising the efficiency of the steam-raising plant of the members of the society, the engineering staff have carried out special investigations relating to mechanical firing, the purchase of fuel on a heat-unit basis, the advantages of bonus payments to firemen, and other matters of great interest to fuel-users.

The practical training and supervision of stokers, which has been undertaken by the society since its formation, and forms one of the most important and useful branches of its work, has been continued with success during the last few years, four instructors being now specially retained for this duty.

A third society deserves mention in this article, since although of recent formation, it has initiated what the writer trusts will prove to be a most useful educational propaganda on the subject of smoke abatement in some of the northern industrial towns.

An Exhibition of Smoke Abatement Appliances and Conference upon Smoke Abatement, held in Sheffield in March 1909, led to the formation of a society named the Smoke Abatement



1911

League of Great Britain, and three branches of this league have been started—in Glasgow, Manchester, and Sheffield.

The Glasgow and West of Scotland branch of this league is the most active, and combines to some extent the objects of both the London and Hamburg societies. These are set forth in its constitution as follows :

(a) To promote such consolidation of, and improvement in, legislation as would secure smoke abatement, and to join with other branches throughout the country in furthering the objects of the league.

(b) To take steps to institute lectures and spread information among the public by pamphlets and leaflets, and generally to carry out an active propaganda against the smoke nuisance.

(c) To approach the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College and other educational institutions regarding the establishment of lectures on combustion and furnace management for firemen and boiler attendants, with a view to the granting by the league of certificates of competency.

No time has been lost by this branch society (which was only instituted on the 2nd of February 1910), in commencing an active educational propaganda in Glasgow upon the subject of smoke abatement, on the lines indicated in the 'objects' of the society as set out above.

Two courses of evening lectures were arranged for the winter months of 1910-11, the first intended to teach working boiler engineers and firemen the scientific principles underlying their craft, and the second directed towards the education of their masters, the manufacturers, shipowners, and the general public.

The series of lectures for firemen consisted of five similar courses of twelve lectures each, delivered by the Glasgow municipal sanitary officers and smoke inspectors in different centres of the working-class portions of the city, a fee of 5s. being charged for the course. The education authorities of Glasgow and Govan granted the use of suitably situated elementary schools for these lectures, and 186 firemen and engineers registered their names as students at one or other of the various centres. In the majority of cases the employers paid the fee, and urged the men to attend regularly.

The series of nine lectures for the general public were free, and were made attractive by the aid of limelight views and experiments. They were delivered in the large hall of the Technical School by several gentlemen connected with the health and medical departments of the university and city, and covered such objects as :—'The Black Smoke Problem,' 'The Necessity for Pure Air,' 'The Chemistry of Combustion,' 'How to Fire Steam-Boilers without Smoke,' &c.



## IV.—THE LINE OF FUTURE PROGRESS.

The writer believes that a candid and unbiassed judgment of the efforts of these voluntary agencies for the abatement of smoke, as set forth in their latest reports, will be in favour of the educational and practical line of work; and that it will be generally recognised that further progress can be best secured by continued efforts along the lines which the Glasgow and Hamburg societies have adopted.

The experience of the London Coal Smoke Abatement Society, and also of other provincial societies framed on the same basis, proves that legislation in advance of existing knowledge and opinion is useless for dealing with the question. Until we have convinced the majority of our manufacturers and factory-owners that it is wasteful to produce smoke, and that it will pay them to suppress it (or to reduce it to a minimum), the strict enforcement of laws against smoke emission is impossible.<sup>3</sup>

Either, as at West Ham, the local authority refuses to enforce them, or the offending party escapes either on some plausible plea of special circumstance, or with the imposition of a fine too light to have any effect.

The imposition of cumulative fines, which is provided for in the London Public Health Act of 1891, is not possible at present, simply because public and private opinion is uneducated on the subject.

The efforts of all interested in the question of smoke abatement should therefore be concentrated upon an educational propaganda having for its aim the conversion of the majority of our manufacturers and factory owners to the belief that 'smoke' spells loss, and that its abatement or suppression would lead to savings which can be measured in actual *l. s. d.* at the end of each financial year. The fact that stoking is skilled work which demands a high degree of strength and intelligence should also be emphasised, and the larger fuel-users in each district should be urged to give some attention to the selection and training of men specially for this work.

The United States Government has published, through its Geological Survey Department, bulletins on various branches of the subject, and the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce have published a valuable report on smoke abatement. The annual reports of the Hamburg society also contain most valuable

<sup>3</sup> The reluctance of the authorities in West Ham to enforce Sections 23 and 24 of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891 is due to the fear of driving manufacturers away, and to the dread of increasing the already heavy burden of rates. From the ratepayers' point of view, their attitude is quite logical and reasonable.



1911

information relating to the scientific control of boilers and to the economy of fuel. Our British smoke abatement societies would be making good use of their funds if they published and distributed gratis among fuel-users in this country copies or translations of these and similar pamphlets.

Having educated the manufacturers and the fuel-users to see the wisdom and economy of reducing smoke to a minimum, the further developments and progress of the movement for smoke abatement may be left to the people who are most concerned. The discussions and conferences of the past ten years have not been without result, and at the present time the majority of large manufacturers and large fuel-users in this country are fully awake to the importance of the subject. In many large works, engineers or chemists have been appointed for the express purpose of controlling the supplies and combustion of fuel, and a strict watch is kept over the composition of the waste gases and the character of the smoke emitted from the chimneys. At one large works in south-west Lancashire, where the combustion of fuel has been treated as a chemical process, and a chemist has been placed in charge of all the boilers and furnaces, great economies in fuel costs have been reported.

Evidence given in June 1910 before the Select Committee of the House of Commons charged with the consideration of the London County Council's General Powers Bill, proved that the companies owning the large London electrical supply stations have also realised the importance of the subject, and that they are as anxious as Sir William Richmond to reduce smoke emission from their chimneys to a minimum. At the present time it is not the larger mills and factories, burning 1000 tons of fuel a week, but the smaller ones, using only ten to fifty tons, that are the chief offenders as regards smoke emission, and it is among these smaller manufacturers that an educational propaganda is most required.

Whether these smaller manufacturers and fuel-users, when converted to the wisdom of suppressing smoke, and so obtaining a higher efficiency from their fuel, will agree amongst themselves to form societies on the lines of the Hamburg society, or will act independently, and each seek the advice and retain the service of some outside expert, remains for the future to disclose.

In the writer's opinion, the co-operative plan which has yielded such good results in Hamburg is the best, since it enables each manufacturer to benefit by the experience of all, and places at his service highly skilled technical advice and control at a minimum of cost. The Hamburg system also provides what is certainly the most important factor in the abatement of smoke in small works, namely, skilled stoking, and on this ground alone it is worthy of



adoption in this country. In most large works using bituminous coal mechanical stokers are now employed.

But mechanical stoking is not adapted for use and is not economical in small works, and in these hand-stoking is absolutely necessary. An organisation which can train and maintain a regular oversight of the stokers employed in small works is certainly required in each manufacturing district of this country, and whether evolved by private or public enterprise, it will form a *sine qua non* of the successful campaign against smoke. The deputation from nineteen municipalities and public associations which interviewed the head of the Local Government Board on the 28th of June urged upon the Right Hon. John Burns the creation of a Smoke Department of the Board, and the appointment of trained inspectors for dealing with the question.

Mr. Burns, in his reply, was sympathetic as to the evils and damage resulting from smoke, but not very hopeful of developments on the lines proposed by the deputation. In his opinion substantial progress had already been made in the abatement of nuisance from smoke, and he stated his belief that further progress would occur when the employers recognised the importance of engaging only trained men for stoking, and encouraged the efforts of these men to reduce smoke by the adoption of a bonus system of payment.

The writer agrees with the general tenor of the right hon. gentleman's remarks, and only regrets that a visit to Hamburg, and an examination of the Hamburg society's work, had not preceded his reception of the deputation.

As regards factory smoke then, the manufacturers and fuel-users, when once convinced that smoke spells loss and that smoke abatement is practicable, may be left to apply the remedy in their own way. The British manufacturer is not easily moved, but when once his national and characteristic objection to change is overcome, he generally moves with effect and achieves what he desires.

The domestic smoke problem is more complex, and at the moment no simple and direct method of solving it is apparent. The more efficient and modern forms of open grate are too costly to be adopted generally for all classes of property, and even these grates produce smoke, unless very carefully attended to.

The Englishman has an ingrained dislike of closed stoves, and the patent smokeless fuels of which we heard so much a year or two ago still remain unpurchasable by the ordinary householder. Gas fires and gas cooking-stoves solve the smoke problem, it is true, but here again the national prejudice against gas fires in living or bed rooms causes difficulties, and delays the extension of this method of heating our houses.



1911

A smokeless fuel, suitable for burning in the ordinary unscientific open-fire grate, so long as this retains the affections of the English man or woman, is what is required. When this fuel is obtainable in large quantities, and is sold at a price which will compare favourably with that of coal, the domestic smoke-problem will be solved. If, in the process of manufacture, all sulphur can be fixed in some non-volatile form of combination, or can be removed entirely from the product, the general use of the new fuel will solve another and far greater problem, namely, that involved in the daily production of, and distribution throughout our atmosphere, of ten thousand tons of one of the most destructive and corrosive acids known.

JOHN B. C. KERSHAW.



## THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE EMPIRE

THE rush of party politics, always shooting out at a tangent from the course of national progress, has once more brought the question of Home Rule for Ireland prematurely before the electorate. The renewed attempt to settle this question as an isolated problem is so ill-timed that in the natural order of things it would prove abortive; but the natural order may, as often before, be subverted by the politicians. The Liberal Government, which, with a competence and determination unfortunately lost to better causes, has so far made good nearly all its political undertakings, is in earnest about this matter; the very men who were loudest in their denunciation of the suggestion that the suspension of the constitution of Cape Colony might be a useful preliminary to the Union of South Africa, have suspended the imperial constitution to pave the way for the disunion of the United Kingdom, and, should they weather the present industrial storms, they will, failing some extraordinary blunder of their opponents, have to stake their existence on carrying a Home Rule measure which will command the support of the Nationalist Party. The opposing forces have, indeed, already begun manœuvring and skirmishing, and if the country is to be enveloped in the dust and turmoil of party warfare, it is essential that Imperialists should clear their minds and get back to the fundamental principles which must guide them amidst the alarums and excursions of what may prove a prolonged and bitter struggle. Many will approach the question with fresh minds unclouded by the details of a past controversy. This is an advantage, for some of these principles have acquired new force and meaning from events that have taken place in the Empire since Mr. Gladstone's great failure and the overthrow of Mr. Parnell.

### I.—IMPERIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The eager and determined fight for consolidation throughout the Empire, the triumph of Imperial union which is at last within reach, will cause Imperialists to steel their hearts against any pleadings of sentiment, however glorious its tradition or pathetic



1911

its grievance, in favour of a weakening of the bonds which make of the United Kingdom one nation among the Five. These islands must be preserved as one unit of nationality. The establishment in the political sense of a separate Irish nation, if it were practicable, would embarrass and complicate the work of consolidating the Empire as much as if the French of Quebec were to separate themselves from the Canadian nation,<sup>1</sup> or the British of Natal were to refuse to participate in the creation of a united nation in South Africa.<sup>2</sup>

No solution of the question which is not acceptable to all reasonable Irish Unionists can be countenanced by British Unionists. Unionists in Ireland are there as a result of the traditional policy of England, and England must stand by them. If they seriously decide to risk their lives and property rather than consent to some scheme which the Nationalists, with the assistance of the Liberal Government, endeavour to force upon them, British Unionists must fight by their side. Should the mimic warfare of party politics lead to the tragedy of a supreme appeal to arms, the duty of British Unionists is perfectly plain. The time will have gone by for all historical inquiry into the past policy of England. Those who think that that policy was right will fight with a clear conscience. Those who consider that it was wrong will face, like men, the visitation of the sins of their fathers upon them rather than allow those to suffer alone who have been the instruments of that policy.

During the last ten years much attention has been paid by Imperialists to the question of the functions of the Imperial Parliament, and there are those who wish to see the present Parliament extended so as to include direct representatives of the four nations overseas. There are others who favour a further development of the Imperial Conference to take over all the imperial powers at present exercised by Parliament, which would then exist solely as the National Parliament of the United Kingdom. The former are a rapidly decreasing minority, and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, in the November number of *The Nineteenth Century*, rather embarrasses one by assuming that Imperialists aim at welding 'into an organic whole the sister nations of British blood in four continents.' But the fact that in two of the four Continents the sister nations are largely not of British blood is almost the starting-point of all modern thought towards Imperial organisation.

<sup>2</sup> A distinguished statesman from overseas, in the course of conversation some years ago, declared himself always to have been in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. On its being pointed out to him that he could not be a Home Ruler, for while he might agree to Ireland's being placed in the same relation to England as Quebec held to Canada, he would never approve of the relations between Ireland and England being those of Newfoundland to Canada, which was then demanded, he replied: 'No, in that sense I am not a Home Ruler; and if Redmond and his friends want that they want independence, and I would not give it to them.'



the march of events is against them; but one is still reminded from time to time of their existence, as in the recent discussions on the question of the reform of the House of Lords, when there were not a few advocates of the inclusion of representatives of the Overseas Dominions in a reformed Second Chamber. Among both schools are to be found those whose chief desire for a change is based on a recognition of the hopelessly clogged condition of the present Parliamentary machinery. But those who watch the natural growth of imperial organisation, who foresee the inevitable advent of closer commercial relations among the five nations, realise that any supreme imperial body which the future may have in store will be a growth arising out of new needs and new interests, and will do little to relieve the Parliament of the United Kingdom of its present overload of legislative work. A calculation of the number of hours at present devoted at Westminster to such questions as the affairs of India and the Crown Colonies, which should ultimately come within the purview of the new imperial body, will show that the time now spared to the discussion of these questions would hardly prove adequate in the future for the consideration of the United Kingdom's share of responsibility under any new division of functions for those parts of the Empire.

Few authorities would dispute the contention that the national Parliament of, say, Canada represents the normal working capacity of the parliamentary machine, and there is a consensus of opinion among Englishmen that Scotland, Ireland and Wales—to adopt the traditional divisions—must be called upon in the near future to relieve the Parliament of the United Kingdom of as much as possible of the management of their local affairs. The congestion of business at Westminster has attained to appalling dimensions, and a point has now been reached when the minimum of necessary discussion is given only to the one or two questions in a session which are considered of importance by the party managers. One of the chief causes of the present alarming social and industrial unrest is the feeling of hopelessness among the working classes, resulting from vain endeavours to obtain proper consideration by Parliament of the hardships and grievances which changing conditions and, still more, hasty legislation bring in their train. The necessity of provincial legislatures for the four component parts of the United Kingdom is now generally accepted, and those whom recent events have led to realise the urgent need, from the national point of view, of this reform of the parliamentary system are the least patient with party fanatics who obstruct any practical development along this line of thought, exclaiming in season and out of season that this way lies devolution, and that devolution is only another name for Home Rule. This obstruction



must be swept aside ; it is doubly dangerous, as it attracts attention exclusively to the special case of Ireland, and confuses the issue for Scotland and Wales. Imperialists must therefore insist that any scheme of 'federalism'—a term generally accepted but teeming with risky analogies—shall pay equal attention to all four sections of the United Kingdom. Should the Government introduce a Home Rule measure for Ireland and by means of a preamble—a not very courageous device for bequeathing to posterity an incomplete and therefore a probably erroneous solution of a political difficulty—postpone the consideration of the Scottish and Welsh aspect of the question, Imperialists would oppose such a measure. Should it nevertheless reach the Committee stage, it would be the duty of Imperialists to show in detail that it would be impossible of future application to Scotland and to Wales. How easy this would be with regard to matters of finance was shown by Mr. Edgar Crammond in the October number of this Review.

These are some of the principles which Imperialists must bear in mind during the coming struggle over the Home Rule question, and even if, as is not improbable, the present attempt to obtain Home Rule should prove abortive from causes which will not appear on the surface, the struggle will have done good service if it prepares minds for the great changes which must be made in the parliamentary system of the United Kingdom. It may at least result in some clear imperial thinking, and clear the way for future reforms by breaking up the unnatural alliance between some Imperialists whose sentiment entices them to the consideration of temporary palliatives and, on the other side, those whose reason is opposed to imperial greatness, and who conscientiously believe that the human race will benefit by the disintegration of nations and a return to the tribal system. Nothing certainly could be worse than the present confusion of imperial thought, which allows a Home Ruler to tell the Canadians in Toronto that all that is wanted for Ireland is a change that would place Ireland in the same constitutional relationship to the United Kingdom that Ontario holds to the Dominion of Canada, and makes it possible almost simultaneously for a Nationalist leader in Ireland to tell his fellow-countrymen that Ireland should be given self-government of the national kind possessed by Canada and South Africa.

## II.—THE NEW IDEAL OF A UNITED IRELAND.

Nowhere is this confusion of thought doing more harm at the present moment than in the North of Ireland, where a large number of Unionists, dissatisfied with the conduct of political affairs by the Unionist party and alarmed by the spread of 'socialism' in Great Britain, are through want of



an imperial ideal and in the course of events turning to a new conception of Irish nationality. They have been taught by the statesmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett that all classes and all religions have a common interest in the welfare of Ireland, and the extraordinary and well-established success that has followed the co-operative movement which he initiated has confirmed a new ideal of a united Ireland. There is a danger of Irishmen of the North concentrating exclusively on this ideal, losing sight of its proper relation to the imperial aim— which, since Mr. Chamberlain ceased to take an active part in public life, their leaders have failed to emphasise—and forgetting the common interest of English, Scots, Irish and Welsh in the Empire which has been founded by their combined efforts.

It is undoubtedly a splendid ideal, that of an Ireland united, not in the political sense of hostility to England, but for her own prosperity and for the development of her commerce and industry. Sir Horace Plunkett has in the last fifteen years, thanks in large measure to the far-seeing and constructive land policy of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. George Wyndham, brought about a peaceful revolution in the agricultural districts of his country. The Ireland of to-day is a closed book to those who only know the Ireland of twenty years ago. The future holds out dazzling prospects to all true Irish patriots; and should a wise reform of the educational system, directed to the training of character and the all-round development of intellectual interest rather than to the premature stimulation of industrial activities, strengthen the foundations of the new and inevitably hastily constructed edifice, Ireland, essentially undemocratic in its instincts, may yet lead the way in the Empire by a solution, along co-operative lines, of the pressing problems of democracy. To a sympathetic English observer the vision of an Ireland reconstructed from the small holding to the largest factory on a co-operative basis is certainly suggested by the present march of events.

Imperialists, and, above all, British Unionists, should welcome this new ideal, and should do all in their power to assist Irish Imperialists to see it in its proper perspective. Unionism, if it is to live as a political creed, must make unity its chief objective— union of Empire, national union and union of classes. For these it must strive throughout its whole sphere of influence and activity. If it is false to this aim in any portion of its work the vital force will leak away. Nowhere can it pursue a policy of 'divide and rule.' To-day Unionism has an opportunity—which others will seize and misuse if it fails to rise to its responsibilities—of establishing a prosperous and united Ireland accepting its proper place in the United Kingdom and the Empire.

In Ireland political partisans on both sides look with disfavour



on the rapid progress which is being made towards a united Ireland. Indeed, no sooner did Mr. Redmond perceive that the co-operative movement which he had assisted Sir Horace Plunkett to start was prospering and uniting the Irish people, than he wrote a letter of warning to Mr. Ford in America, in which he stated that 'the real object of the movement in question is to undermine the National Party and divert the minds of our people from Home Rule, which is the only thing which can ever lead to a real revival of Irish industries.'<sup>3</sup> The opposition has culminated in the withholding by Mr. Birrell and Mr. T. W. Russell in the present year of the 'development' grant to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society—presumably at the bidding of the Nationalist Party, for it is inconceivable that anything but political pressure would have led the representatives of a British Government into a course of action so petty.<sup>4</sup>

Viewed, however, apart from its immediate object, Mr. Redmond's line of attack is instructive. One of the fatal mistakes of party politicians is to ignore the truth that underlies the attack of their opponents. Even if it be necessary to the game to paint the leaders of an opposing party as scoundrels, it is stupid to think of them as fools. It is wiser, indeed, to start from the presumption that they are honest and to endeavour to follow their train

NEW YORK, October 4, 1904.

'MY DEAR MR. FORD,—I am anxious before leaving for home to say a word of warning with reference to an insidious attempt which I find is being made in America by officials and agents of the British Government to divert the minds of the friends of Ireland from the National movement under the pretence of promoting an industrial revival in Ireland.

The promotion of Irish industries is so praiseworthy an object that I am not surprised some of our people in America have been deceived in this matter. I myself, indeed, at one time entertained some belief in the good intentions of Sir Horace Plunkett and his friends, but recent events have entirely undeceived me; and Sir Horace Plunkett's recent book, full as it is of undisguised contempt for the Irish race, makes it plain to me that the real object of the movement in question is to undermine the National party and divert the minds of our people from Home Rule, which is the only thing which can ever lead to a real revival of Irish industries.

The men who are conducting this movement are for the most part avowed anti-Home Rulers, and many of them salaried officials of the British Government. I am informed that an agent of theirs is about to visit America for the purpose of still further pushing this movement, and I feel it my duty to issue this word of warning to prevent our friends here from being deceived as to the real meaning of this movement.

Believe me, very truly yours,

JOHN E. REDMOND.

(Quoted in the last edition of Sir Horace Plunkett's *Ireland in the New Century*.)

'Since this was written the Irish Council of Agriculture has met, and by a majority decided, in this matter, in Mr. Russell's favour. It is significant that a private Whip, which was published in the *Irish Times* of November 13, was received by a member of the Council from the Assistant Secretary to the United Irish League, asking him to attend the meeting 'and support Mr. Russell in reference to the Agricultural Organisation Grant.'



of thought and ascertain what they believe to be the truth, however they may have misapplied it for party purposes. Following this method, it is obvious that Mr. Redmond believes that there can be no full prosperity for Irish industries until Ireland has control of her own finances, the right to do what she likes with the Customs and Excise, and the power to protect her industries against British and foreign attack. Many honest Nationalists will tell you to-day that they would consider a Home Rule Bill which did not give control of the Customs useless, and that they would sooner be without it. That brings us to the crux of the question—the commercial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, in which lie all the permanent grievances of the past, not the least of the insuperable difficulties in the way of the present Liberal attempt to draft a Home Rule Bill, and the hope of Imperialists in the future. The difficulties of financing a Liberal Home Rule scheme cannot be discussed with any certainty until the details of the scheme are known; they may or may not be found to be exaggerated if ever that time comes; at any rate, the common-sense view is held by many who are watching the provisional discussion of the subject by experts, that if Ireland is to make her own coat Great Britain will expect her to cut it according to her cloth; there seems, however, already to be sufficient evidence that, at a time when her industries are only beginning to revive, it would be a somewhat tight fit, and that she would naturally endeavour to raise revenue by a protective tariff. What more popular way of doing so than by taxing the imports of her hereditary commercial enemy, particularly as that enemy is alone unable to retaliate?

### III.—COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The commercial relations of Great Britain and Ireland are not a pleasant chapter of history for an Englishman to read, but offer few surprises for those who know the story of our Crown Colonies in the past, or who have lived under that form of administration and felt the movement making for self-government. Indeed, the fact that Ireland has not held the full status of a Crown colony, for the same reasons that she could not now be given the position of a self-governing dominion, has even deprived her of some of the commercial advantages she might otherwise have enjoyed. But the sentiment in favour of Home Rule for Ireland which exists so largely in the Overseas Dominions of the Empire is in great measure accounted for by intelligent sympathy with Ireland's commercial grievances. The most potent incentive to self-government in the old colonial days was the hardship inflicted by an English commercial system—whether Protectionist or Free Trade—in-



1911

posed by English officials on colonies to which it was unsuited. That is Ireland's most permanent grievance, and one which Englishmen have only begun to appreciate since the whole of our commercial system was brought by Tariff Reformers into the open light of economic criticism. Other grievances are preached and appeals to sentiment are made on other misdeeds of history. But there are few portions of the United Kingdom which have not their harrowing stories of a more barbarous age : few which could not produce a veritable *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* as moving as any written by modern Irish Nationalists. Yet nowhere else is the same political bitterness to be found. Nothing is more significant in this connexion than the cessation of political agitation in those districts which, more or less dependent on indirect British subsidies, have learnt from Sir Horace Plunkett how to extract an improved standard of national comfort from existing conditions. Nationalist partisans are even heard to complain of the political 'ingratitude' of the farmers who now own their land and have learnt the benefits of co-operation.

It is little exaggeration to say that in the old Protectionist days every industrial venture of Ireland was suppressed by Great Britain as soon as it showed signs of prospering. Then on a people commercially cowed, nurtured in industrial despair, enfeebled by the emigration of their strongest and most courageous, was imposed the Free Trade system of the British manufacturers. Against this, until recent years, it has been idle for Ireland to protest ; for her complaints fell on the ears not of misguided egoism but of missionary fanaticism, which replied by preaching an economic gospel. The commercial grievance has nevertheless to be recognised and dealt with by enlightened statesmanship before Ireland can prosper, be content, and take her right place as a component part of one of the five nations.

A section of Tariff Reformers have always contended, with reason, that Ireland has even more to gain from Tariff Reform than any other part of the United Kingdom. And yet the Tariff Reform movement has failed to capture Ireland. This is to some extent the fault of the Tariff Reform leaders, who have allowed their cause to be made subservient to the exigencies of the Unionist Party. But it is still more due to the inherited suspicion of Irishmen—which nothing will allay and which no historical research can prove to be ill-founded—that once Great Britain, with a majority in the House of Commons, has the power to impose duties covering an even wider sphere than at present, the interests of Ireland will again be ignored. Irishmen, indeed, are ready to believe that she already receives inequality of treatment, and it is even asserted that less favourable terms have been granted to Irish than to English tobacco-growers, thus unduly handicapping one of



the most hopeful of rising Irish industries, struggling as it is against the Excise duty which, in accordance with Free Trade theories, artificially forces this new venture in the United Kingdom to compete, without its natural preference, against the old-established industry of the foreigner.

It is certain that Ireland will not be 'pacified' by any gift of Home Rule offered by Free Traders unless the donors are false to the principles which they have enshrined in the market-places and preached at the street-corners of Great Britain. Neither will Ireland support any extension of the present tariff system unless she be satisfied that her voice shall at any rate be heard and her opinions duly represented and given proper weight in determining the duties to be imposed. To argue that she is afforded both under the present constitution is to ignore the overcrowded state of the parliamentary machine; though no doubt a very serious responsibility rests upon the Nationalist members at Westminster for not taking greater advantage of the opportunities that they do possess of safeguarding the commercial interests of their country.

#### IV.—A NATIONAL FINANCE COUNCIL.

Is it, however, beyond the powers of statesmanship to find a common factor of agreement among Irishmen, Imperialists and Liberals, on which to found the future of the United Kingdom? It is admitted on all sides that financial considerations form the crux of the Irish question. The Irish—at any rate the Nationalist majority and an increasing number of Unionists in the North—would prefer absolute control of their finances if they could comfortably afford to be independent of the predominant partner. All thoughtful Liberals perceive that their Home Rule ideal cannot be realised unless they give Ireland control of her own finances; without the granting of such control, the South African analogy which they are always quoting, no doubt in full sincerity, could hardly hold good; indeed, self-government separated from finance, must be either merely advisory in its functions, or based on some artificial financial arrangement whose only permanent strength would be a force making directly for financial independence; but the Liberals dare not grant financial control without imposing Free-Trade restrictions which would be unacceptable to Irishmen. Imperialists, on the other hand, would oppose any tendency to the development of Ireland's financial independence, above all at a time when the Canadian elections have brought the commercial union of the Empire many stages nearer, and when it is essential that the United Kingdom should be prepared at any moment to enter, as a solid national unit, into tariff relations with the four Overseas Dominions; but they would in great measure agree with



the Irish as to Ireland's financial grievances. Again the Liberals are having it borne in upon them day by day that the financial difficulty is the first obstacle in the way of the realisation of their ideals; and the Irish would admit that the financial end is the right end at which any development of self-government should begin.

The recent industrial unrest, both in Great Britain and Ireland, has done much to cool the party passions of all three sections, and to awaken them to the perception of a common interest. Are they in a sufficiently subdued mood to agree as to the means by which Ireland should now be given a voice in the control of her own finances, more real than that which she possesses under present Parliamentary conditions amidst the rush and scramble which has become the custom at Westminster? Does not the raising of this question at this crisis in our history provide a concrete reason, and point to a definite method, for initiating without delay that national Parliament for the United Kingdom which, with its provincial legislatures, may stem the tide of revolution that is threatening to overwhelm an ancient constitution weakened by its antiquated machinery?

The present Government has swept away the last vestige of financial control exercised by the Upper Chamber, and has left the House of Commons in the invidious position of sole disposer of the public revenues. The House of Commons may be—though proportional representationists would deny the fact—the focus of the public will; it has undoubtedly become more and more in recent years the arena where the party game is played. Should a Government with a strong majority prove, notwithstanding the unbridled powers which it exercises over national finance, incorruptible and as adamant against all temptation to use those powers to gain a passing popularity on the eve of an election, the discussions of the nation's economy nevertheless take place in an atmosphere charged with party feeling, these discussions have to be unduly curtailed owing to the overwhelming pressure of other business, and many items of expenditure of prime importance are agreed to without any serious explanation or debate at all. The time has come, and the opportunity too, for transferring the control of the finance of the United Kingdom to a body no less democratic and representative of the people's will but working under more favourable conditions.

Such a body might consist in the first instance of a number of members of the House of Commons elected by the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh members of that House from among themselves. It would in the transition stage be necessarily subordinate to the present so-called Imperial Parliament, but it would not be a Committee of the House of Commons. The powers given to it



might be so framed as to lead to its ultimate independence in all matters which concerned the finance of the United Kingdom exclusively. It would thus form the nucleus of the future National Parliament. There would be no nominated element on this body; for the nominated element is incompatible with democratic principles, and where it is introduced it implies either that the body which requires it possesses powers to which it has no right, or that it is not to be trusted to exercise the powers which it might be expected to wield. To introduce the nominated element in connexion with the government of peoples long accustomed to democratic institutions is indeed an admission of political failure; for it must be known to any statesman that they will inevitably sweep away this element and with it the safeguards which it is intended to ensure. Where, as in Lord Dunraven's devolution proposals and Mr. Birrell's Irish Councils Bill, the nominated element is necessary, it points at once to a recognition of the fundamental weakness of the case advocated.

Such a national finance council for the United Kingdom would, in the exercise of its powers, prepare the way for the creation of subordinate Scottish, Irish and Welsh finance councils which would, in their turn, form the nucleus of provincial legislatures. In the same way it would evolve a scheme for establishing the proper financial relations between itself and the future development of the Imperial Conference, for, with the coming of Tariff Reform, the common financial interests represented on the Imperial Conference will be large and vital, while even under a system of Free Trade they cannot remain altogether negligible.

To those who fail to read the signs of the times, and who believe that the old order need not give place to a new, it is useless to appeal in support of changes of so far-reaching a kind. But there are few whom the recent industrial unrest has not taught that the old order has gone. Strikes, following immediately upon the pageantry of the Coronation with all its hopes of united effort, paralysed the country in the summer and brought us within a few days of a European war; they threaten to recur in a more aggravated form in the winter. The present Parliamentary system can only deal with the causes and legitimate grievances underlying these revolutionary tendencies—complicated and having their roots in rapid changes of national life—in a spasmodic and belated fashion. The old political parties have, in the pursuit of minor issues from which they hoped to gain electioneering advantages, forsaken the principles which used to distinguish them. In the confusion that has ensued, each section has found itself facing to wrong partners. On the Irish question alone the Radicals, Free Traders and Nonconformists of Great Britain are opposed to Radicals, Free Traders and



1911

Nonconformists in Ireland, and are allied with Conservatives, Protectionists and Catholics. Throughout the United Kingdom, trade unionism and socialism, whose creed is solidarity and State control, maintain a querulous agreement with a liberalism whose traditional faith rests on individualism. These things must be straightened out: A beginning must be made by developing the deliberative and legislative machinery of the nation to meet the new conditions.

Imperialists overseas, progressive and democratic, who believe that the virtue of consecration has deserted edifices which are no longer capable of resisting storm and tempest, are waiting for the United Kingdom to reform her parliamentary institutions and to bring them into line with the tradition that the Imperial Conference is slowly but surely establishing for itself. Imperialists at home must rise to the occasion. In the work of imperial organisation in which the Overseas Dominions are beginning to take a leading part, Ireland, as an active partner, is indispensable to the United Kingdom. In the last fifteen years she has begun to acquire a stability of purpose and an experience in the democratic solution of the land question which will be invaluable to Great Britain in facing firmly and calmly the threatened industrial and social upheaval.

If the inter-relation of the political problems here touched on is clearly grasped in this country—and Imperialists cannot fail to appreciate it—we may yet weather the impending revolution. Of Imperialists above all it will be expected that they will resist the natural tendency of political partisans to treat these questions in an acrimonious and inflammatory manner, which may undo the work of many years in Ireland, produce industrial chaos and national paralysis in Great Britain, and lay these islands open to foreign attack. A grave responsibility rests on those who refuse assistance, from whatever political quarters it may come, in laying the foundation of a truly united Kingdom.

FABIAN WARE.



111362

## 'UP, AND BE DOING'

WHY, in Great Britain at the present time, is it that people of all classes, high and low, seem steadily to refuse to regard the world in which they are living, moving, and have their being as it really is? Why do they practically so determinedly ignore its particularly unpleasant features in this twentieth century? From 1860, by which time we had completely regained our hold on India, nothing occurred in the nineteenth century to shake our belief that things would go on pleasantly and comfortably with us, as a country, as they had done for so long in the past. Manufacturing, mining, and commercial business are what may be called the chief occupations of the inhabitants, and to these the South African War with its reckless expenditure gave even a fillip rather than the reverse. We at home were in no danger at all; it was merely a question of endurance and of money, and we were sure, if left to ourselves, to pull through, as we eventually did. And so, blind to the signs of the times, we have in the twentieth century been devoting ourselves mainly to making life more agreeable to ourselves at home, straightening certain kinks in our domestic affairs, having animated controversies over the incidence of taxation, Tariff Reform, the Referendum, and the distribution of political power. And there has been pushed with vehemence to the front by leaders of all parties an idea of comparatively recent birth, labelled with the sonorous title 'Imperialism,' and so vehemently, that anyone who does not express a full and thorough belief in the idea, even if he accepts it with a few reservations, is contemptuously sneered at as a 'Little Englander,' although he may be a real good Englander who merely declines to allow to Imperialism the almost fetish-worship sometimes claimed for it. After all, the world has not been a bad place for buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, passing life pleasantly and without disturbance. But I have come across a small and most interesting book, in which is given a biography of one 'White Fang,' a four-legged being; the philosophical view held by 'White Fang' as to this world into which he found himself introduced does not, however, accord with this estimate of 'things as they are.' From his personal standpoint of observa-



1911

tion and experience, he arrived at the uncomfortable and disappointing conclusion that the dominating principle in it is 'Eat or be eaten': and 'White Fang' is certainly fairly justified in the deduction.

Among civilised nations and nationalities, however, the 'eat or be eaten' theory in this crude form is out of date; but nevertheless it appears in another guise: '*You have got what I want, and I intend to take it from you.*' '*I have got what you want, and I intend to keep it.*' So sooner or later there is an outburst of war to decide the future proprietorship of what is coveted by one and possessed by the other; and therefore it seems that war, with all its horrors, is one of the inevitable conditions and accompaniments of national existence in this world. Every nation is bound to do the best for its own future, and to strive for it. Mere passive content with the conditions of the present is as much out of the question with nations as it is with individuals: consequently real lasting friendship between nations is impossible, because their needs and aspirations may at any moment give rise to opposing interests and the resulting antagonism, with its eventual decision by force of arms. Sometimes, and for considerable periods, the antagonism is avowed and is patent to all; sometimes it is latent, and the antagonism may, under the pressure of mutual interests, have, for a time, to give place even to a temporary strong friendship; but there it always is. It is a fact that, in spite of all the centuries of efforts of Christianity in the past, and in spite of all social progress, this sad view of life in our world is the true view; it is a fact that the 'jostling' of nations, due to the newly devised means of intercommunication, which is so fruitful in constantly recurring innumerable conflicts of interests, has become the ordinary, the normal rule of life between them; it is these two facts that imperatively need to be brought home to all, classes and masses alike, that they may understand our perils as a nation to-day.

Just now this country is quite satisfied with what it has got, and it wants nothing more outside its confines; but, unfortunately for our comfort and our desire for a peaceful life, Germany desires, and quite naturally, something which we have got, and which it is out of the question for us to part with, or even allow her to share with us, because our respective interests are diametrically opposed. And never will Germany give up the struggle for it, either by diplomacy or force of arms, or both, until she shall have learnt from practical experience, practical trial, that her aspirations are beyond the reach of attainment, that her efforts are not worth the further cost of money and blood.



Germany is now the greatest War Power in Europe on land. What Germany is now striving after is to become a Great Power on the seas of the world. This she has a perfect right to become, if she can; but were she to become superior to ourselves, as a Sea Power we, as a nation, should by degrees dwindle out of existence, for on her would depend even the very food we might receive. To this end she is now devoting huge sums of money, and is strenuously using her factories to bring into being a huge war-fleet. Our compelled reply is to keep bringing into being a war-fleet even more huge than hers.

From the moral and ethical points of view this determined race for the production of implements for the destruction of human life is simply sickening. A singularly apt pictorial representation of our world of to-day was by chance given in the *Daily Graphic* of the 18th of last September. The illustration on the front page shows 'The first 13.5 gun being hoisted by the new floating crane into H.M.S. *Thunderer* at Dagenham yesterday.' At page 5 is another illustration of which the description runs as follows: 'It is reported that on her recent trials the new Dreadnought cruiser *Moltke*, 23,000 tons, built at Hamburg, developed the great speed of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  knots an hour. If this is so, then the *Moltke* is the fastest warship afloat.' What is being expounded by divines from their pulpits just now as to life and its meaning I do not know, but, conceal the fact as they may, the devil seems to have the upper hand for the present.

In any conflict between ourselves and Germany she has an enormous defensive advantage over us; for she presents to us for attack one target only, her fleet. Her country is unassailable by us; it is safe in the interior of the Continent, for the portion of sea frontage directly assailable is too insignificant to be taken into consideration, and her land forces are so enormous that no Power that has not similarly large forces could make on her the very slightest impression. On the other hand, to Germany on the attack we offer two targets—our fleet, and our country as well. No country in Europe has such a length of open frontier in comparison with area, or one so liable to attack from all points of the compass as our own, or is so thickly spread with vulnerable important centres. Thus there are two lines by which she may endeavour to force from us the sea power that we at present deny to her: the direct way, defeating our fleet at sea; the indirect way, getting such a grip, such a hold of us on our own land, even for a short time only, that on our own soil she may dictate terms impossible to refuse, though our fleet is yet paramount at sea. As success on either line would be decisive, it is clear that on both lines we must be equally secure; but the country seems to believe in the need for complete security on



one line only, that of sea power. Herein lies for us the peril of to-day. Further, we Britishers do not appear to understand the ultimate object and aim of Germany's desires; we misread it. It is not the acquirement of territory, the mere capture of the piece of the earth called Great Britain; it is the crushing, as a nation, of us, the dwellers in the land. The individual inhabitants, whether those of the classes or the masses, whether professional men or unprofessional well-to-do idlers, whether miners, operatives, taxi-cab drivers, Stock Exchange *habitués*, bankers, dock-labourers, tradesmen, clerks, school-teachers, or crossing-sweepers, do not realise that they themselves are the objects to be crushed. The term 'nation' is not a mere abstract idea; but the huge multitude of Britishers seem to think of the 'nation' as something outside themselves, and to forget altogether that *they*, one and all, *are* the nation itself. Talk to them of national defence, and you will soon find that they regard it not as a personal matter; it is a general matter for others to deal with. We are accustomed to speak of a war as between countries, and not between the dwellers and inhabitants of those countries; thus, people have been talking of a war between Germany and France—two geographical distinctions—whereas it would be a war between the German people and the French people. When we talk of a war between England and Germany, we are apt to overlook the fact that it would be a war between the *people* of Germany and us, the *people* of England.

To assail us Britishers on our own soil she has in her vast armed land forces ample resources with which, at all events, to try the game. And what she does it will be needful for her to do very quickly indeed, regardless of loss of life. Our fleet cannot be here there; and everywhere in superior strength at the same time, the history of all former wars, however successful in the end, will be found a partial defeat of the eventual victors some defeat retrieved during the further course of the campaign. But now in this twentieth century one such local defeat on the North Sea or in the Channel, and the aperture effected and held open but a few hours, then in through it on to British soil would be poured German legion after German legion, and they would come to stay. The Navy may speedily repair the hole, but the destroyer is already at work inside the enclosure, and will work rack and ruin, high and low, to force *you*, my readers, to come to terms; our strong fleets outside will be but helpless spectators of the fray.

Interest in our home land defence has been also damped by expert assurance that our Navy is amply sufficient to ensure our safety against invasion. It is all very well for these experts to assure us of the absolute reliability of our naval barrier, but



unfortunately their reasonings and conclusions are theoretical only—pure theories. For the next naval encounter makes default; there is none on which to go. Every single thing connected with naval war is new or greatly modified, and untried: torpedoes, torpedo destroyers, submarines, cruisers, Dreadnoughts, wireless telegraphy and bomb-dropping aeroplanes—all working or attempting to work in unison and according to some settled plan against each other. Everything doubtless is already worked out in theory, but whether experience will justify the theories neither Admiral Lord Fisher nor Admiral Wilson, nor any other naval expert living can possibly tell. Every naval officer will frankly admit that the first naval battle of the future will be for both foes a leap into pitchy darkness. And just now we, the dwellers in Great Britain, judging by our conduct, are willing to leave the invasion by Germany's land forces to the chance of the results of the leap.

The prominence given to naval and military matters connected with what is termed 'Imperial Defence' has also had an influence, distracting our attention from the far more important, the vital matter—the defence of the Empire's heart, this island, and of us, its inhabitants. It is, of course, right and proper to do all we can to aid our outlying connections to attain a degree of defensive power sufficient for them to hold their own against hostile attacks, until some of our naval forces can come to their aid. It must be remembered, however, that though in speaking of them we may use the possessive pronoun 'our,' just as an old man may talk of another man forty or fifty years of age as 'my' son, yet we have no more real authority over them than the old man has over his son. They, like the son, doubtless retain for us a certain amount of regard, but as to obedience for obedience's sake, such as is due from a child to a parent, they will have none of it. However, at present all parties are united in their interest to maintain relations as parts of one unit. And, so long as this is so, they are a drain on our national resources, and, so far as our own home defence is concerned, can get nothing from them in return. All that our Colonial connexions could furnish us in a Continental war would be but a drop in a bucket, and the time required for the drop to fall into the bucket discounts enormously even its possible value. I should never be surprised at finding the Boy Scouts similarly estimated as a defence asset of great value.

And as if to distract us, the dwellers here, from taking to heart and thinking about defending our country, our military leaders have got hold of a shibboleth which they are always drumming into our ears. This shibboleth is, 'The real defensive



Dec.  
cal  
nce  
ing  
ed :  
ad-  
all  
ome  
ady.  
the  
any  
will  
be  
we,  
ling  
e of  
con-  
had  
por-  
this  
and  
tain  
own  
ome  
n in  
just  
s of  
nem  
less  
ence  
ey  
it to  
mit.  
ces,  
get  
ions  
p in  
cket  
ever  
as a  
g to  
tary  
ways  
sive











